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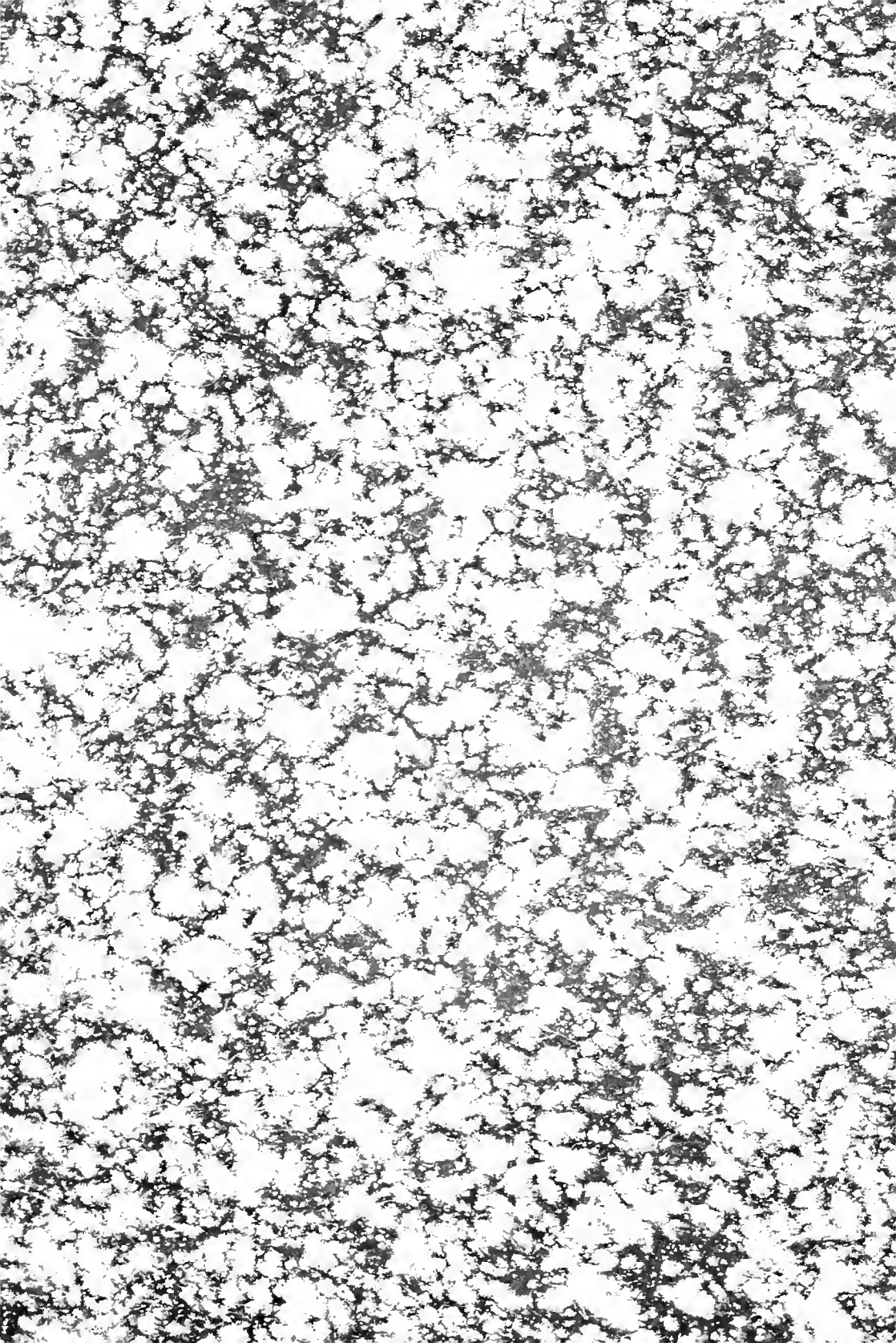
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THE  
MAGAZINE  
OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY

WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

VOL. VIII

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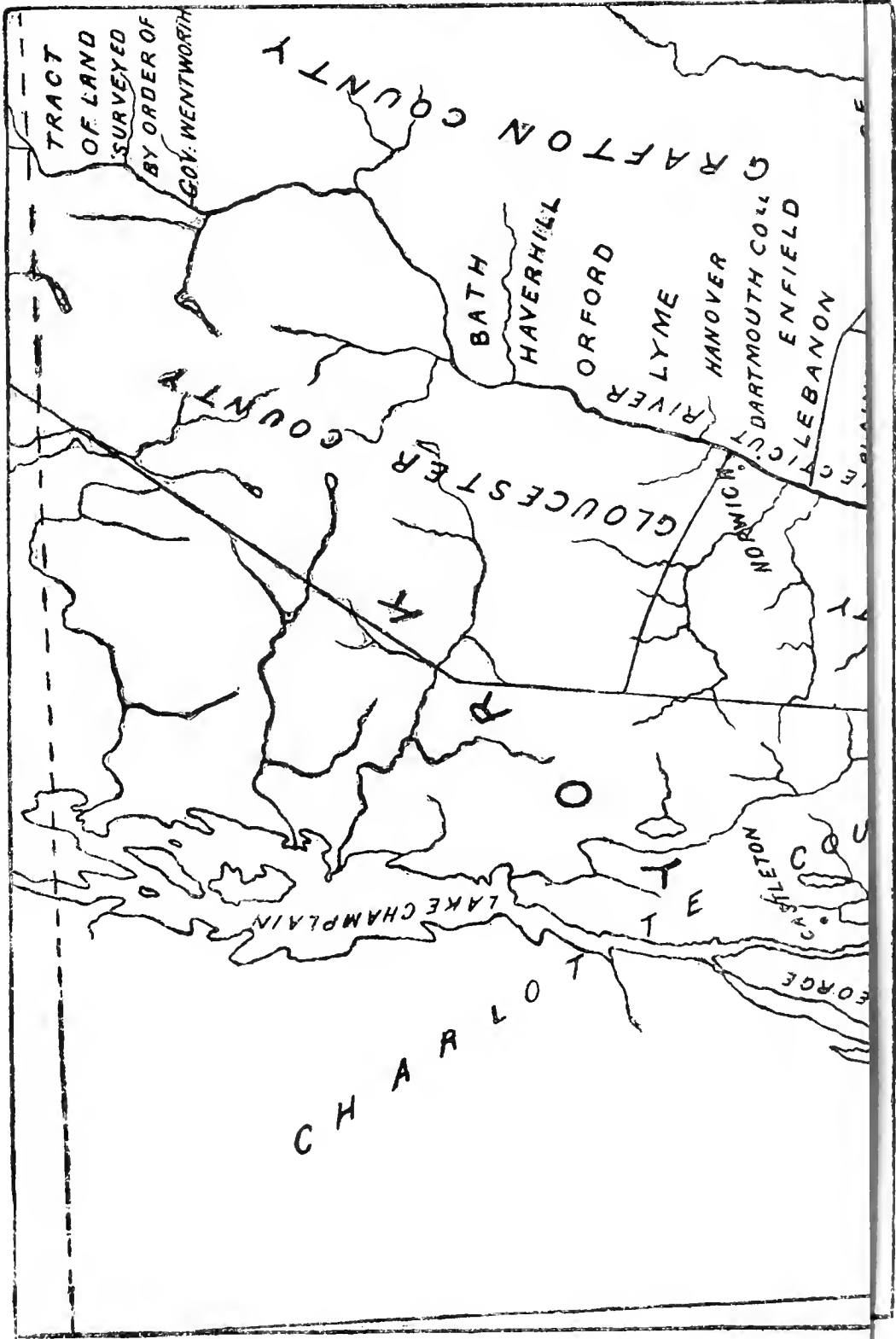
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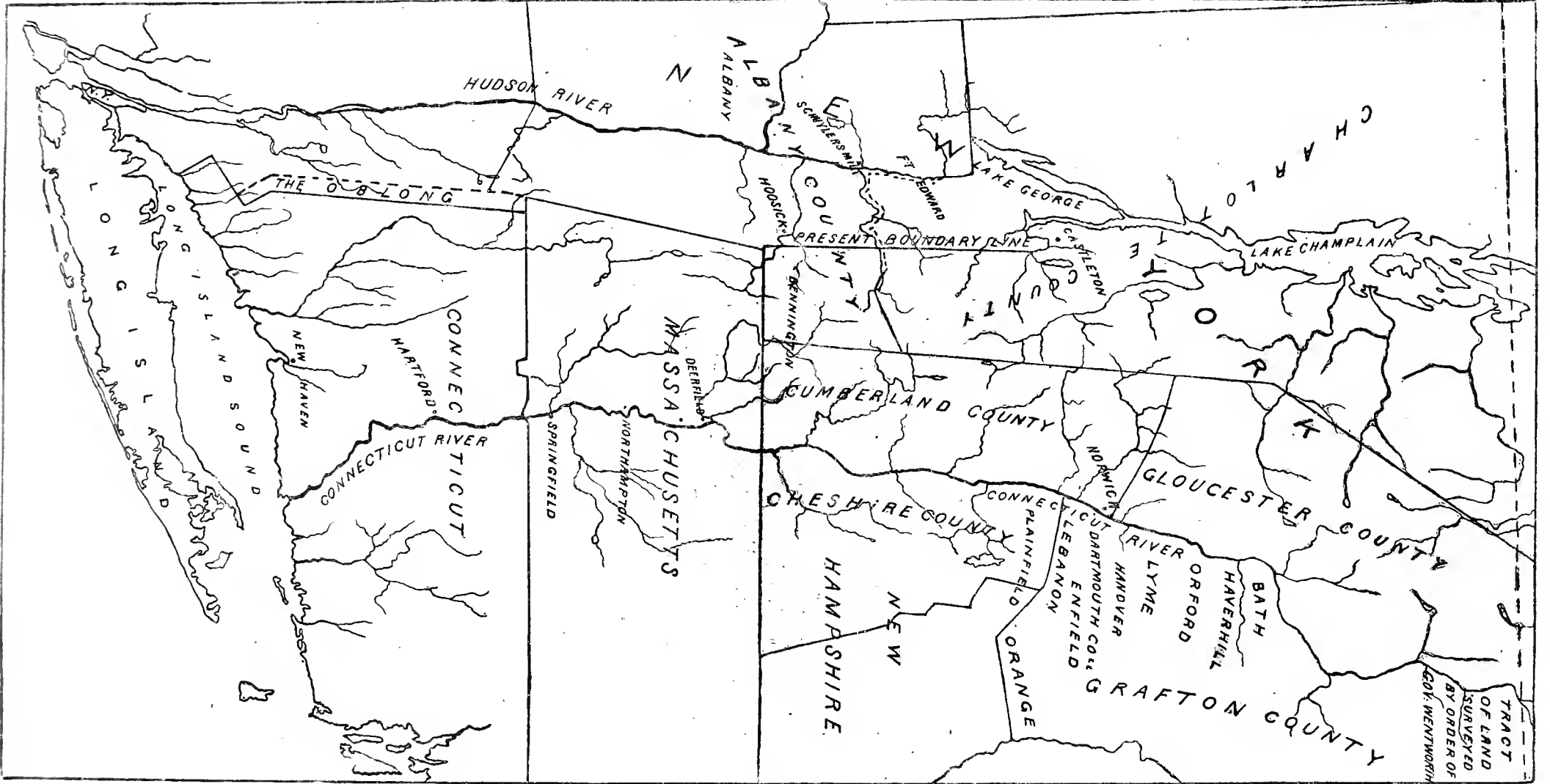
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## THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS

### GERMS OF NULLIFICATION AND SECESSION IN 1776

THE first free assembly of New Hampshire, elected as such, met at Exeter, on December 18, 1776. No one of the colonies had arrived at the era of independence with less of preparation. In none of them had the transition marked by the Declaration of Independence been more abrupt. Unlike the other New England Colonies, New Hampshire had never had a charter, nor anything answering to a framework of constitutional government, such as existed elsewhere in America. The government of the colony had been as nearly absolute in form as the most strained construction of the British Constitution would allow. The royal governors had admitted the people to the smallest possible share in legislation. Nothing but the traditional town system had preserved the spirit of liberty and a practical knowledge of affairs sufficient to inspire the new assembly with courage equal to its task. The barest skeleton of a free state was present to its hand. The last provincial congress of the colony, held after the suspension of the royal authority, and which "took up civil government" on January 5, 1776, had indeed constructed a rude constitution—a sort of stepping-stone from the old to the new. Some such device the situation had imperatively demanded. Although an unequivocal social compact had thus been entered into, with the substantial result of a body politic which had taken the name of the State of New Hampshire, still the chief work of organization remained to be done.

To such a task had the Exeter Assembly come. War without and inexperience within were the conditions under which it was to be performed. Appalling as were these difficulties, a greater perhaps than either presented itself at the very outset. On the first day of the session, instead of representatives, there came from a large number of towns in the northern and eastern part of the State, angry protests against the legitimacy of the new government, coupled with explicit refusals to be represented in it or con-



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sidered a part of it. The disaffected towns, nearly fifty in number, suddenly asserted the right to decide, each for itself, what should be deemed an infraction of the compact of January 5th, and to pass definitively upon the extent of the obligation which it imposed upon them. Rather it might be said they recognized no obligation to abide by it longer than expediency might dictate. In other words, those towns viewed the new government which they had helped to create as one whose acts they might nullify at will, and the infant State as a mere confederation of towns, from which each was at liberty to secede at its pleasure.

This remarkable episode has attracted but little attention from historians, but it is nevertheless worthy of careful study as containing the germs of doctrines which, half a century later, in their application to the Union of the States, came to be the absorbing topics of political discussion, and to which a gigantic civil war has scarcely yet given their full quietus. It was not a mere freak of men suddenly freed from undue restraint, but the product of intelligible causes not difficult to discover in the history of the settlement of the Upper Connecticut Valley. A brief sketch of that history is essential to a full understanding of it, and at the same time will serve to furnish, perhaps, some sort of palliation of what seems at first sight an inexcusable political crime.

The original Province of New Hampshire, as granted by the Council of Plymouth to John Mason in 1629, was of very limited extent compared with the dimensions which it had acquired at the period of the Revolution. Bounded on its present seacoast line, it extended thence west on Massachusetts sixty miles, north on Maine sixty miles, and had for its remaining boundary a straight line drawn between those western and northern extremities. This territory is known in history as the Mason Grant, to distinguish it from the enlarged New Hampshire which came later, and its north-western boundary as the Mason Line.

The settlers on the Mason Grant, after being a long time under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, at length petitioned the Crown for a separate government; and in 1679 a president and council were appointed by royal commission to govern the province in a manner which was, theoretically at least, purely arbitrary and unrestrained; a form of government which continued without substantial change till the revolt of the colonies.

By the literal terms of the original grant of Massachusetts, that province had embraced a large part of the territory west of the Merrimac River, which is now included in New Hampshire and Vermont. The present north line of Massachusetts being established in 1741, pursuant to an order of the king in council, it followed that all the territory at present belonging to

New Hampshire and Vermont, not included in the Mason Grant, remained ungranted and outside the jurisdiction of any of the colonial governments, unless New York might rightfully claim eastward to the Connecticut River, which was a matter in dispute; that is to say, it remained under the immediate jurisdiction of the Crown.

In this state of affairs Benning Wentworth was appointed Governor of the Province of New Hampshire, on July 3, 1741. The royal commission issued to him described the province as "bounded on the south side by a curve-line pursuing the course of the Merrimac River, at three miles' distance on the north side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due north of Pautucket Falls, and by a straight line drawn from thence due west across said river, *till it meets with our other governments*; and bounded on the east side by a line passing up through the mouth of Piscataqua Harbor, and up the middle of the river to the river of Newichannock, part of which is now called Salmon Falls, and through the middle of the same to the farthest head thereof, and from thence north two degrees westerly until one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the mouth of Piscataqua Harbor aforesaid, or *until it meets with our other governments*;" a description, it will be observed, which embraced not only the Mason Grant, but all the adjacent ungranted territory westward to New York and northward to the Province of Quebec; whereas all previous commissions for the government of the provinces had limited it within the Mason Line of 1629.

Wentworth's commission authorized and commanded him to grant townships in this new territory, in the king's name, and to incorporate the grantees into bodies politic, with powers and privileges equal to those enjoyed by the Massachusetts and Connecticut towns, from whence it was contemplated immigrants were to be drawn. Whether or not the acceptance of these town charters would operate to unite the recipients of them into one body politic with the people on the Mason Grant, was a question not thought of at the time, but about which there arose a fierce discussion with the advent of independence.

Practically the whole region between the Mason Line and Lake Champlain was at this time an unbroken wilderness, unvisited by the white man and only roamed over by the weak St. Francis tribe of Indians. Nor was much progress made toward its settlement during the first years of Wentworth's administration. He confirmed a few grants which had been made by Massachusetts in the southernmost part, before the line of 1741 was established, and in 1749 granted the town of Bennington, bounding it westerly on the continuation of the west line of Massachusetts, thus serving notice

upon the New York Governor that he interpreted his commission as giving him jurisdiction to that line. Governor Clinton promptly interposed a counter-claim to jurisdiction eastward to the Connecticut River; a claim grounded upon the express terms of the New York Grant, but which had nevertheless been overcome by Massachusetts and Connecticut, whose grants, like Wentworth's jurisdiction, had been limited by no definite western boundary. It may be noted here that the two latter colonies had succeeded in advancing their western boundaries to the present line twenty miles east of the Hudson by dint of prescriptive rights acquired by prior occupancy of the territory—a right in which the New Hampshire Governor was entirely deficient.

While the rival governors were preparing to contest their claims, the outbreak of the Franco-Canadian war in 1754 caused a total suspension of emigration to the territory, its exposed position near the theatre of hostilities counterbalancing all the advantages which it offered to settlers. But the advent of peace and British ascendancy in Canada, in 1759, set the tide which speedily filled the Connecticut Valley and the shores of Lake Champlain with a God-fearing and liberty-loving population. The young men of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who traversed the wilds on numerous military expeditions during the war, brought back glowing accounts of the swarms of fur-bearing animals that roamed the forests, of the salmon and trout with which the rivers and lakes abounded, and above all, of the mammoth growths of white pine that crowded its valleys and bore testimony to a soil of surpassing fertility. These quickly returned, bringing with them their neighbors and friends, to reap the benefits of the liberal grants offered by the Crown through the New Hampshire Governor. During the four years from 1760 to 1764, Wentworth granted not less than one hundred and fifty townships west of the Connecticut, and fifty or more on the east side. New York made no grants in the territory, but continued to assert a claim eastward to the river, and constantly warned off the settlers under Wentworth's grants. Proclamations and counter-proclamations were issued, and representations made to the Home Government, by the governors of the two provinces, resulting finally in an order of the king in council, dated July 20, 1764, definitely establishing the west bank of the Connecticut as the boundary between the two. Wentworth, however, and his successor, continued to make grants east of the river as long as the royal authority was recognized in New Hampshire.

The grantees of these townships were for the most part from Connecticut, though a considerable number were from Massachusetts and a few from Rhode Island. As a rule, also, the first settlers came from the same locality

as the grantees ; so that for many years the Connecticut element in the population greatly predominated. Under their charters, whose vagueness allowed exceeding liberality of construction, the settlers speedily developed a system of town government surpassing, if possible, in its spirit of independence and unbridled democracy, that of Massachusetts and Connecticut, on which it was modeled. Their remoteness from the seat of the provincial government at Portsmouth, the sparseness of the population, and the consequent danger from Indians, naturally led to this result among a people already by previous training deeply imbued with ideas of local self-government. The strength of religious sentiment among them, and the almost universal prevalence of Congregationalism as a form of belief and of church polity, greatly intensified this spirit and lent a powerful impulse to all its manifestations. There was scarcely a function of civil government which these fierce little republics did not essay during the first years of their existence. So manifest was this spirit in the very beginning of the settlements, that the New York Governor used it to enforce his argument against Wentworth's claim to jurisdiction west of the Connecticut, representing to the Lords of Trade and Plantations that "the New England Governments are formed on republican principles, and those principles are zealously inculcated on their youth, in opposition to the principles of the Constitution of Great Britain. The Government of New York, on the contrary, is established as nearly as may be after the model of the English Constitution. Can it then be good policy to diminish the extent of jurisdiction in His Majesty's Province of New York, to extend the power and influence of the other?"

The royal decree of 1764, transferring the territory west of the river to the jurisdiction of New York, was not only without the consent of the settlers, but was manifestly against their will. The New York Government, being then the embodiment of the centralized system as opposed to the New England town system, would at best have found it difficult to maintain more than a nominal authority over the Grants, which was the collective name given to the Wentworth towns outside the Mason Line. But when it was claimed that this arbitrary act of the Crown was retroactive and operated to invalidate the land titles of the settlers, all thought of acquiescence fled from their minds, and at once gave place to a spirit of uncompromising resistance. Especially was this the case on the west side of the Green Mountains, where, from their proximity to New York, they were most frequently evicted from their lands by adverse claimants from the latter province. East of the mountains, and more particularly in the Cohos country, as the Upper Connecticut Valley was then called, the power of New York was so little felt that the transfer occasioned no more

active hostility than arose from sympathy and a general spirit of resistance to oppression even in the abstract, which was everywhere rife at the time.

The people on the two sides of the mountains, however, were never so closely united in sentiment as might have been expected from their common origin and similarity of circumstances. Not only was the Green Mountain range itself at that time a formidable barrier to intercourse between the two sections, but there were active causes of alienation even more potent and lasting than this passive agent. As has already been stated, the settlers on the Grants, with the exception of a small number from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, had come from Connecticut. The unity of religious and political sentiment among them has also been remarked; and it is true, in a general sense, that there was substantial accord in their views. At the same time, there were differences sufficient, in conjunction with the physical cause above named, to originate two distinct political parties and lead to two different schemes of statute-making among them at the period of the Revolution; incidentally, also, favoring the growth of the doctrines which are the subject of this paper.

All the settlers had brought with them a passionate attachment to the town system, and the belief that the popular branch of the Legislature ought to be absolutely supreme in a constitutional government. Those from Massachusetts, fresh from the long conflict between the Assembly and the Executive in that province, had also imbibed the belief that a state of perfect security and happiness would result from the privilege of electing the executive as well as the legislative branch of the Government. This latter belief was fully shared by the great body of those who had come from Connecticut, since there the people had long enjoyed the privilege of electing annually all the officers of Government; under which system, and the peculiar blending of Church and State which obtained in that colony, a very great degree of liberty had been enjoyed, especially as the great majority of the people were of one religious faith and practice.

There had been, however, in Connecticut, a small minority, composed of lesser religious sects and denominations, who were treated as dissenters from the established faith, and who complained, with much reason apparently, that they were unduly persecuted by the prevailing sect. These dissenters, known generally by the name of Separatists, conceived that their wrongs, which were of course visited upon them by the executive branch of the Government, were in a great measure due to some inherent principle of tyranny common to all forms of central authority, however constituted. They consequently looked with disfavor upon an independent executive *per se*. Having struggled persistently, but vainly, for toleration



in Connecticut, these radicals, when the emigration to the Grants commenced, went in great numbers to the region west of the Green Mountains, that being the most remote from the seat of the Government under which they were expecting to live. Here they procured numerous town charters, and established themselves in a permanent ascendancy wherever they cast their lot. One entire society of them, minister and all, settled in Bennington, and was soon joined by another of the same sect from Massachusetts. Prominent among them were the Allens, the Fays, and Warners, who headed the successful resistance to New York, and finally achieved the independence of Vermont. Most of the settlers who came from that colony of heretics, Rhode Island, also located in the vicinity of Bennington, and added an element of even fiercer democracy. Their experience of the oppressive measures of New York intensified the peculiar political sentiments of these people to the last pitch that precedes anarchy. Great strength of intellect and a remarkable boldness of expression characterized the leaders, resulting in the rapid spread of their peculiar tenets, and making Bennington at once the centre of political influence west of the Mountains. At a later date, also, the southernmost towns on the east side came to look to Bennington for guidance.

On the other hand, the emigrants to the Cohos country were almost wholly of the prevailing sect in Connecticut and of their religious brethren in Massachusetts. Here also events had led to a concentration of influence scarcely less potent than that which had its seat at Bennington. Among the earliest settlers in the valley had come a number of men of large wealth and culture, many of them graduates of Yale or Harvard College, who were eminently fitted to mold the institutions of a State, as well as guide its destinies when formed. To the influence of these men was due the location at Hanover, in 1769, of Dartmouth College, then just chartered by the Crown, with the privilege of choosing its own habitation. Thus, with President Eleazer Wheelock, there were drawn to Hanover and its immediate vicinity his son and successor, Colonel John Wheelock; his brother-in-law, Bezaleel Woodward, first Professor of Mathematics in the college; and a numerous company of other educated and influential men, whose zeal and capacity for public affairs added greatly to the prominence which these river towns had already attained. The college became naturally the centre of political influence in the valley. It acquired further ascendancy in this direction from being given a *quasi* jurisdiction over a three-mile square district in the midst of which it was located, and which was set off from Hanover and given the name of Dresden. The river was no more than nominally a dividing line between separate provinces. The Govern-

ment of New York was too remote to make itself much felt in the towns on the west side, while that of New Hampshire was scarcely more than a name to those on the east side. It issued a few commissions to justices of the peace and to militia officers, and exacted a trifling tax in return. But it provided no local courts, and little defence against the Indians. Representation in the Provincial Assembly being entirely at the pleasure of the royal governor, none of the towns outside the Mason Grant, on account of their republican proclivities probably, had, with one or two exceptions, ever been summoned to send delegates; and they, in turn, paid little heed to legislative enactments in which they had no voice. For the purpose of more effectually resisting the attacks of the savages, loose confederacies of the towns on both sides of the river were frequently formed—connections which were dissolved and renewed at will, according as the circumstances of the hour seemed to dictate. Familiarity with such shifting relations, and practical freedom from all exterior restraint, gradually bred in the towns on the Upper Connecticut an exaggerated notion of the extent of their prerogative; while their non-participation in the larger affairs of government further narrowed their views and prepared them for the extraordinary part which they were destined to play throughout the tentative period in which the colonies wrought out the problem of free government.

Such was the situation of affairs when the revolt of the colonies set on foot two diverse schemes of state-making in the old province of New Hampshire: one emanating from the revolutionary provincial congress at Exeter, and embracing only the territory of the later province east of the Connecticut; the other taking its rise at Bennington and comprehending the grants between the river and Lake Champlain. Between these two a third scheme, nebulous and indeterminate as yet, was faintly broached at the college, but attracted no attention either at Exeter or Bennington. This latter scheme aimed at a confederation of all the grants on both sides of the river into a State, with its seat of government at or near the college.

Governor John Wentworth, the last of the royal line in New Hampshire, had maintained himself in nominal authority till September, 1775, when he abdicated and sailed away in a British frigate. Upon his departure, the evil consequences entailed upon the people by a hundred years of paternal government at once became apparent. Not only was the province left without any civil constitution—whereas the other New England colonies, under their charter organizations, passed without shock into a state of independence, Connecticut's royal charter of 1662 even continuing by express provision as her organic law till 1818—but the habit of dependence

had grown so strong upon the people in the eastern counties, where the great majority of the colony resided, that they helplessly turned their eyes to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia as to a new ruler, and prayed for instructions how to proceed in the exigency that was upon them. That body, on November 3, 1775, recommended the calling of "a full and free representation of the people, and that the representatives, if they think it necessary, establish such a frame of government as, in their judgment, will best produce the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province during the continuance of the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies."

This was the very advice which had been sought ; and in anticipation of its receipt the irregular congress in session at Exeter issued precepts for the election of a full representative congress, the members "to be empowered by their constituents to prosecute such measures as they may deem necessary for the public good ; and in case there should be a recommendation from the Continental Congress for this colony to assume government in any way that will require a House of Representatives, that then said Congress for this colony be empowered to resolve itself into such a house as may be recommended, and remain such for the term of one year."

An accurate census of the province having been taken that year, the strictly equitable plan of a numerical basis of representation was practicable, and was the one adopted, with such approximation as a regard for town lines would admit of. This necessarily involved a plurality of representatives from some of the larger towns, and a grouping together of the smaller ones, with a single representative for the group, but without representation distinctively as towns. This just apportionment seems to have encountered no adverse criticism, save possibly at the college, and the people everywhere, except at Hanover and the five towns grouped with it, assembled and chose their representatives to the congress, which met at Exeter on December 21st.

On January 5, 1776, this body assumed the government of the colony, adopted the temporary constitution before adverted to, and resolved itself into a legislature. It is to be observed that this was six months before the Declaration of Independence. Consequently, after reciting in the preamble the oppressive measures of Great Britain, the breaking up of the royal government of the province, the recommendation of the Philadelphia Congress, and the powers delegated by the people to their representatives, the instrument expressed the hope "that such a reconciliation between us and our parent State can be effected as shall be approved by the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide.'

The entire body of the constitution proper was comprised in the following articles :

“Accordingly, pursuant to the trust reposed in us, WE DO RESOLVE, That this congress assume the name, power, and authority of a HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES or ASSEMBLY for the *Colony of New Hampshire*. And that said HOUSE then proceed to choose twelve persons, being reputable freeholders and inhabitants within this colony, in the following manner, viz. : five in the county of Rockingham, two in the county of Strafford, two in the county of Hillsborough, two in the county of Cheshire, and one in the county of Grafton, to be a distinct and separate branch of the legislature, by the name of a COUNCIL for this colony, to continue as such until the third Wednesday in December next, any seven of whom to be a quorum to do business. That such council appoint their president, and in his absence that the senior councillor preside ; that a secretary be appointed by both branches, who may be a councillor, or otherwise, as they shall choose.

“That no act or resolve shall be valid and put into execution unless agreed to and passed by both branches of the legislature.

“That all public officers for the said colony and each county, for the current year, be appointed by the council and assembly, except the several clerks of the executive courts, who shall be appointed by the justices of the respective courts.

“That all bills, resolves, or votes for raising, levying, and collecting money, originate in the House of Representatives.

“That at any session of the Council and Assembly, neither branch shall adjourn for any longer time than from Saturday till the next Monday, without the consent of the other.

*And it is further resolved,* That if the present unhappy dispute with Great Britain should continue longer than this present year, and the Continental Congress give no instruction or direction to the contrary, the Council be chosen by the people of each respective county in such manner as the Council and House of Representatives shall order.

“That general and field officers of the militia, on any vacancy, be appointed by the two houses, and all inferior officers be chosen by the respective companies.

“That all officers of the army be appointed by the two houses, except they should direct otherwise, in case of any emergency.

“That all civil officers for the colony and for each county be appointed, and the time of their continuance in office be determined by the two houses, except clerks of courts, county treasurers, and recorders of deeds.

“That a treasurer and recorder of deeds for each county be annually chosen by the people of each county respectively ; the votes for such officers to be returned to the respective Courts of General Sessions of the Peace in the county, there to be ascertained as the Council and Assembly shall hereafter direct.

“That precepts in the name of the Council and Assembly, signed by the President of the Council and Speaker of the House of Representatives, shall issue annually, at or before the first day of November, for the choice of a Council and House of Representatives, to be returned by the third Wednesday in December then next ensuing, in such manner as the Council and Assembly shall hereafter prescribe.”

Few as are the requisites contained in this instrument which are now deemed essential to the orderly guidance of a republican State, its authors and friends thought it fully adequate to the pressing needs of the situation. Its two most conspicuous features, the entire absence of any provision for an independent executive, and the virtual union of all the functions of

government in the Legislature, without check or limitation—the very antipodes of the old regime—were but the national rebound from the extreme of absolutism which had prevailed in the province for a century, and may justly be set down as part and parcel of that evil. Strangely enough, even its enemies, who presently sprang up in abundance, did not count these as defects, but reserved their attacks for the least vulnerable of all its provisions, judged by our present ideas of what a constitution should be.

The Exeter Congress, which thus “took up civil government for the colony,” to use its own language, proceeded thence in its assumed character of Council and Assembly to levy taxes, to establish courts, and otherwise to regulate the internal police of the colony. Before the expiration of the year which was the limit of its continuance, it caused precepts to issue for the choice of the first Council and Assembly, elected as such, under the new frame of government. In pursuance of the constitution also, it enacted that the new legislature should be chosen under an apportionment substantially the same as that under which it had itself been chosen. This adherence to the numerical basis of representation was not carried without opposition; but there was apparently no apprehension at the time that opposition could ripen into the open revolution which presently revealed itself.

The rapid and substantial progress of the Exeter scheme of state-making had effectually forestalled the college scheme. Except in the immediate vicinity of the college, the grants east of the Connecticut had, without question, followed the lead of the Exeter party in what seemed the most natural and obvious course to be pursued. The division of the grants at the line of the river by the arbitrary decree of 1764 was now confirmed by the voluntary act of the grants themselves, so far as the separate actions of those on the east side could confirm it.

Meanwhile, under the lead of Bennington, the grants west of the river had revolted from New York, and were struggling against the power of that State even more strenuously, if possible, than they were against the common oppressor, Great Britain. More than a year before the Declaration of Independence they had declared, in convention at Westminster, that it was their duty, “predicated on the eternal and immutable law of self-preservation, to wholly renounce and resist the administration of the Government of New York.” Immediately upon the formal revolt of the colonies, the Bennington party inaugurated their plan of a separate State between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut; notwithstanding measures were already well advanced in New York for the formation of a new government,

whose jurisdiction should be co-extensive with that of the colonial government just supplanted, *i.e.*, eastward to the river. The antipathy to New York aroused in the breasts of the Green Mountain Boys, by the oppressive measures in regard to their land-title, had survived the collapse of the royal authority in all its intensity and uncompromising zeal. However, the movement for a separation under the Bennington lead at first secured but slight following east of the Green Mountains; almost its entire apparent strength was on the west side. The people in the entire region between the mountains and the river, which was at this time divided into the two counties of Gloucester on the north and Cumberland on the south, seem to have been permeated with the college influence to a much greater extent than were their neighbors in Grafton and Cheshire, the two corresponding New Hampshire counties on the opposite bank of the Connecticut. Consequently they held aloof almost wholly from the Bennington movement, and sent no delegates to the numerous conventions which marked its progress, until January, 1777; at which time their delegates appeared in full force at Westminster, and joined heartily with the Bennington party in the Declaration there put forth, that the grants *west of the river* "be a new and separate State."

This sudden change of policy was the direct result, as will presently appear, of that revolt of the Grafton and Cheshire towns which had revealed itself to the astonished assembly at Exeter on the 19th of December; or rather it was part and parcel of that movement, and, with it, traceable directly to the college and the scheme of State-making already adverted to as having its nucleus there. The summary eclipse of the College party's plans by the successful inauguration of the Exeter Government, although it had greatly disconcerted, yet had not wholly cast down the leaders of that party. Immediate steps were taken to recover their lost influence, and energetic measures adopted to obliterate, if possible, the line of the river as a boundary between separate jurisdictions. The immediate obstacle was, of course, the Exeter Government; and to its demolition, at least so far as the grants had become a part of it, they first addressed themselves. To this end they called a convention to meet in the college hall, at Dresden, on July 31, 1776.

To this convention ten Grafton County towns (Lebanon, Hanover, Lyme, Orford, Haverhill, Enfield, Canaan, Cardigan (now Orange), Bath, and Landaff), and one Cheshire County town (Plainfield), sent their committees of safety. No record of its sittings is known to have been preserved; but there has come down to us a printed address, which it issued in pamphlet and circulated among the people of New Hampshire, and

which evinces the remarkable skill and boldness with which it set about its work. The opening passage of this address reveals at once the spirit and the scope of the undertaking to which its authors had committed themselves: "The important crisis is now commenced wherein the Providence of God, the Grand Continental Congress, and our necessitous circumstances, call upon us to assume our national right of laying a foundation of civil government within and for this colony." This startling proposition, ignoring as it did all that had already been done at Exeter, required no common mastery of political science and dialectic skill for its support; but such aids were not lacking. After laying down the broad truth that "freedom is possible to every people who have the spirit to seize upon it," the address goes on to point out that the colonists had lost their liberties under the British Constitution by their criminal neglect to assert their right to representation in Parliament before their fetters were forged and riveted upon them; affirming that "whenever a people give up their right of representation, they consequently give up all their rights and privileges;" exhorting to vigilance, promptness, and devotion, lest the fullest blessings of a free government should be forever lost; and reaching, at last, the climax of artful appeal in language like this: "Let us not give occasion to our neighbors or posterity to reproach us by saying that we made a glorious stand against the strides of arbitrary power and oppression, and with our blood and treasure gained the happy conquest, but, in the first advance we made toward establishing a constitution for ourselves, we either inadvertently or carelessly gave up our most essential rights and liberties; or rather, that we did nothing to preserve them."

The pertinency and force of such an exhortation will be more apparent when we remember how ardently the settlers on the Wentworth Grants were attached to their town system, and then turn to Exeter and note the prevailing influences which, under the new constitution, were at work from that centre.

The Provincial Government had been absolute. No charter had ever been granted to the colony. The power of its assembly had from the first been circumscribed by the will of the royal governor, and its office had been scarcely more than to register his decrees. Only such towns as he chose to confer the privilege upon had ever been allowed representation in it. In the beginning, in 1680, only four towns were represented, and the precepts sent to them expressly named the electors who were to choose the representatives. Down to the end, in 1775, the list of favored towns had grown to only forty-three, while upward of one hundred had never had a voice in legislation at all. Only three in all the region to the west and north

of the water-shed between the Merrimac and the Connecticut had ever had representatives admitted to seats. One effect of this policy had been that, toward the last, the Assembly had become even more exclusive than the Governor, and had refused to admit representatives from towns to which he had sent his precepts. Through this aggressive spirit of the Assembly, and the mild disposition of Governor Wentworth, the government of the province had, at the period of the Revolution, assumed many of the features of an oligarchy. Its controlling spirits were the aristocratic merchants of the seaboard county of Rockingham, which, down to 1770, contained more than half the population of the province. These merchants and their connections had sat so constantly in the Provincial Assembly, and had thereby become so familiar with public affairs, that they easily passed to the same commanding position in the new government which they had held in the old. No stronger proof of their superior political skill is needed than the adroit manner in which they committed the people of the northern and western towns to a system of representation, under the new constitution, which was entirely at variance with their predilections, and which consigned them to a hopeless minority in the legislative body. They had taken the initiatory steps in the formation of the new government, and had seen to it that the congress which framed the constitution was chosen upon the numerical basis of representation, and was empowered to resolve itself into a legislature after completing the frame of government. Following up the advantage thus gained, they had been able to secure the unsuspecting assent of all the members of the congress to a constitution which did not itself prescribe a plan of representation, but left that all-important matter to be determined by each legislature for its successor. It thus happened that the numerical basis had become entailed upon all future assemblies, until the constitution could be changed, for it could not be expected that the populous towns in the southeast, having once secured their just advantage, would ever yield to the demand of the small towns in the north and west for equal representation with them.

The Grafton and Cheshire County towns saw in this situation, and in the property qualification required of representatives, their own hopeless subjection to the oligarchical party in Rockingham County. It was the firm belief of the Connecticut Valley democracy that the right of representation inhered in the very nature of a town. They felt chagrined that their lack of vigilance had lost them this right, and incensed at the astute politicians of the old *régime* who had thus overreached them. But it was not altogether self-interest which induced their belief in the right of town representation. They had brought it with them from Connecticut and Massachusetts. The



charters of those colonies recognized such a right; and what were those charters, it was triumphantly asked, but voluntary grants of liberties such as New Hampshire had now seized upon in even larger degree?

Still, at the time of the College Hall Convention, "a foundation of civil government within and for the colony" had certainly been laid, and all the people had participated freely in the work. The new government was in the full exercise of all its functions, and there could apparently be no just ground for denying its legitimacy or resisting its authority. The authors of the Address appreciated the difficulties which lay in their way, and proceeded by adroit and forcible argument to overcome them. To the objection that the people had already established a government, they answered that the assembly which then existed, and which had framed that government, "had been elected before the Declaration of Independence, and was expected to act only in the exigencies of the colony, under their distressed and difficult circumstances, as the case might require; and no one thought at the time that they were appointed to institute a plan of civil government, especially independent of, and in contradistinction to, Great Britain; therefore they were not elected for that purpose, and have not the power that an assembly ought now to have." The known dissatisfaction with the Exeter plan of representation was next adverted to, and arguments of great length and ingenuity advanced to aggravate the discontent. The inalienable right of every town to be represented as such in the legislative body was reiterated with the greatest stress, and in every possible form of expression. The opponents of this doctrine were stigmatized as Tories of the rankest kind, and the plan which had been adopted as worse than no representation at all. At last the point was reached of declaring, "if this principle must take place, we had better lay down our arms, and spend no more precious blood and treasure in the contest with Great Britain, for it is only destroying with one hand, and setting up the same thing, or that which is worse, with the other. They who will tamely submit to such a government as this deserve not a habitation among a free people." The right to resist the Exeter Government, and to withdraw from it, was sought to be made plain by enunciating the doctrine that no town could be effectually deprived of representation without its own express consent; that no majority, however large, of a legislature, or even of a constitutional convention, could take away the right, nor could any implied or indirect surrender amount to a forfeiture of it. Then followed the frank avowal that no town, deprived of its representation in the Legislature other than by its direct and voluntary surrender, was bound by anything that legislation might do. The Grafton and Cheshire towns, none of which had been separately represented, were

declared to be thus absolved from all allegiance to the Exeter Government, and resistance to it to be of a piece with resistance to Great Britain. Thus the towns in whose name the Address was issued were made to say: "As for ourselves, we are determined not to spend our blood and treasure in defending against the chains and fetters that are forged for us abroad, in order to purchase some of a like kind of our own manufacturing, but mean to hold them both alike detestable." Other towns concurring in the sentiments of the Address were requested to communicate with Bezaleel Woodward, "Clerk of the United Committees," from which it would appear that some sort of permanent organization was effected, as well as from the fact that the convention adjourned to meet again in the college hall in October following.

The wide circulation of this pamphlet had the effect to deter the whole of Grafton County, and a considerable part of Cheshire, from sending representatives to the new assembly summoned to meet at Exeter on December 19th. The precepts for the election, which were sent out in September, were generally returned by the disaffected towns with their action thereon—the reasons assigned for non-compliance being substantially the objections to the plan of government set forth in the College Hall Address; some of them urging, in addition, that the recommendation of the Continental Congress for "a full and free representation of the people" had not been followed, and that the proceedings at Exeter were therefore void. The language employed by the towns in these returns was less scholarly and philosophical than that of the Address, but far more vigorous and picturesque; the town of Chesterfield, for instance, declaring: "It is our opinion that the State of New Hampshire, instead of forming an equitable plan of government conducing to the peace and safety of the State, have been influenced by the iniquitous intrigues and secret designations [designs] of persons unfriendly, to settle down upon the dregs of monarchical and aristocratical tyranny, in imitation of their late British oppressor." Conciliatory measures of every nature short of acceding to the demand for a new constitutional convention were at once resorted to by the Exeter Government, in the hope of winning back the revolted towns; but all efforts failed. Besides refusing to be represented, they withheld their quota of tax, and in every possible way emphasized their withdrawal from the compact of January 5th.

An important modification of the original plan of the college party seems to have followed this disruption. Instead of inaugurating a movement antagonistic to that which the Bennington party was conducting, it was arranged that the Gloucester and Cumberland County towns should ne

longer hold aloof from that movement, but should unite to carry it forward, establish the State of Vermont, and then annex to it all the grants east of the river. Such an expansion would, of course, place the college party in ascendancy by sheer weight of numbers, and having thus a State under their control, their pet ambition would be realized as fully as if their first scheme had not been interfered with. Accordingly, in January, 1777, as has already been noted, the towns between the Connecticut and the Green Mountains went into convention at Westminster with those west of the Mountains, and the most formidable obstacle to the success of the Bennington project was for the time being removed. Their independence of New York was formally declared, and the fact notified to the Continental Congress, along with a petition for recognition and for representation in that body on an equality with the other States. The prompt interposition of the New York delegates, however, induced a halting policy on the part of Congress, which eventually emboldened the Bennington leaders wholly to deny its authority in the premises.

The Westminster Convention, having met by adjournment at Windsor on June 4, 1777, appointed a committee to draft a constitution, and called another convention to meet at the same place on July 2d following, to act upon the committee's report. The news of Burgoyne's advance and capture of Ticonderoga interrupted this latter convention in the midst of its labors, so that the constitution was hastily adopted in substantially the form reported by the committee—the Convention adjourning to December with the understanding that its work was to be perfected at that time, and the members hurrying to their homes to concert measures for the public defence. The constitution having been revised in December, the first election of officers under it was held on March 4, 1778, and the State Government fully organized on the 12th of the same month, at Windsor.

The Exeter Government, after striving for more than a year to arrest the defection in Grafton and Cheshire counties, at last took measures for calling a new constitutional convention, as the only means which held out any hope of success. This concession tended greatly to weaken the hold of the college leaders upon the people. In the hope of strengthening themselves, they resorted again to the printing-press, and issued, early in January, 1778, another pamphlet letter, signed "Republican," containing an elaborate argument in support of the *right* of the grants on both sides of the river to unite under one government, as well as the *expediency* of their doing so. This argument, manifestly from the same pen as the College Hall Address, was so skilfully framed as to apply with equal force to a union of the Grafton and Cheshire towns with Vermont, or to a new con-

federation, which might either dismember Vermont, or perhaps merge it entirely. It emphasized the denial of the claims now put forth by the New York and New Hampshire Governments to rule over the grants as successors to the royal governments which they had supplanted; and maintained that the Exeter Government had virtually conceded its own illegitimacy by yielding to the demand for a beginning *de novo* of the work of constitution-making. But it is chiefly as an exposition of the views of the college party as to the political status of the Wentworth Grants that this pamphlet is remarkable. According to these views, the Declaration of Independence absolved the people of the grants from all political ties, and reduced them to "a state of nature" as to government; except that, by virtue of their town charters, they continued to be united into towns, each of which was a little republic by itself, independent of all the others—independent of Great Britain and of the United Colonies, and equally independent of New York and of New Hampshire, *i.e.*, old New Hampshire, or the Mason Grant. These diminutive States were entirely free to maintain their separate existence, to confederate together, or to ally themselves with other bodies politic at their pleasure. No abridgment of this delightful state of independence was recognized as having taken place, although at the date of the pamphlet all of them had, by virtue either of the Exeter or of the Windsor Constitution, voluntarily merged themselves in a larger political body. Some of the suggestions contained in this pamphlet led to immediate practical results of the gravest import.

The body which met at Dresden on July 31, 1776, and issued the famous College Hall Address, had never been dissolved. Under the name of the UNITED COMMITTEES OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE GRANTS, it continued to hold meetings, to circulate pamphlets, and in every way industriously to disseminate the doctrine that a union of all the grants under one government was a matter of prime political necessity. None but the most scanty records of its doings are now known to exist; but it is certain that on January 28, 1778, it met by adjournment at the house of Colonel Israel Morey, in Orford, and, among other things, recommended to the New Hampshire towns to show their devotion to the cause of the colonies by raising their respective proportions of the taxes called for by the Exeter Government and by the Continental Congress for that year, *but to hold the same in their respective treasuries, to be applied by the towns in their sovereign capacity*, in measures for the common defence, free from the control of any external authority whatever; and the recommendation appears to have been generally followed by the disaffected towns. The next meeting of which there is any record was held on February 12th, at the house of

Moses Chase, in Cornish, one month before the meeting of the first legislature of Vermont at Windsor. The eleven towns which formed its original constituency had now been joined by six others. All that is certainly known about this Cornish session of the COMMITTEES is the time and place of meeting, and the fact that the call for it announced that it was "to confer upon matters of importance;" but it is altogether probable that it arranged the details of the scheme which was presented to the Vermont Legislature a month later for uniting with that State all the New Hampshire towns outside the Mason Grant.

On March 12, 1778, the first legislature of Vermont met at Windsor, and the new State Government was formally organized. Promptly on the first day of the session a delegation from the UNITED COMMITTEES, which body was assembled at Cornish, on the opposite bank of the Connecticut, came over to propose that Vermont take into union with her the Grafton and Cheshire towns then represented in the COMMITTEES, and all others east of the river that might be desirous of such a union. The proposition was received with surprise and disfavor by the Bennington party, and was at first rejected by a decisive vote, whereupon the members from the Gloucester County towns threatened to withdraw and unite with the COMMITTEES at Cornish, in opposition to both New Hampshire and Vermont. With a view to gain time and to provide a possible way of escape from so serious a dilemma, the matter was compromised by referring it to the Vermont towns for settlement. Of the forty-seven towns whose vote was returned, thirty-five favored the union, and twelve opposed it. The Bennington party, however, complained that the vote had been taken upon the supposition that New Hampshire was indifferent to the movement, whereas the real attitude of the Exeter Government was one of uncompromising hostility to it, and that the college party had wilfully misrepresented the facts. The Bennington party were at a further disadvantage in their opposition to the union, from the fact that a great number of towns west of the mountains, where most of their strength lay, had been abandoned by their inhabitants at the time of Burgoyne's advance the year before, and were now neither represented in the Legislature nor in a situation to vote upon this question. Besides, it is important to observe it was not the direct vote of the people, but the vote by towns, that was regarded in deciding it.

Accordingly, at the next session of the Legislature, held at Bennington on June 4, 1778, fifteen New Hampshire towns, together with the College District of Dresden, were formally admitted into union with Vermont, and invested with all the powers and privileges accorded to the other towns of that State, provision being made at the same time for the admission of such

other towns east of the river as might desire it upon the same terms. The college also, on petition of the trustees, was taken under the protection of Vermont, and President Wheelock appointed a justice of the peace. During the interval between this and the October session of the Legislature many more towns, principally in Grafton County, accepted the Act of Union, and declared themselves confederated with Vermont. During the same interval, however, the Exeter Government issued precepts for the election of members to its third General Assembly, containing a direction to the people to instruct the Assembly, if they saw fit, through their representatives, to call a new constitutional convention. Many of the disaffected towns, even of those who had voted to join Vermont, were disposed to look with favor upon this concession, and to await further developments before proceeding to any greater length in any direction. It thus happened that only Dresden and nine of the towns which had expressly entered into union with Vermont sent representatives to its Legislature in October, as its constitution and the terms of the union required them to do. But among these representatives were most of the leading spirits of the college party east of the river; and it is probable that, but for the untoward and unlooked-for events which soon followed, they would have succeeded in carrying over to Vermont most of the towns outside the Mason Grant, and then, by sheer weight of numbers, have brought the seat of government to the banks of the Connecticut, and secured to themselves that ascendancy in public affairs to which they felt their abilities entitled them, especially as the people of New Hampshire rejected by an overwhelming majority a new constitution framed and submitted to them a few months later.

The UNITED COMMITTEES met again on June 24, 1778, at Colonel Morey's house in Orford, and recommended to the towns that had joined Vermont to strictly obey all military orders emanating from that State, but at the same time to heed, so far as might be, the wishes of the Continental officers, as well as to co-operate with the New Hampshire militia in all matters pertaining to the common defence. Various other recommendations were passed looking to the proper adjustment of the towns to their new relations, and a letter was despatched to the Exeter Government announcing the secession, and bespeaking a continuance of the amicable relations then subsisting between the two States.

The Exeter authorities now threatened force to coerce the revolted towns, invoked the interference of the Continental Congress, and plied the Vermont Governor with protests and appeals. The Bennington leaders, encouraged by these demonstrations, secretly despatched General Ethan

Allen to Philadelphia on a mission purely tentative, as they claimed, but, as charged by the college party, hostile and corrupt. Allen arrived at Philadelphia on September 19th, and, according to the account which he brought back, his timely presence saved Vermont from summary annihilation. The New York and New Hampshire delegates having made common cause against the new State, the whole power of the Federal Government was about to be launched against it. By active and energetic lobbying among the members—for he does not appear to have had a hearing before Congress—Allen procured a postponement of its threatened interposition; meanwhile entering into a formal compact with the New Hampshire delegates, he stipulating to labor for a dissolution of the union with the New Hampshire towns, and they thereupon to break with New York and assist Vermont in procuring from Congress the recognition of her independence. Hurrying home, Allen, claiming now to have had the official sanction of Governor Chittenden for his mission, made a formal report to the Legislature, which had been convened at Windsor, on October 8, 1778, representing in the most positive manner that Congress was ready to concede the independence of Vermont, provided the claim to jurisdiction east of the Connecticut was not insisted upon; but if that claim were not abandoned at once, New York would be supported in her claim eastward to the river.

The college party, however, were now so far in the ascendant in the Legislature, that they had not only been able to elect for clerk Professor Woodward, of the college, who represented Dresden, but had also carried through a resolve declaring it to be the right of all the grants west of the Mason line to unite under one government, despite New Hampshire or New York, or even the Federal Congress, and proposing to the Exeter Government a plan for establishing the boundary between New Hampshire and the proposed eastern extension of Vermont. But, although this assertion of abstract right was carried in the face of Allen's report on the 20th of October, and although the Bennington party had signally failed in a direct attempt to dissolve the union with the New Hampshire towns, still, when the college party brought forward on the next day the simple practical measure of erecting those towns into a county, or of annexing them to an existing county, the measure was defeated—the sentiment of fear manifestly operating upon the minds of a sufficient number of members to give the Bennington party a temporary majority. The ruinous tendency of the peculiar political teachings of the college party was now given another exemplification.

This adverse vote upon a mere matter of administrative detail was im-

mediately seized upon by the representatives from the valley towns on both sides of the river, and made the pretext for nullifying the solemn Act of Union, whose passage they had procured but a few months before. The eleven New Hampshire members, together with those from ten Vermont towns opposite, at once withdrew from the Assembly, and were speedily joined by three members of the Upper House (then called the Council) and by the Lieutenant-Governor, leaving barely a quorum of the Legislature remaining. After withdrawing, they assembled by themselves on October 22d, when they formulated and laid before the Legislature their solemn protest against its action of the 21st, declaring it to be an entire subversion and destruction of the Windsor Constitution, and a total absolution, not only of the New Hampshire towns, but of all the towns, from the bonds of confederation by which they had been held together as one State. The "Protesting Members," as they chose to style themselves, next passed over the river to Cornish, where they organized themselves into a cohesive body, after the manner of the United Committees of 1776, with Lieutenant-Governor Joseph Marsh as chairman, and Professor Woodward as clerk, and with the definite and avowed purpose of compelling Vermont, if possible, to rehabilitate itself (a singular inconsistency) by rescinding the vote of October 21st; or, failing in that, to revive the original scheme of the college party, and erect an independent State in the Connecticut Valley. To this end they called a convention, to meet at Cornish on December 9, 1778, to which the towns on both sides of the river were invited to send delegates. The constituencies of the PROTESTING MEMBERS fully confirmed their action, and sent delegates to this convention with instructions to pursue the course thus marked out for them.

That the seemingly erratic course of these towns was in reality in strict keeping with a well-defined and widely held political faith seems now sufficiently clear. According to that faith, each of the Wentworth Grants, or towns, having been chartered by the British Crown in the same manner that Massachusetts and Connecticut had been, acquired by the Declaration of Independence all the attributes of sovereignty which could be claimed by those larger States; and, in so far as those towns might enter into the formation of it, any new State must needs be, not a direct union of the people, regardless of their town incorporations, but a confederation of towns, to which primarily the people in each owed allegiance, and through which alone they were related to the State. The idea of a dual allegiance had small place in this political faith. From this extreme doctrine of town sovereignty it was but a step to the concomitant heresies of nullification and secession which followed. Hence, as we have seen, the result of its teaching



was that, whatever engagement a town might enter into, there was practically always reserved the right to recede from it, as pique or self-interest might prompt. The writer reserves for a further narrative an account of the extent to which, in the very midst of the struggle for national independence, these troublesome doctrines became disseminated in New Hampshire and Vermont, and of the dire confusion which resulted therefrom.

JOHN L. RICE



SEAL OF VERMONT

## THE NEW YORK CHARTER

1664 AND 1674

The recent settlement of the boundary line between the States of New York and Connecticut, by an agreement between commissioners appointed by their respective legislatures, recalls to mind the controversies which have existed between those States since the earliest colonization of the country. Prior to the charter granted to the Duke of York in 1664, the Dutch, while in possession of the New Netherlands, claimed eastward to the Connecticut River, and at the same time the Colony of Connecticut claimed westward to the Hudson River, and from thence to the Pacific Ocean. In 1664, while the dispute was pending between those two colonies, the British Government, under claim of prior discovery, took possession of the New Netherlands, and King Charles the II., by virtue of his royal prerogative, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the territory now comprised within the limits of the State of New York. Although its eastern boundary was defined in the charter to be "the Connecticut River," yet the Colony of Connecticut stoutly resisted the claim, on the ground of prior title and occupancy, and the controversy lasted, without intermission, for more than two centuries.

Now that the last of the disputed boundaries has finally been settled, it may be interesting, in this connection, to trace, from authentic records, the several steps by which the royal duke, afterward James II., became vested with the sovereignty and fee of the Empire State which now bears his name.

The writer has recently examined, in the State Paper Office, in Fetter Lane, London, some of the original documents relating to the history of this important title. They were all found in good preservation, from the original warrant to prepare a bill for the king's patent, to the final enrolment of the Charter of 1664. The venerable charter itself, exhumed from its long rest, crisp with age, and covered with the dust of two centuries, was brought to light, bearing the king's autograph, and transferring to his royal brother the richest grant in the power of His Majesty to bestow. The title to all British territory being vested in the king, any grant of the same could be made without the authority of Parliament, by letters-patent under the Great Seal. Before reaching the latter, it was customary for the grant to pass through several preliminary stages. In the first place,

a warrant was issued by the Crown, directing the Attorney or Solicitor-General to prepare a bill for the proposed grant. This bill, when prepared, was signed by the king at the top, with his own sign-manual, and sealed with the Privy Signet in custody of the principal Secretary of the State. An extract of this bill was then taken, within eight days, to the Lord Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, requiring him to prepare a bill for the king's signature, which should embrace the proposed grant. One of the clerks of the Privy Seal was required, within eight days thereafter, to issue letters of warrant to the Lord Chancellor of England, commanding him to prepare a bill to pass the Great Seal, which should also contain the grant. Upon the receipt of this mandate, the Lord Chancellor affixed the Great Seal, whereupon the grant was duly enrolled and became complete. In some cases, at the pleasure of the king, the patent was taken from the Privy Signet Office direct to the Lord Chancellor, without its going through the office of the Privy Seal.

The duke's patent of 1664 seems to have passed these several stages in its progress to completion. In tracing its history in the British archives, the first document relating to the title was found in the series of "Colonial Papers," and consisted of an undated draught of the warrant to prepare a bill for the king's signature. There are three copies of this draught, each dated February 29, 1664. Two are contained in the Colonial Entry-Books, Nos. 68 and 92, and the third in a warrant-book, bearing the name of Sir Henry Bennett, one of King Charles' Secretaries of State. Entry-Book No. 92 is one of Sir Joseph Williamson's note-books. Sir Joseph was another of King Charles' secretaries. He wrote in the margin of the book, opposite the copy of the warrant, "Grant to his Royal Highness in N. England." The description of the territory granted is identical in all three of these copies, and by its terms includes "all the land from the west side of Hudson's River to the east side of Delaware Bay," thus necessarily excluding all the territory between the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers. The next document found was the King's Signet Bill, contained in the Signet Docket-Book, No. 15, at page 292. It is dated March 8, 1664, and bears the king's signature. It is endorsed as follows: "Charles R., our will and pleasure is that this pass by immediate warrant." It was entered at the Signet Office, March 10, 1664, and attested by John Nicholas, and entered at the Privy Seal Office the same day, and attested by John Caule. The letters-patent passed the Great Seal on the same day, and are inscribed, "*per ipsum regem*," by the king himself.

It will be seen from the description of the territory granted by the patent, a copy of which is hereinafter given, that such description does not

conform to that contained in the warrant, but was so changed and enlarged in the patent as to include all the land from the west side of *Connecticut* River to the east side of Delaware Bay, instead of from the west side of *Hudson's* River to the east side of Delaware Bay. This amended description, substituting Connecticut for Hudson's River, was inserted in all the documents subsequent to the warrant to prepare a bill, for it is found in the original of the King's Signet Bill above referred to, signed by the king himself, in the bill as entered in the Privy Seal Office the same day, in the docket in the Signet Office Docket-Book, and in the final patent of 1664. The above important and significant alteration would seem to justify the inference that on February 29, 1664, when the warrant was drawn as the first step toward granting the patent, it was considered that the colony of Connecticut, on which it was intended to bound the patent on the east, of right extended westward to the Hudson River, as was then and subsequently continued to be strenuously claimed and contended for by Connecticut, and that it was, at the date of the warrant, so understood by the king himself.

The following are literal transcripts of the description of the territory granted by the warrant to prepare a bill for the king's patent of 1664, copied from the Colonial Entry-Book, No. 68, page 7, above referred to; also of the description of the territory granted by the said patent, copied from the book labelled "Proprieties," B. T., vol. 25, page 113. This last document is the original draught of the patent in parchment enrolled 16, Carolus II., only a few trifling and immaterial variations being found between it and that patent. The duplicate of this enrolled patent, which was delivered to the Duke of York as evidence of his title, is now in the office of the Secretary of State of the State of New York, at Albany. Full copies of this duplicate may be found on pages 10, etc., of the Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York on the Boundaries of New York, and on page 653 of the second volume of Broadhead's History of New York.

#### WARRANT TO PREPARE A BILL

*Grant to his Royal Highness of Lands in New England. 29. February 166 $\frac{3}{4}$*

We will and require you forthwith to prepare a Bill for our Royal Signature to pass our Great Seale containing a Grant unto Our Dearest Brother James Duke of Yorke and his heires forever, of all that part of the Main Land of New England, beginning from a place called St Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the Sea Coast unto a certain place called Pemaquin and soe up y<sup>e</sup> river thereof to the farthest head thereof, as it tendeth Nor-

ward, and from thence to ye River Kinebequin, and soe upwards by ye shortest cut to ye River Canada, and alsoe all that Island or Islands called Mattawocko or long Island, lying to the Westward of Cape Codd and ye narrow Higawsets abutting upon the main land between the rivers of Conecticut and Hudson's River; together alsoe with the said river called Hudson's River, and all the land from ye west side of Hudsons River to the East side of Delaware Bay, all of which are within ye latitude 39 and 46 degrees, and containing in length from East to West the whole length of the Sea Coast, and alsoe all those Islands of Block Islands, Martins vineyards and Nontukes, with all lands, islands, mines, minerals, royalties, comodities and hereditaments within the said limits, with power of judicature, &c. &c.

Dated at WHITEHALL 29<sup>th</sup> Febr'y 166 $\frac{3}{4}$

### PATENT OF 1664

*King Charles the 2<sup>d</sup> his Patent, to the Duke of York for New Jersey in America,  
March 12 166 $\frac{3}{4}$*

Charles the Second, by the Grace of God &c, to all to whom these presents shall come Greeting—

Know ye that we, for divers good causes and considerations us hereunto moving, having of our Especial Grace, certain knowledge and meer motion, given and granted, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto our dear brother, James Duke of York his heirs and assigns, all that part of the Main Land of New England, beginning at a certaine place called or known by the name of St Croix next adjoining to New Scotland in America, and from thence extending along the sea coast unto a certain place called Pemaquie or Pemaquid, and so up the River thereof to the farthest head of the same, as it tendeth Northwards and extending from thence to the River of Kinebiquire, and so upwards by the Shortest course to the River Canada Northward, and also all that Island or Islands, commonly called by the severall name or names of Mattowacks or Long Island, scituate lying and being toward the west of Cape Codd and the Narrow Higansets, abutting upon the Maine Land between the two Rivers, these called or known by the severall names of Connecticutt and Hudsons River, together also with the said River called Hudsons River, and all the Land from the West side of Connecticutt River to the East side of Delaware Bay, and also all those severall Islands called or known by the names of Martins Vineyards and Nantukes other Nantucket, together with all the Lands, islands, Soyles, Rivers, Harbours, Mines, Minerals, Quarries, Woods, Marshes, Waters, Lakes, Fishing, Hawking, Hunting and Fowling, and all other Royalties, Profits, commodities and hereditaments, to the said Severall Islands, Lands, and Premises belonging, and appertaining, with their and every of their appurtenances, &c. &c. . . .

In Witnesse &c ourself at Westminster the twelfth day of March Anno Regni Regis Caroli Secundi Sexto decimo Per ipsum Regem.

The second charter of 1674, which was granted by King Charles II. to the Duke of York, to obviate the objections which had been raised against the validity of the first charter, on account of its covering territory then in possession of the Dutch, is almost identical, in the description of the territory conveyed, with the terms of the first charter. This may be seen by a reference to the copies of the two charters contained in the Regents' report on the boundaries of New York, above referred to.

## BOUNDARY CONTROVERSIES

When the various colonial charters were granted, and their territorial boundaries defined, the geographical knowledge of the interior of North America was necessarily very limited. The only information obtainable was derived chiefly from reports of voyageurs who had penetrated the vast interior of the continent in their prosecution of the fur trade, from the accounts of the early missionaries, and from the rude sketches furnished by the natives, showing the outlines of the lakes and rivers which so prominently mark the natural features of the country. Confused descriptions, growing out of this defective knowledge, occasioned the numerous boundary disputes, which, from time to time, arose between New York and her neighbors.

On the east, Massachusetts, by virtue of the charter granted by James I., in 1620, to the Council of Plymouth, and the subsequent sale by said council to Sir Henry Roswell and his associates, claimed a strip between the Merrimack and Charles Rivers, which, extending westerly between  $42^{\circ} 2'$  and  $45^{\circ} 15'$  north latitude, reached the Pacific Ocean. This claim was under a title prior to the first patent to the Duke of York, and in conflict therewith, so far as it overlapped the territories of the latter. The controversy was not settled until May 18, 1773, when a line parallel with the Hudson, and about twenty miles easterly therefrom, was agreed upon as a boundary between the two colonies. This, however, did not dispose of the claim of Massachusetts to the territory lying west of the lands granted to the Duke of York. The western limits of the Duke's territories, which lie north of the parallel drawn through the northernmost sources of Delaware Bay, were vague and undefined in both his patents. New York, in view of this uncertainty, and to strengthen her patent title, asserted a right to extend westerly to Lakes Erie and Ontario, founded mainly on a claim as successor to the Five Nations, and on the acquiescence of the British crown. This was stoutly resisted by Massachusetts, and it was not until December, 1786, that a satisfactory arrangement was effected between the two colonies. By this settlement, New York granted to Massachusetts the title or right of pre-emption, exclusive of jurisdiction and sovereignty, in and to certain lands in the State of New York, lying between the Chenango and Tioughnioga Rivers on the east, and the Owego River on the west, embracing 230,400 acres in the present counties of Tioga, Broome, and Cortland; also in and to all that portion of the present State of New York bounded north by Lake Ontario, south by Pennsylvania, west by a meridian drawn through the western extremity of Lake Ontario, and east by a meridian drawn from

a point in the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, eighty-two miles west of the north-east corner of said State, excepting therefrom a strip one mile wide, extending along the east side of the Niagara River, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Massachusetts, in consideration of the above grant, and while she reserved the right of pre-emption in the soil, relinquished to New York all sovereignty and jurisdiction over all that part of the State of New York lying west of a meridian drawn through Seneca Lake, and comprising what were subsequently known as the Phelp's and Gorham and Holland Land Companies' purchases. On the north-east, the line between New York and New Hampshire remained unsettled until October, 1790,\* when New York consented that Vermont, which had been taken from the western part of New Hampshire and organized as a State, might be admitted into the Union with its present western boundary. This was ratified by Congress on February 18, 1791, and Vermont, under its present name, thus became one of the United States. On the south, Pennsylvania claimed, under the Charter of March 4, 1681, from King Charles II., as far north as the 42d parallel. Connecticut claimed, under the Charter of April 23, 1662, granted by the same king to John Winthrop and others, from the parallel of 41° to the parallel of 42° 2'. Thus a narrow strip two minutes, or about two and one-third miles wide, extending from the Delaware westerly as far as the western limits of New York, was claimed by both colonies.

This controversy was terminated in favor of New York by an act of the General Assembly of Connecticut, passed in May, 1800, whereby it released all territorial and jurisdictional interest in all lands lying west of the eastern boundary of New York, in consideration of a conveyance to Connecticut by the United States of that tract of land in the north-east part of Ohio, since known as the "Western Reserve," from the proceeds of the sales of which the noble school-fund of the latter State has been derived.

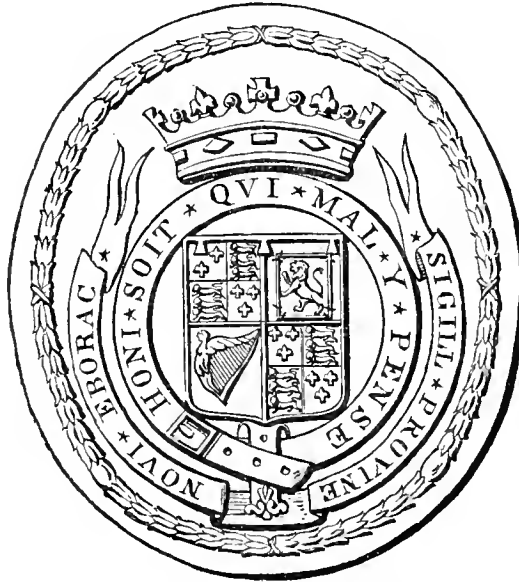
The northern boundary of New York, being coterminous with that of the United States, was first defined and established by royal proclamation, October 7, 1763, and confirmed by act of Parliament in 1774, in fixing the limits of the Province of Quebec. It was again defined by the second article of the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Great Britain in 1783. The line was afterward surveyed and practically located in 1817 and 1818, by commissioners appointed under the fifth and sixth articles of the Treaty of Ghent.

The boundary between New York and New Jersey remained unsettled until September 16, 1833, when an agreement was entered into by commissioners mutually appointed by the two States, and ratified by New York the next year, which effectually disposed of all further controversy.

By the recent compact between New York and Connecticut, ratified by an act of the Legislature of New York, passed May 8, 1880, the last of the boundary disputes which have so long existed as subjects of irritation between New York and her neighbors has been amicably and definitely settled. It now remains for the lines thus established by solemn agreement to be accurately surveyed and marked by permanent monuments, so that all possibility of future doubt may be removed.

This is now being done in the most thorough manner along the division line between New York and Pennsylvania, under the direction of the Board of Regents of the University of New York, and the work should be extended to all other portions of the State boundary not defined by natural objects.

O. H. MARSHALL



SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK



## THE HUGUENOTS OF VIRGINIA

Three hundred years ago, upon the table-lands above the lowlands of the noble river, then known as the Powhatan, within twenty miles of the site of Richmond, the historic capital of the Fallen Confederacy, there stood in a clearing, surrounded by the primeval wilderness, a large collection of Indian huts. It was the town of the Monocans, and the eastern outpost of one of the aboriginal nations, which then possessed the territory of Virginia.

Three powerful nations were then scattered over the different parts of the State. The Powhatans occupied the territory below the falls of the rivers emptying into the Chesapeake; the Mannahoacs, the country above the falls of the Potomac and Rappahannock, and the Monocans, the upward slope from the falls of the James to the mountains.

These nations were sprung from different stocks, and spoke languages so different from each other, that no philologist of the present day can derive them from the same root, and interpreters were necessary when the nations transacted business with each other. They were each divided into tribes, who spoke different dialects of the same language.

The Powhatan, the most powerful of the three, was divided into thirty tribes, the names of some of which are now borne by the rivers and bays entering into the Chesapeake. The Mannahoacs had eight, and the Monocans five tribes. The latter nations were in friendship with each other, and were combined together in carrying on perpetual warfare against the Powhatans.

The Mohemenco tribe of the Monocans occupied the town of which we have spoken, and was near the debatable line between them and the Powhatans, and many battles were fought over the same ground where, in our time, the strength and supremacy of our great Government was severely tried.

Time has wrought a sad change on these Indian nations. The names of the nations and the tribes, when not entirely extinct, are only preserved by those who do not know their origin. The site of this town is now occupied only by a country church and a way-side store, standing on the edge of a forest, at the fork of a common country road, one branch of which crosses James River at the "Mannakin" town ferry, and the other goes on directly to Richmond. A few miles below are the Huguenot Springs, a now deserted watering-place; and across the river, fringed by fertile lowlands in full

cultivation, are seen the extensive works and buildings of the Mannakin Coal Mines. In the course of time another race and nation were to occupy the place of the Monocans, and like them, in the revolution of years, to be scattered and dispersed; but unlike them, never to become extinct or forgotten, or to leave no "footprints on the sands of time."

The Huguenots of France, whose struggle against the Government had been terminated by the ability and power of Richelieu, although conquered, were permitted for a time to enjoy the freedom of conscience secured by the famous Edict of Nantes. But Louis XIV., despite the remonstrances of the Pope of Rome, of Catholic Spain, and all Protestant Europe, repealed the edict of religious freedom and commenced against them a persecution only equalled by the atrocities of Nero and Caligula. To escape massacre and execution, fifty thousand families, having among them those distinguished by opinions and sentiments liberal beyond their age, by industry and proficiency in literature and art, left their country for other climes, where, under vines and fig-trees other than those of La Vendée and Bordeaux, they might enjoy their own opinions and worship their God, and where the myrmidons of the bigot, Louis XIV., could not make them afraid. Some went to England, some to Holland, some planted their vineyards on the Cape of Good Hope. The cruelty of the despot of France gave citizens to America. Many came to New York, more to the Carolinas, and in 1690 King William of Orange sent a large body of them to Virginia. They were naturalized by a special act passed for the purpose and by His Majesty's command, through the colonial government; they were settled on the south side of James River, and were granted a tract of land extending from Bernard's Creek, just below the town of the Monocans, who, like themselves, had left their homes and hearth-stones to enjoy, in a more impenetrable wilderness in the far West, that freedom which the Huguenots were to possess upon the spot where it had been denied to them.

A large body of land extending along the south bank of the river, one mile from it in depth, and twenty-five miles in length, up the stream, including all the islands in the river opposite them, was granted to them by letters-patent. The southern line was chopped upon the trees, and, for a hundred years after, was known as the French line. The eastern boundary was Bernard's Creek, and the western was Salle's Creek, whose names now recall the foreign birth of the new settlers, as does the name of Sabot Island, whose shape resembles the wooden shoe of the French peasantry. The Colonial House of Burgesses, held "*at his majesty's royall colledge of William & Mary, adjoining to the Citty of Williamsburgh,*" on December 5, 1700, "*in the 12th year of his majesty's reign,*" after confirming the

grant of the land given them, established the settlement as a distinct parish, called King William's Parish, and exempting the "said French refugees" from the payment of public and county taxes and levies for seven years, which period of time was afterward further extended.

Thus settled and encouraged, they determined at once, as they had left their old country for a new one on account of religion, that they would discard all the traditions, habits and prejudices of the Old World, and erect themselves into a community founded upon the precepts of the Bible and the example of the Apostles, and established a community of property, both real and personal. They divided the land into sections, running from the forest-line to the bank of the river, and allotted them to families according to size, and at intervals erected storehouses, into which each person able to labor was to deposit the crops made and gathered by him, and to receive therefrom the necessaries for himself and his family. But, as might have been supposed, this system would not work even in that industrious and moral community, and they then, by voluntary agreement, divided the lands of the settlement among themselves, according to what they considered right, and having accomplished this partition without dispute or contention, held and worked their lands like the other settlers around them. Their crops showed at first that they still cherished the remembrance of the occupations of their native land. They took the wild vine of the country and cultivated it, and made what Beverly, in his history, called "a strong-bodied claret;" but they soon abandoned its cultivation, and, like other Virginians, raised the great staple of the colony. Having taken the country of the Indian, they cultivated his peculiar plant. Tobacco will always be associated with the Indian, whose history, in the words of Charles Lamb, is written upon the immortal tobacco-leaf.

At this time, although many of their descendants still live in the county of Powhatan, and near what is now known as "Mannakin Town," they have been scattered abroad, like the rest of the sons of the "Old Dominion," to every State and territory of our great country. Our newspapers lately contained an account of the murder of one La Prade, a descendant of one of the first settlers from France, and several others bearing the same name are now living not more than five miles from the site of the old "Monocan town." Only one family has retained in an uninterrupted line of descent the land allotted to it at the division of the territory first held in common. Up to the close of the late war, four brothers lived on adjoining farms, which their ancestors of the same name had owned in an uninterrupted descent for a hundred and sixty years, and one of them still holds his hereditary domain, bearing a name suggestive

of his lineage—Tscharner De'Graffenreidt Michaux. For the most part these French names have been Americanized. Soublotte is now metamorphosed into Sublitt; D'Aubigné into Dabney; and Souinné into Sweeney, whose lineal descendant, Joe Sweeny, with his banjo, accompanied the gay and dashing rebel General J. E. B. Stuart through all his campaigns. The descendants of these Huguenots have preserved many of the characteristics of their forefathers. While no one of them, except Matthew Fontaine Maury, whose name is the property of America by his great work on the Geography of the Sea, has been distinguished for genius, yet all have been remarkable for good sense and sterling integrity. While fickle Fortune in the revolution of her wheel has made a great difference in their conditions and stations in life—some being opulent planters and others day-laborers for the owners of their paternal lands—while no one has been distinguished as a governor or president, general or statesman, or as holding any high official position, yet no one holding in his veins any of the Huguenot blood has ever yet been convicted of any infamous offence.

The most interesting relic of antiquity among them in the vicinity of their settlement is a large Bible containing the Old and New Testament without the Apocrypha, in the French language, which was brought over by one of the first immigrants from his native land, in which it is more than probable he was not there permitted to read. The first owner was one of the family of Chastainé, which name is now extinct except as a Christian name. It is now in the hands of one of his lineal descendants. This Bible was printed in Amsterdam.

WILLIAM POPE DABNEY

# AMERICA

## I

### SULLY PRUDHOMME TO AMERICA

A quoi bon, tristes gens, vos ports et vos boutiques,  
Si vous traînez au flanc le principe du mal,  
Et si le vieux démon des fureurs politiques  
Vous emporte avec nous dans son cercle fatal ?  
Ce cercle est tout tracé par notre antique histoire.  
A ton tour, peuple fier, tu salûras César ;  
A ton tour tu verras, au seuil de ton prétoire,  
La tache de ton sang, la marque de son char ;  
Tu verras quelque fils des empereurs du Tibre,  
Porter un monde au bout de son sceptre insolent,  
Pareil au bateleur qui tient en équilibre  
Sur la pointe d'un glaive un disque chancelant !  
Tu connaîtras aussi les gloires, les conquêtes,  
Et les sanglots perdus dans le bruit des tambours ;  
Le triomphe et le deuil, la panique et les fêtes ;  
Après les jours brillants, l'horreur des mauvais jours.  
Tu briseras tes lois, tu les voudras refaire,  
Et, jouet éternel de tes ambitieux,  
Quand l'un te voudra vendre un flambeau qui t'éclaire,  
L'autre te montera le bâillon jusqu'aux yeux.  
A la féroce épée, à la toge hypocrite,  
Mendiant tour à tour des chartes pour tes droits,  
Tu feras comme nous, ton histoire est écrite :  
Flux et reflux sans fin de l'anarchie aux rois.

Ta fortune est vulgaire, et nous la croyions belle,  
O terre de Colomb ! et, quand la liberté,  
A travers l'océan volant à tire-d'aile,  
Vint jeter dans tes bras son corps ensanglanté,  
Nous la croyions ravie aux soufflets de la guerre,  
Et notre amour jalouse l'accompagnait là-bas.  
O terre de Colomb ! ta fortune est vulgaire,  
Nous te croyions bénie, et tu ne l'étais pas.

*Translation*

To what end, wretched race ! your ports, your wealth,  
 If in your womb you bear the germ of ill ?  
 If the old fiend of party-strife, by stealth  
 Within our fatal orbit drags you still ?  
 Traced is that orbit by our history.  
 Proud race, thou too, at Cæsar's feet shalt kneel ;  
 On thy pretorian threshold thou shalt see  
 Stains of thy blood, marks of his chariot-wheel.  
 See some imperial son of Tiber still  
 Thy world upon his insolent sceptre rear,  
 Even as a juggler poises with nice skill,  
 Upon a sword's keen point, a trembling sphere.  
 Conquests and glories thou shalt likewise know,  
 And sobs drowned by the beating of the drum.  
 Panics and feasts, and victory and woe ;  
 After bright days, horror of days to come.  
 And thou shalt break thy laws, then learn to prize ;  
 Shalt be the plaything of ambitious minds.  
 One offers thee a torch to light thine eyes,  
 One with a gag up to thy forehead binds.  
 To the fierce sword, the hypocritic gown,  
 Begging a charter of thy rights, thou'lt go.  
 As we do, so shalt thou ; thy history's known :  
 From anarchy to kings an ebb and flow.  
 Mean are thy fortunes that we thought so fair,  
 Land of Columbus ! When young Freedom blest  
 Soared o'er the ocean, wide-winged through the air,  
 Her wounded form within thine arms to rest,  
 We deemed her safe from all the shocks of war—  
 Our jealous love followed to yonder spot.  
 Land of Columbus ! mean thy fortunes are ;  
 We thought thee blessed—blessed thou art not !

## II

## REPLY TO SULLY PRUDHOMME

High-hearted, deep-browed Poet, whose proud lyre  
 Vibrated never to ignoble strain,  
 What film obscures, what strange tears cloud the fire  
 Of sight and soul ? What blind fears veil thy brain

With thickly woven cobwebs of despair,  
 There where thou need but open to the light  
 Windows of vision, to be made aware  
 Of radiant day-dawn and retreating night?  
 A clearer knowledge had brought braver faith,  
 A closer insight shown an undreamed world.  
 Pardon! at thy Cassandra-notes of death  
 The young Republic's smiling lips are curled.  
 On thy sea-sundered coast thou canst but hear  
 Our wrangling factions' echo, fierce debate,  
 Vociferous party-strife—draw nigh thine ear  
 To hear the People's Voice reverberate,  
 A murmur like the ground-swell of the deep,  
 Majestic and incessant. At a word—  
 Touch but the springs of Love or Law!—'twill leap  
 To thunder-music tuned to one accord.  
 The People's Voice! through cycles gagged or dumb,  
 Whose wakening cry in Marat's France was "Blood!"  
 Trained to articulate speech, has here become  
 The nation's counsellor for highest good.  
 Think you the Olympian voice of Cæsar now  
 Their multitudinous eloquence could stem?  
 Far as a dream the turbid Tiber's flow,  
 It holds nor past nor future ghosts for them.  
 Nightmares fantastical as those, we fear,  
 As France a second Alaric might wait.  
 If History's orbit ringed a changeless sphere—  
 A vicious circle—such would be your fate.  
 No! thine own words disprove the dismal creed,  
 Uttered in happier hour, in braver mood—  
 "Poet, wouldst thou dishearten us indeed,  
 Thou shouldst have looked for less." \* Thou too didst brood,  
 With no mean hopes, upon Humanity  
 With no vainglorious boast, with joy unfeigned,  
 Sobered by thought of what was yet to be,  
 Didst point to harvests reaped, to conquests gained.  
 Come hither, in our thronging ports to see  
 The Old World exiles swarming crowd on crowd,

\* "Pour nous décourager il fallait moins attendre." See Sully Prudhomme's poem to Alfred de Musset.

Who seek the space to toil, the right to be,  
 By centuries of bondage crushed and cowed.  
 The free air bathes their brows, to their dazed eyes  
 Long, broadening vistas of ambition ope.  
 Wealth is the slave of their own energies,  
 Honor and fame lie in the humblest's scope.  
 From these, the refuse of your shores, behold  
 The Man, the President, the hero rise,  
 Great with the great occasion, self-controlled—  
 Our corner-stone your builders did despise.  
 No! we may still be clogged by mortal weights,  
 The burden of the flesh, the veils of sense,  
 Hampered by creature-limits, narrow fates—  
 But the historic curse has vanished hence :  
 Bondage of man to man, the obsequious knee,  
 The yoke about the neck, the impending sword.  
 Our priceless Pearl, snatched from the insatiate sea,  
 Think you, were lightly lost or rash restored?  
 Nations may mount and sink, Arts halt, advance,  
 But Truth is fixed; when once the Law is known,  
 The world recedes not back to ignorance,  
 From Galileo, Newton, Washington.  
 As when the Arabian fisherman unsealed  
 The mystic, wave-tost bottle, whence unfurled  
 The sky-embracing vapor that revealed  
 So vast a spirit as to dwarf the world,  
 So from our precious vase of truth, distilled  
 By the wise fathers, soars o'er land and sea,  
 Till State and continent and globe are filled  
 With awful beauty—the Djinn Liberty.

Oh, were your black words true, were we "*not* blest,"  
 Were we too doomed with Prince and King and Czar,  
 Were there no Cis-Atlantic goal of rest,  
 For the Earth's Pariahs—then would the world-star  
 In red eclipse be blotted from the skies.  
 The People, the blind Samson who has learned  
 His fatal strength, mad with brute rage would rise,  
 Nor stay his hand till chaos had returned.

EMMA LAZARUS



## THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS

*Additional documents in continuation of Appendix to the New Version of the Battle of Harlem Plains (Vol. IV., 375).*

The interesting memoir of the Evelyns in America, by G. D. Scull, recently printed for private circulation, at Oxford, in England, contains an extract from the note-book of an English officer who took a prominent part in the affair of Harlem Plains, which definitively closes the controversy as to the precise locality of the action. To this extract is now appended various collateral information, which has been brought to my notice by Mr. Kelby, the compiler of the original collection.

The British officer was the well-known Captain John Montrésor, who served as Engineer in the British Army in America for twenty-four years. He married in New York, purchased and resided upon the island (now known as Randall's), which during the Revolution bore his name. His map of the city of New York, engraved in 1767, known to all students, and his long residence in the vicinity of Harlem, are sufficient proof of his familiarity with the topography and names of the localities to which he refers. In this connection, attention is also called to the recent publication of Mr. Riker's History of Harlem, in which the site of the Black Horse Tavern of the Revolution, to which frequent allusion is made in the documents and letters of the period, and also that of the Kortright house on Harlem Plains, both of which are landmarks in the controversy, are finally established.

EDITOR

*Extract from the note-book of Captain John Montrésor.*

The 16th Sept., 1776, the action on Vandewater's Height, near Harlaem, on New York Island, I procured two 3 Pounders, Brass, with Lt: Wallace, Royal Artillery. No horses being near McGown's, where the Guns were, had them hauled by hand, and brought into action to face the Enemy, who were attempting to cut off our Left, and getting round us between our Left and Hudson's River. The proposal was my own, and had its desired effect, no other Guns being in the Field, and 60 rounds from each were fired.

[The Evelyns in America, page 265].

*Extract from a Journal of the operations of the army under Sir William Howe. By a British Officer.*

Sept. 16th—This day there was a smart action near Bloomingdale, in which the Light Infantry suffered; but, on being supported by the reserve, under the Honble. Major-General Vaughan, the Rebels were defeated with great loss.

[The Evelyns in America, page 321.]

*Extract of a letter from Captain Evelyn to the Hon. Mrs. Boscowen, dated New York Island, September 24, 1776.*

The next day [Sept. 16] a few companies of Light Infantry were prompted to attack a party of the rebels, and with more ardour than discretion, pushed them to their very lines, where they were supported by their cannon, and by three or four thousand men. This obliged us to support our people, and brought on a skirmish, in which we had nine or ten men killed, a few officers and about ninety men wounded, and which answered no other end than to prove our superiority even in

their beloved woods, as the ground we gained we did not want, but went back at night to that we had left in the morning.

[The Evelyns in America, page 194.]

—  
*Extract of a letter from Capt. Francis Hutcheson, Assistant Secretary to Sir William Howe, to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, Governor of Canada.*

Campt at Turtle Bay near New York  
Sept. 24, 1776.

Dear Sir

On Sunday the 15th inst the Army landed at Kipp's Bay from the opposite shore on Long Island, under the fire of four men of war, and tho' the Rebels made a show for some time of manning their extensive works, they abandoned the whole & fled to the Heights near the Blue bell above Harlem, where they have made some strong works & still remain. Our advanced post is at the Black Horse tavern & the army is posted from the North to the East Rivers, quite across the country above Mr. Apthorpe's. We had but 4 killed and 14 wounded of the Hessian troops, in this great success, but the next day (the 16th) the Light Infantry advancing a little too far, were attacked by a large body, by which we lost 9 killed and about 70 wounded, however they kept their ground till supported by the Grenadiers & brought off all their wounded, & killed 60 of the Rebels & took about 50 prisoners.

[Haldiman MSS. in the British Museum.]

—  
*From a Manuscript Journal kept by George Inman, Lieut. of the 26th Foot, now in possession of his great-grandson, Charles R. Hildburn, of Philadelphia.*

At the date of this entry Lieut. Inman was in New York City.

1776 " On the 15 Sept . . . a Brigade took possession of the City ; the next day, the 3d Lt. Infantry under Major Johnson of the 28th advancing too near the Enemy's lines, they came down in force which nearly brought on a General engagement."

*Officers wounded Sept. 16, 1776*

15th Foot Capt. Mitchell

" Lt. Leigh

28 " Lt. Jepson

42 " Major Murray

" " Capt. McPherson

" " " McIntosh

" " Ensign McKenzie (died Sept. 21)

—  
*Letter to the Committee of Tryon County*

Fishkill 21st Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1776.

Gent<sup>n</sup>.

By reason of the Multiplicity of Busness that hath Laterly turned up the Convention has not yet entered on the mode of Government nither do wee know when it will be taken up & therefore think it would be both prudent & more Easy to Reduce the Quorum of three for our County to a less Number as you in your wisdom may think fit as we take it for granted the Quorum was advanced puerly in that of the mater of Government of this Exampel, wee have Instances in sum of the other Counties.

The Currant News is nearly thus about the midel of Last week our army avacuated New York—and brought with them their Artilery and Ordinance Stores of Every kind exsept a Quantity of flower thay Culd not Remove and have made their Grand Stand on the hither end of York Island and near kings Bridge from

whence they are Determened not to be drove

Last Sunday the Enemy Landed a larg boddy of Troops at Turtle Bay under Cover of their Ships from which they fiered So warmly on our Lines that our tropes at that place whoo ware but fue was obleg'd to Retrate to Sum Hights at a distance, the Enemy amemaetly formed a lines a Crose the Island our Army on monday Got a reinforcement & met them in the open field on which a hot Ingagement insued near Harlem, which lasted above two howers (in plattune fiering) in the Action our Army drove back the Enemy to thare Mean Body & Slue many of their men tuck a standerd 3 bras Cannon and a large number of muskets, with the Los of only 30 kiled and wouned on our Side this action hath so raised the Spirets of our men that thay are impatient to have another heat at them,

It is Lick wise aferened that our fier Ships hase Burned 2 of their men of ware and a tender

We are Gent<sup>n</sup> with all Due Esteen your  
Very Hum<sup>l</sup>. serv<sup>ts</sup>.

JOHN MOORE  
WILLIAM HARPER  
VOLKERT VEEDER

To the Chairman  
and Members of the  
Committee of Tryon  
County. }

*Directed* "To JOHN FREY Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
Chairman of the Committee of  
Tryon County.

Endorsed

WM. HARPER's letter to committee  
while in Prov. Cong.

[Miscellaneous MSS. N. Y. Historical Society.]

*Extract of a Letter from Peter Du Bois to  
Major Colden, Written at Second River, N. J.*

Tuesday, Sept. 17, 1776.

We have Three different and Equally Confused Accounts of Another Action Yesterday between the Hours of 10 & 2 °Clock, Said to have happen'd on the Bank of Hudsons River about Two Miles higher than M<sup>r</sup>. Apthorps, Near where the Gully Terminates that Crosses the Island as you Enter Harlem Lane from Kingsbridge, in which Common fame by the Bye a Most Notorious Liar Says The Regular Troops were Routed with the Loss of about 400 Men Killd Wounded & prisoners with three field pieces whilst the Provincials lost only 48 Men.

I have Endeavord to Trace the Reports But Cannot deduce their Origin farther than from some Associators Now Universally known here by the Denomination of Flying Camp Men. These with one or More of the Heroic Battalions of their Corps were Posted at a Fort lately thrown up on the Jersey Shore, nearly Opposite to Fort Washington declare they saw the Engagement, from the heights opposite to it on the Jersey shore & that a boat with some people in it had come a Cross the River from whom they heard these particulars. As yet I suspend my opinion of the Number Lost on either Side But think it probable there has been an Action and that the British Troops have Retreated—first Because Twenty seven flat Bottom Boats full of Soldiers were seen to go up the North River Early on Monday Morning—Secondly Because We have had Acco<sup>ts</sup>. that the Provincials Began to throw up Intrenchments at this place a Sunday Afternoon at which they continued to Work

all Night. And the Reporters Say the British Troops forced the first Line of Their Intrenchments and were on the Brink of Carrying the second when they were flanked by a Body of Riflemen which induced them to Retreat—I think it probable The Kings Troops have been if not totally, in a great Measure Ignorant of the Intrenchments and possibly highly elated with their late Successes and probably but Indifferently Acquainted w<sup>th</sup> The Surrounding Grounds—All which Circumstances must have been of bad tendency to them—But may teach their Commanders a Lesson of Military Wisdom—Not to Undervalue their Enemy, To be Cautious & Circumspect before they Advance And thoroughly to Reconnoitre the Enemys defences as well as the Surrounding Grounds.

Wednesday, Sept. 18<sup>th</sup>. 1776.

I have just seen an officer of The Jersey Forces from fort Washington who says he was in the Action on Monday. His Name is Deane & of the 5<sup>th</sup>. Reg<sup>t</sup>. He told me The Regular Troops about 1000 in Number principally of Fraziers Reg<sup>t</sup>. Attacked their Advanced post in its Intrenchments, But on a Brigade Appearing to Reinforce them Retreat<sup>d</sup>. That by Estimation they must have had Killd & Wounded about 200 Men That the Provincials had only 11 Killd & 15 wounded among the former a New England Colonnell.—He says the Main force of The British Army is Collected at the Seven Mile Stone Extending Cross the Island—That the Provincials have thrown up very strong lines from Harlem River a Cross to Hudsons River at the Nine Mile Stone, and have 10,000 Men the Flower

of their Troops Encamp'd without the Lines Determind to Oppose the Regulars in the field sho<sup>d</sup>. they attempt the heights,—that the Remainder of the Provincials are in different Encampments from Coll<sup>o</sup>. Morris's to Kings Bridge & beyond it and Consist of about 20,000 men, who are all in high Spirits—this Account of the Engagement and of The Disposition of the Two Armys is the most probable & The Most Distinct of any I have yet heard & therefore I have given it you by way of Supplement.

[McKesson Papers, N. Y. Historical Society.]

*Gen. Clinton's copy of his letter to the N. Y. Convention.*

King's Bridge 18th Sep<sup>r</sup>. 1776.

Gentlemen—Since my last many Matters of great Importance to the public & more particulary to this State have taken Place but I have been so situated as neither to find Leisure or Opportunity of communicating them to Congress. I returned late last Night from the Command of the Picket or Advance Party in the Front of our Lines & was just setting down to write to the Convention & intended sending an Express when I was favoured with yours of yesterday.

About the Middle of last Week it was determined for many Reasons to evacuate the City of New York and accordingly, Orders were given for removing the Ordonance & Militittary & other Stores from thence which by Sunday Morning was nearly effected. On Satturday four of the Enemy's large Ships passed by the City up the North River & anchored near Greenage and about as many more up the East River which anchored in Turtle Bay and from the Movements of the Enemy

on Long Island & the small Islands in the East River we had great Reason to apprehend they intended to make a landing and attack our Lines somewhere near the City. Our Army for some Days had been moveing this way & encamping on the Heights Southwest of Col<sup>o</sup>. Morris's where we intended to form Lines & make our grand stand.—On Sunday Morning the Enemy landed a very Considerable Body of Troops principally consisting of their Light Infantry & Grenadiers near Turtle Bay under Cover of a very heavy Cannonade from their Shipping. Our Lines were but thinly manned as they were more intended only to secure a Retreat to the Rear of our Army and unfortunately by such Troops as were so little disposed to stand in the Way of Grape Shot that the Main Body of them almost instantly retreated, nay fled without a possibility of rallying them tho' Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington himself (who rid to the Spot on hearing the Cannonade) with some other Gen<sup>l</sup>-Officers exerted themselves to effect it. The Enemy on Landing immediately formed a line across the Island most of our People were luckily North of it & joined the Army. The few that were in the City Crossed the River chiefly to Paulus Hook so that our Loss in Men Artillery or Stores is very inconsiderable. I dont believe it exceeds 100 Men & I fancy most of them from their Conduct staid out of Choice. Before Evening the Enemy landed the Main Body of their Army, took Possession of the City & marched up the Island & encamped on the Heights extending from McGowns or the Black Horse to the North River.

On Monday Morning about 10 oclock a Party of the Enemy consisting of High-

landers, Hessians the Light Infantry & Grenadiers of the English Troops, the numbers uncertain, attacked our Advanced Party commanded by Col<sup>l</sup> Knowlton at Maje Davits Fly they were oposed with Spirit & soon made to retreat to a clear Field Southwest of that about 200 Paces where they lodged themselves behind a Fence covered with Bushes. Our People attacked them in Force & a reinforcement with 2 Field Pieces being ordered in they caused them to retreat a second Time leaving 5 Dead on the Spot. We pursued them to a Buckwheat Field on the Toop of a high Hill distant about 400 Paces where they received a very Considerable Reinforcement with some Field Pieces & made a stand, then a very brisk action ensued at this Place, which continued about two Hours our People at length worsted them a third Time caused them to fall back into an Orchard from thence across a Hollow & up another Hill not far distant from their own Lines. A large Collum of the Enemy's Army being at this Time discovered to be in Motion and the Ground we then occupied being rather disadvantageous a Retreat likewise without bringing on a Genl Action which we did not think prudent to Risk rather insecure. Our Party was therefore ordered in & the Enemy was well contented to hold the last Ground we drove them to.

We lost on this occasion Col<sup>o</sup>. Knowlton a brave Officer, Major Leatch of Virginia and 15 Privates killed & About 8 or 10 Subaltern Officers & Privates Wounded. The Loss of the Enemy is uncertain they carried their Dead and wounded off in & soon after the Action but we have good Evidence of their having upwards of Sixty killed & violent presump-

tion of 100. The Action lasted in the whole About 4 Hours.

I consider our Success in this Small Affair at this Time almost equal to a Victory, it has animated our Troops & gave them a new Spirit & erased every bad Impression the Retreat from Long Island &c had left on their Minds. They find they are able with inferior Numbers to drive their Enemy & think of nothing now but Conquest. Since the above nothing material has happened, the Enemy keep close to their Lines, our Advanced Parties continue at their former Station. We are daily throwing up Works to prevent the Enemy's advancing, great Attention is paid to Fort Washington—the Posts opposite to it on the Jersey Shore & the Obstructions in the River which I have reason to believe is already effectual so as to prevent their Shipping passing, however it is intended still to add to them as it is of the utmost Consequence to keep the Enemy below us. None of Smith's or Reimsen's Regiment have yet joined me nor do I believe they intend. I have heard that many have gone over on the Island continue there. I have not been able to get any late acc<sup>ts</sup> from thence except that I have heard & believe & hope Gen<sup>l</sup> Woodhull is not dead as was reported. We are getting a New Supply of Connecticut Militia in here, if they are not better than the last, I wish they woud keep them at Home. I hope however they are. They look better. A Regiment or two lately arrived from Virginia. I cant recollect anything else worth mentioning.

I am with much Respect your most

Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

GEO CLINTON.

We shall want a Quantity of Oak Plank for Platform & Square Timbers how can it be procured I am sure our Q M Gen<sup>l</sup> if left to him will fail in getting of it. The Gen<sup>l</sup> desired me to inquire how it can be had.

[Clinton Papers, N. Y. State Library.]

*At the ceremonies on the laying of the corner-stone of the Reformed Dutch Church in Orchard Street, between Broome and Delancey Streets, September, 1827, the venerable Colonel Henry Rutgers, in a short address, thus alluded to the action at Harlem, September 16, 1776.*

I cheerfully joined the army at Brooklyn Heights; and after that skirmish I escaped with the retreating army to the City of New York. I returned at once to my peaceful dwelling, but was soon after commanded to join the army in its farther retreat to Haerlem Heights.

On mounting my horse, and retiring across the fields in the immediate vicinity of this spot, with a slow step and an anxious state of mind, I contemplated my then present situation and my future prospects. . . . Soon after this, a division of the British army, taking the Bloomingdale Road, arrived at Manhattan Ville (now so called.) Some sharp shooting immediately commenced between the riflemen of each army, in a buckwheat field, situated in the valley between them; many brave men on both sides were killed, and many more were wounded. The British were brought to Haerlem River, and from thence they were conveyed by water, to my dwelling house, which I had very recently left, but which had already received the *mark of Confiscation* on the south door (and, my friends, that mark I have taken care still to preserve on my door). My dwelling

house was then occupied by them as an Hospital, a Store House, or Barracks, as the circumstances of the times required.

[Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church, October, 1827, Vol. II., p. 412.]

*Extract of a letter from Captain George Fleming to Major Sebastian Bauman, of the 2d N. Y. Artillery, dated, Camp at Pecks Kill, May 29, 1777.*

A few days ago David Owen got here having Deserted from the Enemy. He says the day [probably Oct 5] he left us on the Rock at the Advanced Post near Harlem, he went to a Tavern in Harlem to get Wine which was gave Gratis, where he was surrounded & carried to Gen. Howe, who after examining him committed him; that at the expiration of three days he listed in a Tory Reg<sup>t</sup>. with an intent to Desert, and had no oppatunity until the other day, as he was immediately sent to Long Island on listing.

[Bauman Papers, N. Y. Historical Society.]

*Hessian account of the action.*

On the 16<sup>th</sup> of September a tolerably hot battle took place on York Island. The Americans on the morning of that day sent from their encampment a strong detachment which came out of the wood and stood (arose) openly on the left side of the river. Immediately the 2<sup>d</sup> and 3<sup>d</sup> Regiments of light infantry proceeded, supported by the 42<sup>d</sup> Regiment, and drove the enemy back to their intrenchments. This was intended to allure the pursuit deeper in the wood, where, for their support, a strong division stood ready under cover which amounted to more than 3,000 men. Gen. Leslie,

who here commanded the British, obtained soon a strong standing place. Lieut. Van Donop, who now had the command, fell back for assistance upon the British Regiment standing nearest to him. The former went forward immediately with his jagers and the battallion of Grenadiers of Linsingen, while he ordered the two Grenadier battallions of Block and Minnigerode to occupy the outlying defiles on the road to Kingsbridge. The jagers foremost and in swarms soon came to the Hoylands Hill in a severe contest, but as the Battallion of Linsingen speedily came to their assistance the Americans retired. The jagers lost 8 wounded, among them Lieut. Heinrichs. The Jagers and the battallion of Grenadiers bivouacked here in the wood not far from Bloomingdale, and when the next morning both the other grenadier battallion also came hither, Donop with his brigade established here an encampment. The Hessians assisted here the British out of the mire. Donop at other times so modest, said in his report to General Von Heister :

“Besides my Jagers were two Regiments of mountain-shooters [Highlanders] and the British Infantry were by chance altogether spent when they were attacked by a force of four times their strength, and the General Leslie had made a great mistake in sending forward these brave fellows into a wood so far and without support.”

On this occasion Captains Wreden and Lorey especially distinguished themselves. The first advanced 90 paces before his Jagers in the line of fire, and the last himself shot down the leader of a hostile battallion. The Enemy lost about 300 dead

and wounded. Among the latter were Col. Knowlton and Major Leith. Both soon after died of their wounds. On this side the loss amounted to 14 dead and 78 wounded. Among the last Seven English Officers.

NOTE.—Taken from the Journal of General Van Heister & the diary of Captain V. d. Malzburg. Stedman in his "History of the American War" refers to the matter almost in the same manner, excepting only that the 42d English Regiment is said to have been sent as a reinforcement, and there is no mention made of the Hessians.

(Then comes a reference to Washington Irving and a remark that it is not settled whether the two field-pieces were English or German.)

[Translated from Von Elking's Die deutschen Hülfsstruppen in Nordamerikanischen Befreiungskriege, 1776 bis 1783.]

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*References to the action in the manuscripts of  
\* Gen. Knox.*

Gen. Knox, in a letter to his brother, dated Mount Washington, Sept. 19, 1776, speaks of being so much engaged as to have had no time to write, and says, "the rascally Hessians took my baggage waggon with the greater part of my things."

Mrs. Knox writing to Wm. Knox, Sept. 20, from New Haven, speaks of our army evacuating New York, and also says, "in the battle of Monday we had great success, but it (the battle) was not general; about fifteen hundred of ours engaged about an equal number of theirs and drove them two miles wide of their encampment."

[Knox Papers, N. E. Hist. Genl. Soc'y.]

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*Letter from Mr. McGown, dated Feb. 7, 1881, in reply to the query: "If the tavern eight blocks south of McGown's house on the Kings-bridge road, north side of the present 97th*

*street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues, and marked on the road map of Colles in 1789 as Legget's Tavern, was the Black Horse of the Revolution."*

Dear Sir

The Tavern referred to in the road map of 1789 is the Black Horse Tavern of Revolutionary fame. I have been in the house in my boyhood, and if you desire I can at any time give you a full description of the house and surroundings. The house was set on fire and burned down about the year 1809, perhaps 1808. You may accept the latter date, 1808.

Will be happy to give you any information that I can in reference to the old Black Horse if you have no idea of it.

Yours,

S. BENSON MCGOWN.

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*In the month of February, 1878, Mr. Edward F. de Lancey communicated copies of the following curious documents to the N. Y. Historical Society. The Statement of Jones (the original in possession of Dr. Purple, of this city) written on both sides of a sheet of foolscap, is unfortunately imperfect.*

By a Resolve of Congress of the 18<sup>th</sup> Oct<sup>r</sup> 1775, It was Ordered that a well Authenticated Acc<sup>t</sup> of the Hostilities Committed by the Ministerial Troops & Navy in America Since March Last, Should be Collected with Proper Evidence of the Truth of the facts related, As Also the Number of Buildings destroyed by them, with the Number & Value of the Vessels Inward & Outward Bound which had been Seized by them Since that Period as near as the Value can be Ascertained, Also the Stock taken from different Parts of the Continent. In



Pursuance of the Above Resolve, the Following Memoran<sup>m</sup> of Damages Sustained by Nicholas Jones of New York Exhibits from Sep<sup>t</sup> 18. 1776 to Nov<sup>r</sup> 1783, at New York, & Bloomingdoll.

*At Bloomingdoll*

15 Tons of Fresh Hay @ £8,	
5 Tons Salt D <sup>o</sup> @ £3.11	
Cow @ £15.....	£300
3 Steers & a Heifer @ £15.	
4 yearlings at 60/ 11 Hogs	
@ 2 Guin <sup>a</sup> .....	113. 1.4
90 Bushels Wheat @ 6/ 20	
D <sup>o</sup> Rye @ 4/6 & 40 D <sup>o</sup>	
Oats @ 3/.....	37.10
a Bay Horse £25. a young	
Blooded Bay Mare £25..	50.
2 Waggon & a Cart, Sled &	
Sleigh & Sundry farming	
Utensils.....	57.
10 Barrils Vinegar @ 30/ 2	
Clocks @ £25, a Harppi-	
chord £50 .....	115.
a Mahogany Desk £14, Con-	
taining Papers, Receipts,	
Cancelld Bonds, & a Va-	
riety of Interesting Deeds,	
Jewelry &c. in a Trunk pier	
Glasses @ £12.2 Beds	
Bedsteads Bedding &c.	
£30.....	90.
Air pump, Apparatus, Books	
Perspective &c.....	30.
Carpets £10. Saddles £8. a	
Hamper & 2 Boxes fine	
China £30.....	48.
a Chest of Plate Chased &	
Plain between 4 & 5 hund <sup>d</sup>	
Oz.....	373. 6.8
Sundry Stores of flour Butter,	
Cloathes &c.....	50.

1100 Pannel of Fence £300	
Garden, Yard, Gates &c,	
pail fence £140.....	450.
3 Orchards of Best Ingrafted	
fruit Trees, Chiefly Winter	1,600.
The Barn, Farm House,	
Granary, Coach House,	
Barrack, Cyder Mill....	770.
a Field of Indian Corn &	
one of Buckwheat Worth	
£150 but charged Only..	30.
The Whole Stock of Timber,	
by Survey Consisting of	
700 trees from 3 feet to 3	
feet 4 Inches Diameter,	
which as property Con-	
ferred by Proclamation was	
Estimated @.....	42,000.
Vouchers for fuel of Sub	
Timber @ £4 7/8 Cord by	
Proc.....	4,000.
Damages by fire in 76 & 78	4,000.
Occupancy of the Farm	
from Sep <sup>t</sup> 76 to Nov <sup>r</sup> 83	
Comparatively with Bil-	
lets, on the presumption	
of Proclam <sup>l</sup> .....	20,000.
Abbatis for an Extensive	
Range of Works from the	
River to McGowen's Pass,	
which Comprehends Tim-	
ber for the Forts, & Plat-	
forms for the Redoubts,	
for upwards of 1800 Yards	Unspeakable
Which with a Hoghshead of	
Pewter Ware, & Family	
Pewter Copper Utensils &	
other Culinary Materials,	
are beyond Estimation to	
any degree of Accuracy	
To Pursue the General Idea of the Act	
of Congress Limiting the final Audit of	

Claimants on the Resolve Aforesaid it may be presumed no Impropriety to adduce on Evidence In Behalf of National Allies, Comparatively with Resolves of Congress Viz, I Have Already Issued (General Tryons Proc<sup>n</sup>. Dated 8<sup>th</sup> March) One hundred & twenty one Commissioners to as many Private Vessels of War, that in the Short space of Time Elapsed Since the Eighteenth of September Last, the Prize Vessels Arrived here Amount to One hundred & Sixty five and their Total Value to Above Six hundred thousand pounds, Lawful Money of New York at the Antient Currency of Eight Shillings a Milled Dollar & that by these Captures & the Signal

This is to certify that the Regiment Prince Hereditary of Hessian consisting of one Collonel, one Major, Two Captains, Fifteen Subalderns and five hundred ninty two Rank and file, included artillerie, Encamped at Bloumendall & the Estate of Mr Jones the 21 day of September 1776 and there furnished whit firewood from the same Estate to the 5 day of Decemb<sup>r</sup> following

B LUDEWIG  
L<sup>t</sup>. M<sup>r</sup>. Major

VON HACKENBERG  
Colonel

*A Buck-Wheat field*

Taken up by Humphry Jones in the Bowery, a black Horse, with a star, shod all round ; He has done much damage to a field of Buck-Wheat. Whoever he may belong to, is desired to send for him, and pay Charges

[N. Y. Gazette, Sept. 18, 1769.]

*The Jones Farm. The house was located about the line of 107th Street, west of 11th Avenue.*

To be Sold a Farm at Bloomingdale, about 200 acres more or less, seven miles from the city, on said farm is a large strong stone built house, pleasantly situated near the North River, conditions for the sale will be made easy to a purchaser. For particulars apply to Nicholas Jones on the premises, by whom an indisputable title will be given

[The Royal Gazette, Oct. 28, 1780.]

*Extracts from a Manuscript Order Book of the British Foot Guards, 1776.*

- Sept.* 20. All the facines and pickets to be carried to Jones's house near the North River and to Major Musgroves advanced post to the left of McGowan's House.
- Sept.* 21. A working party of 400 men will parade to morrow and march to McGowans House
- Sept.* 23. All remaining fascines to be sent to Jones's House
- " 24. The working party at McGowan's Hill to consist of 200 men only till further orders
- " 25. The working party at McGowans Hill will consist of 100 men only till further orders.
- " 28. A working party of 100 men to parade at daybreak on the Road to the right of Jones's House
- " 30. 50 more men to be added to the working party to the right of Jones's House
- Oct.* 2. 100 facines with pickets to be sent as soon as possible to the Rock Redoubt on the Right of Jones's House

Oct. 4. A Corporal & 6 men to be posted this evening at gun firing by Capt. Emerick at the North River Shore near Little Bloomingdale to allow no boats to ply without a proper pass; a guide will conduct the relief in the morning

“ 6. 50 men only to work at Jones's House

“ 11. Lieut Gen. Earl Percy is to command on N. Y. Island & parts adjacent.

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*Extract from a diary of Solomon E. Clift.*

A party from the enemy attacked the Americans, when a battle ensued, and continued about two hours, when the enemy gave way, and were pursued about two miles. In this action, the brave and intrepid Colonel Knowlton of Ashford, in Connecticut, was killed; and it is said Colonel Seldon, of Lyme, is among the slain. The loss the enemy sustained is said to have been very considerable. Our army is now between the nine and ten mile stones (Harlem) where they are strongly fortified and intrenched. The enemy's lines are about one mile and a half below them.

[Moore's Diary of the American Revolution, I., 310.]

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*Extract from the Autobiography of General Samuel Smith.*

After the retreat from Long Island the regiment [Smallwood's Maryland Regiment] marched to Harlem, about eight

miles from the City, where it lay encamped until the enemy landed on York Island [Sept. 15]. It then removed to the heights, near Fort Washington; pitched its tents; and advanced to the Heights of Harlem, to cover the Militia, retreating along the North River. The enemy made no advance that day; and the Regiment returned at night to its encampment. A smart skirmish took place the next day, between a Virginia Regiment and a detachment of the enemy. Smallwood's Regiment was ordered to reinforce it, but did not march, the enemy having retired.

[Historical Magazine, Feb., 1870.]

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*Extract from a letter of Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, to his Son Joseph, at Harlem, dated Lebanon, 21st September, 1776.*

The City is then left an Asylum & resting place for our Enemies—I suppose all the Heights which environ it—Bayard's—Jones' &c are abandoned to them.—

Strange! that they who fight pro aris & fosis, should behave in such a paltrous manner as you mention some of them did on Sunday—It seems some others made up for it on Monday—I lament the loss of the brave L<sup>r</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Knowlton—would others behave with the spirit and bravery he did, Our Affairs would soon put on a different Aspect.

What is there to prevent the Enemies' Ships going up North River—Or their penetrating by East River into the Sound.

[From Judge Shipman, of Hartford.]

## NOTES

THE LAST OF THE MOHEGANS — We have lately had an opportunity to inspect a very minute and particular statement of the number and present condition of the Mohegan Indians, drawn up by the overseer of the tribe, and have been permitted to make the following abstract :

The whole number of persons at present is 80, of whom are

Men.....	23
Women.....	24
Children.....	27
Children residing in Massachusetts.	6
Residing at Mohegan.....	62
Other places.....	18

Besides the natives at Mohegan, there are 60 white persons, tenants and their families, on their lands, making the whole number of residents on the Indian Reservation 122.

The number of deaths from the Indians in three years.....	4
Births.....	8
Houses on Reservation.....	25
Of which are occupied by the Indians.....	13
And by white tenants.....	12

The land owned by them contains about 2,700 acres, of which is held, in common, about 300, belonging to the tribe, and by individuals (of the tribe), 2,400 acres, the annual rent of which is divided among them. Among the individuals of this people is one, a widow, of the patriarchal age of ninety-seven, and has descendants to the fifth generation living with her under the same roof.

It will appear by the above, that the condition of the tribe is peculiarly favorable for their improvement in morals, and those arts of life upon which comfort and happiness chiefly depend, and it is to be regretted that this improvement is much needed, particularly among the males. The attention of the benevolent has for some time past been drawn toward these long-neglected sons of the forest, especially since the efforts for the suppression of intemperance have met with such decided success in various parts of our country. Within a few weeks a society has been formed in this town for the purpose of raising funds to build a small chapel or church for the use of the Indians, and from present appearances there are some hopes of success. That such measures are duly appreciated by the natives, and will be followed by corresponding advantages, is very certain. In the immediate vicinity of the road leading from this city to New London, there is a hill, from which both places are distinctly visible, and on or near this spot it is proposed to erect a building. The stones of the old Uncas Fort (hard by) may be used in building the walls, and the whole expense will be very trifling compared with the benefit which may reasonably be expected to flow from regular instruction in correct morals. The nearest church of any denomination is about five miles distant, and, from the peculiar habits of the Indians, it becomes necessary to bring these things to them, and if the plans now in agitation can be matured, they will be crowned with abundant success.

While we are upon the subject of the present situation of this remnant of a

once powerful tribe of Indians who were in former days a great protection to the inhabitants who first settled this town and vicinity, we cannot but wonder that the descendants of those who were benefited by their friendship and protection should feel so little interest in the last of the Mohegans. While we are sending thousands after thousands, even hundreds of thousands of dollars, for the benefit of the heathen in foreign lands, nothing is doing to reclaim from error those who dwell upon the beautiful hills within sight of our town.

It is astonishing also, to us, that any of the white inhabitants who dwell in the vicinity of the Indians should be base enough to commit depredations upon their lands, notwithstanding all the vigilance that can be used by the overseers, as we have understood that large quantities of young and thrifty wood is unlawfully taken from the land of the Mohegans, by some of their unprincipled neighbors, every year. W. K.

*Norwich Press, March 31, 1830.*

TAPPAN, N. Y.—In the New York Tribune of Sunday, December, 25, 1881, Antiquarian, of Newburyport, Mass., states that Tappansea derived its name from an early settler in New England, whose English name of Toppan was corrupted into Tappan. By reference to the document published in Vol. XIII. of "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York," Antiquarian will find the name of Tappan in use long before the neighborhood of Haverstraw, Tappan, and Nyack was settled by Europeans. I will not affirm that the name is of Indian

origin, but I think it was given to the part of Hudson's River now bearing it by some of the first navigators of the river, because of its resemblance to a *dripping-pan* set under the faucet of a beer-barrel, *tap* being the Dutch for faucet, and *paan* a pan, just as they called other parts the "Crooked Elbow," "Long Reach," "Clover Reach" (Claverack), etc.

B. F.

A CHURCH OF ENGLAND PAMPHLET—Lot No. 119 of Stevens' Catalogue of Americana, sold July 11, 1881. The book is entitled "The Real Advantages which People May Enjoy by Conforming to the Church of England." The veteran bibliographer and Americanist puts a note to this production that it is "written with more zeal than judgment," and makes some other grave remarks that show he has read the book, but was astonishingly blind to its real character. It is a mere take-off, like De Foe's Short Method with Dissenters. The author's commendations of the Church of England are such that Mr. Stevens ought to have seen no zeal could account for them. Thus, he says: "The Church of England College at New York will doubtless prove a relief to polite young gentlemen who are sick of the severities they are obliged to suffer at other colleges. This will soon eclipse the Presbyterian colleges, since the students, through the great wisdom of its governors, may make great proficiency in learning, and soon get degrees without much application to their studies. And then, its being in the city, learning will be cheaper, and the piety of the students often tried and promoted by overcoming temptations." Again he writes:

“This, then, is a principal advantage of the Church of England that the religion which is generally practised by her members is perfectly agreeable to polite gentlemen; whereas no gentleman can belong to other persuasions without meeting with a good deal of uneasiness from their doctrines, but more especially from their discipline.” And also, “How can Government subsist, unless we have a power to enforce and impose under the severest penalties an exact conformity to these our decent rites and ceremonies, for we always account them the most important part of our religion?” There are several more passages that quite as unmistakably reveal the true character of this production, particularly one which sets forth the advantages of the Church to ladies. The person suspected at the time of writing it was the Rev. Noah Hobart, of Fairfield, Connecticut.

F. BURDGE

MACOMB HOUSE, AT KINGSBRIDGE, N. Y.—By a note with which I have been favored by the venerable Dr. Bibby, of Courtland House, we learn that “this property, now held by Mr. Godwin, is an old estate, which, at the close of the War of Independence, belonged to the heirs of Medcef Eden, and was purchased by Alexander Macomb, a gentleman of considerable means. He had a tide-mill, and did business in flour, but, becoming unfortunate in business, sold to his son Robert, who married an heiress, but left no children. Robert laid out a great sum of money on the property. His wife was a Miss Pell.” Robert Macomb, the brother of Major-General Alexander, U.S.A., had also the title of general in the State Militia. His will is

dated September 19, 1812; it was in probate August 4, 1832; also, Alexander Macomb bought the place of Joseph Eden, May 4, 1799; facts given by S. C. Van Tassel, Esq., Dept. Register, White Plains.

W. H.

WASHINGTON ON THE MOSQUITO—General Washington told me that he was never so much annoyed by mosquitoes in any part of America as in Skenesborough, for that they used to bite through the thickest boot.—*Weld's Travels in America, 1795-97.*

MINTÓ

REVOLUTIONARY POWDER-HORN — In the large collection of historical relics owned by General R. W. Judson, of Ogdensburg, N. Y., is a large powder-horn carved with figures and devices: the British lion, unicorn, rooster, tiger, fish, trees, plan of the fort at Peekskill, and several others. It is also marked as follows: “Peckskill May ye 14<sup>th</sup> A.D. 1777 Abraham Buthnells Horn Freedom or Death.” All seem to have been cut with a knife, as they are composed of straight marks, evidently the amusement of some idle, ingenious revolutionary soldier.

R. W. JUDSON

*Ogdensburg, N. Y.*

PAUL JONES' MEDAL—*Amsterdam, Feb. 1st, 1790.* Dear Sir:—Since I was honored with your letter of the 13th ult., I have been in constant expectation of the Appearance of Mr. Grand's Son, by whom you purposed to send my Medal; but as I learn to-day from his Correspondent

here that his Journey this way is very Uncertain, I request you not to trouble him with the Medal unless he can undertake to deliver it to me before the 12th or 13th of this Month. After that time I shall probably be absent from hence.

I am at a loss to imagin how the sum of about (2,000) two thousand Lives, loged by Mr. Jeffison in the hands of Mr. Grand for my Account, has been employed. I shall very soon take a new arrangement to pay Mr. Handan. I thank you for your communication to Mr. de Simolin, & am glad to hear of the arrival of Mr. Jeffison in Virginea. Adau, my dear Sir, I am Sincerely yours, &c.

PAUL JONES

The Honble. Wm. Short, Esq., Charge d'Affaires des Etat-Unes a Paris.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE

THE HAYTIAN STYLE—The body of the late President Petlon of Hayti was conveyed to the tomb, under the Liberty Tree, in Port au Prince, on a funeral-car drawn by six horses, each covered with black cloth. He had his uniform on, and his hat and sword by his side. His bowels were buried at Fort National, and his heart was delivered in an urn to the care of his daughter.—*Weekly Visitor and Ladies' Museum, May 23, 1818.*

PETERSFIELD

ARRIVAL OF BERKLEY—By letters from Boston, in New England, dated the 27th of January 1728-9, we have a certain Account that the Lucy, Capt. Cobb, arived at Rhode Island 4 Days before, from London, but last from Virginia, having on

Board Dean Berkley, his Lady, her Sister, Mr. James (eldest Son of Sir Cane James, Bart.), Mr. Dalton, Mr. Smibert, &c. who are going with the Dean to settle at Bermuda. She was 4 Months and 16 Days before she got into Virginia, having sail'd from the Downs the 9th of September, and 'till now hath not been heard of.

MINTO

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QUERIES

A FRENCH MILITARY QUAKER—What was the name of the French officer described in the following extract from the Time Piece of September 1, 1797? There is now at Newport, Rhode Island, a French preacher among the Friends, who is much admired and followed. He was an officer in the French cavalry until converted to Quakerism. His life and manners are irreproachable, his doctrines simple, and strictly conformable to the purity and spirituality of the tenets of that respectable sect. This military convert, this modern Cornelius, does not attempt to dazzle his hearers by that glow of oratory so natural to his countrymen, but speaks with all that deliberation and mildness so remarkable among the Friends. He preaches but seldom, and when he does, he pauses half a minute between his sentences. The purity of the heart, the worshipping in the spirit, the futility of ceremonies, and the joys of the New Jerusalem, are the faultless themes which fall from his deliberate tongue. Although he is so perfect a Friend in his doctrines and manners of public speaking, yet his drab-colored, plain cloth coat cannot conceal the gen-

teel movement of the Frenchman, nor his broad beaver wholly veil that sagacious physiognomy and eyes of fire which ever distinguish the sons of Gaul. The Friends esteem him a remarkable and very valuable convert, raised up by the great head of the Church for some good and glorious purpose, while some of the wicked and uncharitable hesitate not to whisper their suspicions that he is an artful man, who means to become the father confessor of the whole flock. He may be what he seems, a well-meaning, conscientious man, yet it cannot be deemed illiberal if so extraordinary a character should be followed by the eye of suspicion, seeing he comes from a nation who have systematized intrigue, even before Ignatius Loyola founded that influential order, the Society of Jesus, who by their machinations were at one time in a fair way of governing all Europe. W. K.

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THE GEORGE CLINTON SOCIETY—I have in my possession an Oration on the Death of George Clinton, delivered before the George Clinton Society of New York, May 12, 1812, by Elbert Herring.

It appears from the printed proceedings in the pamphlet that, at a stated meeting held at the Union Hotel, a committee, consisting of Walter Osgood, Charles Dickenson, Jr., and John McKensie, were appointed to convey to the orator the thanks of the society for his eloquent oration.

What was the origin, object, and fate of this society? Possibly some aged member still survives to tell the story.

W. H.

THE MARYLAND GAZETTE—The following advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of December 13, 1780:

“To be sold, THE MARYLAND GAZETTE, from January, 1755, to June, 1767 (Eleven Years and a half compleat), containing the most remarkable occurrences in those Times, both foreign and domestic: Neatly printed by Jonas Green, at ANNAPOLIS, and bound in five Volumes Folio. With 37 select Gazettes preceding the whole, in which are inserted The Oeconomy of Human Life; Major Washington’s (our present illustrious General) Journal to the Ohio, in the year 1755, &c. &c. &c.

“December 12, 1780.

“The Books may be seen, and the Price known, at Mr. Benjamin January’s, Bookbinder and Stationer opposite the Coffee-House, in Front Street, Philadelphia.”

Has this file been preserved?

IULUS

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THE UGLY CLUB—In Hone’s Table Book, I., 264, is the following: “The Ugly Club. (From a New York newspaper.) The members of the Ugly Club are requested to attend a special meeting at Ugly Hall, 4 Wall St., on Monday evening next, at half-past seven o’clock precisely, to take into consideration the propriety of offering to the Committee of defence the services of their ugly carcasses, firm hearts, sturdy bodies, and unblistered hands. His Ugliness being absent, this meeting is called by order of

“HIS HOMELINESS.

“August 13.”

What is known of this organization?

C.



## REPLIES

THE BATTLE OF SAN JACINTO (IV. 321)  
 —I received lately from a friend in Texas, Col. M. A. Bryan, a letter enclosing a communication addressed to him by Judge Calder, of Texas, the only survivor among the captains who commanded companies in the battle of San Jacinto. I some months ago referred to the latter through the former a few historical queries, accompanied by the May (1880) number of the Magazine (IV. 321), in which my article on that action appeared, and Calder's letter was written in reply to those questions. I send a copy of it, for anything that throws light on disputed points of history must be interesting if the events they relate to have any importance.

Calder justifies Houston's retreat from the Colorado more positively than I did. He mentions a noteworthy fact which I omitted: the rigorous course of drilling to which Houston subjected his troops while delayed on the Brazos. This in a measure accounts for the greater reliance which, at San Jacinto, he placed in less than 800 against 1,300, than he felt on the Colorado in the larger number against the smaller. Calder contradicts the assertion made after the campaign, that the army had occasion to mutiny against farther retreat on arriving at a fork of the road, leading, one branch to the Trinity, and the other to Harrisburg. He gives Houston credit for going voluntarily into the battle of San Jacinto, instead of being dragged into it by the eagerness of his troops; but he also surmises that his commander may have laid an anchor to the windward to save his reputation in case of defeat, a trick to enable him to plead

willingness or coercion, according to the result. This notion, which I have not before met with, shows deep shrewdness in the writer. It accords with the far-sighted cunning of Houston, and accounts for some of his steps when the fight was impending, which were supposed by many to betoken irresolution. The pains he took to draw out a pugnacious demonstration from officers and men do not agree with the habit of one who had no distrust of his own sagacity, nor any fondness for the advice of subordinates. When Houston said, that day, to Lamar, in tones of doubt, "Do you think we ought to fight now?" he knew what the answer would be as well as he knew his own determination; and had he been beaten, that answer would have come up in judgment against Lamar.

The historical queries I have alluded to were referred to Judge Calder, not only as the ranking officer among living eye-witnesses, but as a gentleman whose intelligence and candor, free from partisan bias, I knew could be fully trusted; and I thank him for the clearness and force with which he has supplemented my narrative. R. M. POTTER

RICHMOND, TEXAS, August 25, 1880.  
 Col. M. A. BRYAN,  
*Brenham, Texas:*

MY DEAR FRIEND—I hope you will pardon the delay in answering your letter of last month endorsing Capt. R. M. Potter's. The principal cause of the delay was this: On receipt of your Magazine of American History, I read the captain's account of the campaign of 1836, and the battle of San Jacinto, with so much interest that I could not resist the desire of

imparting it to my friends. It got out of my hands, and after a few days I could not recollect to whom I had loaned it, and did not wish to answer the questions in relation to General Houston's policy in that campaign without a reperusal of the article. I got the book last week, and, after a second reading of Captain Potter's account, I became still better satisfied its truthfulness and accuracy of detail, and sound but mild criticism on Houston's conduct in that campaign, place the narrative (in my judgment) ahead of anything heretofore written on that subject. But the most interesting portion of the captain's narrative to me was his admirable portrayal of the character of Sam Houston. No person within my knowledge has ever done it half so well. Whilst his enemies, on the one hand, have endeavored to sully his name and character by the imputation of every weakness and every vice "which flesh is heir to," his friends and satellites, on the other hand, have endeavored to place him on the very highest pinnacle of moral and political fame. Captain Potter's narrative has, without doubt, struck a happy medium. The people of Texas, in the future as in the past, will always regard Sam Houston as the right man in the right place, whether in command of the armies or at the head of the civil government. But you and I, my old friend, know that his vanity (or pride, if you will) and ambition led to exhibitions of vindictive jealousy totally unworthy of his great ability. It hurt him to see the slightest ray of the sunshine of popular favor fall upon any other than his own stately head. Like Haman of old, "his soul was disgusted when he saw Mordecai,

the Jew, sitting at the king's gate." By this unhappy temperament he wilfully and of his own accord made enemies of some of the noblest and most generous spirits of our land, viz., Branch T. Archer, M. B. Lamar, Sydney Sherman, and John T. Wharton. I never forgave him till his death for the cowardly and slanderous attack on Sherman in the Senate of the U. S.

The first of the disputed questions referred to in Captain Potter's letter is whether Houston ought or ought not to have fought the Mexican regiment on the west side of the Colorado, whilst our army was on the east bank. I have always held the negative, viz., that he ought not. I am free to confess that my opinion was mainly confirmed by General Houston's own language to me on the march to the Brazos, about three o'clock in the evening, before we reached San Felipe. His reasons for avoiding that action were, in my opinion, so forcible that I have never forgotten them. I will try and give the conversation verbatim: I was riding on the left flank of my company. General Houston came up from the rear, and reining up alongside, said, "Well, Captain, what do you think upon the whole of our movement from the Colorado?" Said I: "General, I have been willing to forego any expression of opinion on my part thus far. I never had any doubt of whipping the force on the west bank of the Colorado; but I suppose it is your purpose to draw the enemy into the heart of the country, the Brazos, where we can get reinforcements and supplies, and where a defeat to him will be fatal." General Houston said, "That's it, my friend; certainly we could

have wiped out the little force at the Colorado ; but, Captain, we cannot fight our enemies, however successful we may be, without wounds, and death perhaps. What facilities have we for removing wounded men across this extensive prairie, when we have not transportation for ammunition even? Now, sir, if we had cut up the little force on the Colorado, the immediate result would have been that the enemy would have concentrated his entire force, and would have attacked us with every advantage on these extensive prairies. Now, sir, as you have said, we will take up an eligible position on the Brazos, and go up or down, as the case may be (my own words), and we will give them hell, sir ; and we will have the steamboat which I have had seized to assist us in transportation."

Such was our conversation ; and I thought and still think that his argument was unanswerable. Now, sir, I was young and pretty green, if I was the captain of Company K, but felt certain that the general was working me as a pump-handle to draw out of me the opinions of my company, for you know, my old friend, that there were many intelligent and worthy citizens of our lower country in Company K, viz., Anson Jones, B. C. Franklin, P. D. McNeel, and many others ; but I know you will pardon any little emotion or vanity that I might have felt at this very confidential intercourse between a young officer and so august an individual as the commander-in-chief. However, if I felt such an emotion, it was vanity badly frostbitten before the rising of another sun.

When we camped for the night at the Brazos, Somerville, and other friends be-

sides the mess, were at my tent, and I of course detailed my interview with the commander-in-chief, assuring them that retreat was at an end, etc. Somerville (God bless his memory !) broke out in one of his laughs, and said, "Calder, I'll bet you a horse we are on the retreat again to-morrow." This I very indignantly disputed ; but, while we were discussing the matter, one of the adjutants walked into the tent and said, "Capt. Calder, you are detailed for duty as officer of the day for to-morrow. The new guard will be mounted in marching order at sunrise," etc. Now we all knew what this meant, but my comrades had the good feeling not to run the laugh at my expense.

The second query, "Did Sam Houston fight willingly, or unwillingly, the battle of San Jacinto?" On this subject, I have made up my theory of the matter long since. Sam Houston, in common with all able military commanders, had a distrust of raw, irregular troops, however gallant the material might be. That raw troops are liable to panic, you, my old friend, know as well as I do. I will cite an instance in 1835, the first grass-fight. Capt. Eberling's company, as gallant a one as our army contained, from a false alarm, stampeded. Now, the material of that company, you and I know, was second to none in our army at that time. The distrust, I think, caused Houston to hide us in the Brazos' bottom, where we went through a regular company drill, commencing at 4 o'clock, A.M. This was doubtless to bring the troops to habits of obedience ; and at first with some it was a heavy task to get the men out for drill. One of my mess, W. P. Rees, swore that, although he had many times danced to the

tune of the "Dashing White Sergeant," if he ever got home, and any musician presumed to play it in his service, he would thrash him if he could; but the object was accomplished, I think. Now, many absurd stories have been circulated about Houston's progress from Brazos to the final consummation at San Jacinto. As I never had the honor of being called to a council of war but once, I can only state what I know. It was said, after leaving Donaho's, that, at the forks of the road, at a certain store or dwelling, the army broke off tumultuously, contrary to the orders of Houston.\* I have always branded this story as a falsehood. From the morning of the march from Donaho's until our arrival at Harrisburg, I was always in the advance, sometimes in command of the guard as officer of the day, and sometimes with my company under the orders of Col. John A. Wharton or Col. Burlison, as scouts. On the morning we reached the forks of the road and halted, there was a slight shower falling; one of the field or staff officers came up and directed us to take the right hand road, and we proceeded on. Now, at this distance of time, I can only recollect that the directions were given by one in authority. I neither saw nor heard at the time of any disorder, nor do I believe there was any. With regard to Houston's reluctance to fight the enemy at San Ja-

\* This refers to the assertion made after the event, that, on reaching the fork of the road here mentioned, Houston ordered the troops to take the left hand road to Eastern Texas, by way of a ferry on the Trinity, but that the army refused, and mutinously took the right hand road to Harrisburg. Calder's position in the advance makes his contradiction of this trustworthy beyond doubt.

cinto, I do not believe he felt any; but General Houston was an able and a shrewd man and commander, and in thinking over events after the action of the 21st, I remembered that I had never been called to a council of war until the afternoon of the 21st of April, when Burlison, riding along the line of his regiment, called his captains to a conference at a certain peccan tree, to take our opinion on the proper time for attacking, viz., whether at 4 o'clock the following morning, or for immediate attack, that Mosely Baker and myself voted for 4 o'clock, and all the rest for an immediate attack. It struck me afterward, that if the attack had been disastrous for us, the General might have said that he was forced into the measure by his officers. This is a mere opinion of my own, with perhaps a very slight basis. That Houston had any reluctance of a personal nature I never believed. As for the charges of that contemptible tramp and swell, Major Perry (as he called himself), to whom Capt. Potter alludes, nothing that he could say derogatory to any person, much less to Sam Houston, would have the slightest weight with any respectable person who knew him. I was one of that number, and if you and I meet again, I will give you two little episodes that occurred while he was with us in the army, illustrative of his vanity and impudence.

But, my old friend, I greatly fear that this long and rambling letter will bore you. I have written as memory prompted me, and found no stopping-place till the present. When you write to Capt. Potter, if you find anything worth transcribing for him, please to do so, and at

the same time, give him the assurance of my profound respect and regard; and, further, that it would be a source of gratification if I should meet him at our next annual gathering. Very respectfully, and truly yours,

R. J. CALDER

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES—(VII., 249)—Under the head of Insubordination, it is stated that during the Revolt in the Pennsylvania Line these troops left their camp and marched in an orderly manner direct to the doors of Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, and demanded redress in person. Such was *not* the case, as will be seen by reference to the History of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolution, where a Diary of the Revolt is given. Historians, as a general thing, also lose sight of the fact that the causes which led to the revolt were the failure to provide for the pay and necessities of the troops and the misconstruction of the terms of the enlistment, which were for “three years or *during the war.*” It may not be generally known, but it is a significant coincidence that during the War for the Union a somewhat similar interpretation came very nigh causing trouble.

WILLIAM H. EGLE

DISPOSITION AND ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES—(VII. 267)—In the table given by Professor Asa Bird Gardner, there are errors which it is proper to correct. Brigadier-General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg was then from Virginia. Pennsylvania has never claimed the services of that gallant officer during the Revolution, and

by reference to the History of the Pennsylvania Line in the Revolution, General Muhlenberg's name does not appear, save in the account of battles or in the orderly books. It is true that, a native of Pennsylvania, after the peace he returned to that State, and was elected Vice-President thereof. It is true that the commissioners empowered to select subjects for statuary to represent Pennsylvania at the National Capital chose as one subject General Muhlenberg, when either Wayne or Mifflin should have been selected, for the State has the credit for their services in the Revolution, while Virginia has those of General Muhlenberg. The composition of the commissioners, a majority of whom were *related* to the Muhlenbergs, accounts for their decision.

Now, as to the officers in command of the battalions of Pennsylvanians at Yorktown, Major Gardner has taken the “arrangement of January 1, 1781” as his guide. This is wrong, because it does not give credit to the officers who were really in command of the Pennsylvania troops at that siege. The six regiments (after the revolt) were recruiting at Easton, Downingtown, Lebanon, Carlisle, and General Wayne's movement requiring haste, detachments were made of all the soldiers recruited and of officers belonging to the six regiments, and hurried off to York, Pennsylvania. Those of the First and Second were thrown into one battalion, which was commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart, of the Second Regiment; those of the Third and Fifth into one battalion, commanded by Colonel Richard Butler, of the Fifth Regiment; and those of the Fourth and Sixth

into a battalion, commanded by Colonel Richard Hampton. The lieutenant-colonels were Thomas Robinson, of the First, and Josiah Harmar, of the Third. The majors were James Hamilton, of the Second; William Alexander, of the Third; Evan Edwards, of the Fourth, and Thomas L. Moore, of the Fifth. The balance of the line, under Colonel Thomas Craig, did not reach Yorktown until the day of the surrender. Major James Parr, of the Seventh Pennsylvania, was in command of a corps of riflemen enlisted for the occasion, with the main army under Washington. He commanded in the advance at Yorktown, while Major James R. Reid, of York County, Pennsylvania, of Hazen's regiment, had command of the rear-guard of the main (American) army during the siege.

W. H. E.

SPRINGETTSBURY MANOR, PA. [VII. 229, 374.]—In the last sentence of my reply to the query of J. B. B., in regard to the location of Springettsbury Manor, I wrote: "It was granted to Springett Penn in 1722, and contained 64,520 acres." Springett Penn was the grandson and heir of William Penn; but the compositor, who had probably never heard of him, supposed the surname was an abbreviation of Pennsylvania, and printed thus: "It was granted to Springett, Pa., in 1722, and contained 64,520 acres."

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

JUDGE WILLIAM SMITH AND CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM SMITH [VI. 264, 418]—*Corrections and Addenda.*

*April Number, 1881*—The engraved

etching of Judge Smith is from a life-size portrait by John Wollaston, 1751, not from a miniature. Wollaston's works are rare; the best known is that of Martha Washington at Arlington. Judge Smith's portrait was taken to Canada immediately after the revolution; it is now returned to New York, and is in the possession of the writer.

Page 271, line 1—Strike out the word "England" and read Connecticut. Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, the widow of Colonel (at some time Rector of Yale College, member of the Legislature, and a Judge) Elisha Williams, of Connecticut, died June 13, 1776, at the house of Sheriff Williams, at Wethersfield, Conn. Some account of her may be found in Nathaniel Goodwin's *Genealogical, &c., Notes of the first families of Conn. and Mass.*; and also in the *Williams Genealogy*, printed 1847. Her portrait is still in existence.

Page 278—The *New York Commercial Advertiser* of February 14, 1812, furnishes the exact date of the death of Dr. James Smith, viz., February 12, 1812.

Page 282, line 8, second column—Strike out the single quotation mark.

*June Number, 1881*—Page 430, line 14—Strike out the words "her son-in-law." Dr. Mallet married a niece of Mrs. Smith, see p. 276.

Page 430, line 15—Strike out the word "son" and read brother-in-law, see p. 178.

Page 439, line 28—Strike out the word Susanna and read "Jennet."

MATURIN L. DELAFIELD

*Fieldston, 1881.*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR ANDRÉ

Winthrop Sargent published *Memoirs of Major John André*, 12mo, Boston, Ticknor & Fields, 1861. Sargent died in Paris, May 18, 1870 (*Drake's Dict. of Am. Biog.*, *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 1869-70, 322, 324). The year following his death, a new edition of his book appeared, "published by those who knew him best," as his memorial, *Life of André*, cr. 8vo, New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1871, illus. with portraits of the author and André. This latter edition is simply a reprint, not a revised copy, of the first. Mr. Sargent was an elegant and accomplished man, and his interesting book contains valuable matter relating to nearly the whole Revolutionary contest, though he displayed the usual weakness of biographers, in taking too favorable a view of his hero. The Sargent papers are in the possession of William Butler Duncan, of New York. In preparing the book, every repository that could be heard of was examined, and libraries and State Paper offices, both here and in Europe, were ransacked to supply material. Previous to the publication of this book, the most complete account of the André and Arnold affair was that in Jared Sparks' *Life and Treason of Arnold*, 16mo, 1835, forming vol. iii. of the *Lib. of Am. Biog.* It is illustrated with a fac-simile of André's sketch of himself, specimens of handwriting, and a map. The book is styled by Lord Mahon "careful and judicious." The papers used by Sparks in writing it are in the library of Harvard College; his printed books are at Cornell University. Sparks, in gathering material for it, wrote, in 1833 (through Josiah Quincy), to Col. Benj. Tallmadge for information. The letters which passed between them are in the possession of Mary E. Norwood, of N. Y. They are printed in the *Mag. of Am. Hist.* for Dec., 1879, pp. 247-256.

*General Accounts*—Bancroft, x. 395, followed "only contemporary documents, which are abundant and of the surest character, and which, taken collectively, solve every question." Irving, *Life of Wash.*, iv., compiled his account from the ordinary printed sources, except that he made use of the MSS. of Col. Benj. Tallmadge, then in the possession of Tallmadge's daughter, Mrs. J. P. Cushman, of Troy, N. Y. He mentions having talked with Com. Hiram Paulding, a son of the captor, in regard to his father, and also with a woman (probably one of the Romer family, of Tarrytown), who remembered seeing André the day he was taken. Irving, although he had considerable local knowledge of the scene of the capture, made no use of it in relating the story. He had travelled in Spain with one of the Sneyd family (*Irving's Life*, ii.). Hildreth, iii., ch. 41, gives an outline. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i., ch. 30, 31, and 32, gives an account which contains much local detail, and is illustrated with numerous wood-cuts. The same author's book, the *Hudson from the Wilderness to the Sea*, 4to, New York, 1866, gives a general account,

with wood-cut illustrations. Isaac N. Arnold, *Life of Benedict Arnold*, 12mo, Chicago, 1880, gives an account in which he endeavors to show the incentives to Arnold's treason. Dunlap's *Hist. of New York*, ii., ch. 13. Marshall's *Washington*, iv. 274. Hamilton's *Life of Alex. Hamilton*, i. 262. Elihu G. Holland's *Highland Treason*, in his *Essays*. J. T. Headley's *Washington and his Generals*. Freeman Hunt's *Letters about the Hudson*, 1836, contains some traditional gossip that lacks verification. Leake's *Life of Genl. John Lamb*. Greene's *Life of Genl. Greene*, ii. 227. Cooper's *Travelling Bachelor* gives particulars "which," says Sargent, "are valuable from the authorities which supplied them. He heard not only Lafayette's recollections declared, forty-five years later, on the very ground, but also had Arnold's own statement from a British officer who was present at a dinner given in New York, when Arnold related his escape with an impudence that was scarcely less remarkable than his surprising self-possession." Genl. Hull's *Revolutionary Services on André and Nathan Hale*. Quincy's *Life of Maj. Samuel Shaw*, 8vo, p. 77. Harper's *Magazine*, iii. and xxiii. *Andréana*, 8vo, 1865, contains the trial and other material relating to the subject. The *Pictorial History of England* gives an account from the British tory point of view. The exponent of this class, however, is Lord Mahon, of whom more hereafter. Dr. T. A. Emmet, of N. Y., has an enlarged copy of Sargent's *André* and the *Andréana*, the two 12mo volumes being extended to seven volumes thick 8vo by the insertion of a large number of autograph letters, portraits, maps, views of places, etc. This unique work forms the basis of an illustrated article by Lossing in Harper's *Magazine* for May, 1876. *Hist. Mag.*, Aug., 1859; Aug., 1863; Supplement of 1866; and Dec., 1870. *Niles's Register*, xx. *Southern Literary Messenger*, xi. *Nat. Quarterly Review*, Dec., 1862. Barbe Marbois, the French Secretary of Legation to the United States during the Revolution, published *Complot d'Arnold et Sir H. Clinton, contre les États Unis d'Amérique et contre Le Général Washington*, 8vo, Paris, 1816. A translation of it is in Walsh's *Am. Register*, ii., 1817. Cf. *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna.*, vi. 329, and Sargent's *André*, 266, for various opinions in regard to Marbois. Prof. G. W. Greene says the book "is neither so accurate nor so complete as might have been expected." Marbois's version of a letter found among Arnold's papers, and supposed by Sargent to be written by Robinson, is retranslated by Sargent, App. i. Boynton's *Hist. of West Point*, 8vo, N. Y., 1863, points out the military importance of that post, and gives a general account.

*English Comment*—Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, Edin., 1859, art. "André," pronounces him to be "a spy of the worst sort," and refers to the 2d vol. of the *Biog. Dict. of the Soc. for the Diff. of Useful Knowledge*. Adolphus (*Hist. of Eng.*, iii., ch. 39) takes an "adverse view of the American grounds." A brief account of the matter is given by Lord Mahon (afterward Earl Stanhope) in his *Hist. of Eng.*, vol. 7, London, 1854, in which he designates André's execution as "the greatest and perhaps the only blot" in Washington's career. This assertion was answered by Maj. Charles J. Biddle in an elaborate monograph, covering ninety-seven pages of the



6th vol. of the Mem. of the Hist. Society of Penna. ("Contributions to Am. Hist."), 8vo, Phil., 1658. In this is a very full statement of the case in its relations to military law. Earl Stanhope also has an article on "Washington and André," in his Miscellanies (2d series), Lond., 1872. In this he states that he held a correspondence on the subject of Miss Seward's statements with Geo. Ticknor, the historian, which led to the searching, by the latter, of Col. Humphreys' papers, then (1855) in the possession of Mr. D. G. Olinstead, of N. Y. (see Potter's Am. Monthly for Aug., 1876). Historical Mag. (N. Y.) for July, 1857. Massey (Hist. of Eng., iii., ch. 25) exonerates Washington. Most of the British opinions on the subject are examined by Biddle and Sargent. A British estimate from the Saturday Review, 1872, is in Sabin's Am. Biblioplist, Oct., 1872. Cf. with Moore's Diary of the Am. Rev., ii. 393, where is given the contemporary British view. Jones's New York in the Rev. War, i., ch. 18, judges Arnold to have played "a noble and virtuous part." Stedman (Chas.), Hist. of the Am. War, Lond., 1794 (this book, according to Lowndes, was written by Wm. Thomson, LL.D.). The copy in the library of the late Jno. Carter Brown, at Providence, R. I., belonged to Sir Henry Clinton himself, and contains his MS. account of the André affair. This is printed in Sargent, pp. 415-419; in the N. Y. Tribune, May 24, 1875; and in Jones's New York in the Rev. War, i., 737. A section of it is wanting in that given by Mahon, Hist. of Eng., vii. (rep. in Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna., vi. 413-416). Clinton's Observations on Stedman's History, Lond., 1794, was privately reprinted in New York in 1864. Comments on André's case are in the Life of Sir Samuel Romilly, i. 104; the Journal of Lieut. Mathew (this Journal was communicated to Thos. Balch, of Phila., and published in the Hist. Mag. of Boston, i., No. 4. 102); Mackinnon's Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards, ii., 9; The London Critic and Literary Journal, Aug. 15, 1857; extract from the London Daily News, quoted in Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna., vi. 388; Hinton's Hist. and Topographical Hist. of the U. S.; Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the Situation of the U. S., Lond., 1794, by the Rev. W. Winterbotham; E. T. Coke's Travels; the Gentleman's Magazine, Jan., 1855; the N. A. Review, Jan., 1855; Chalmers's Biog. Dict., art. "Washington;" Pictorial Hist. of the Reign of George III., i. 434; The London General Evening Post, Nov. 14, 1780; Miss Seward's Dedication to Sir Henry Clinton of a Monody on Major André. For a summing up of British comment on the subject cf. Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna., vi., pp. 319-416, and Sargent's André, ch. 21 and 22.

*The Case of Major Andre*—In the Brown library, at Providence, R. I., is a book bearing the title, "The Case of Major John André, Adjutant-General to the British Army, Who was put to Death by the Rebels, October 2, 1780, Candidly Represented: With Remarks on the Said Case. 'If there were no other Brand upon this odious and accursed Civil War, than that Single Loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all Posterity.'—Lord Clarendon." New York: Rivington, 1780. 4to, pp. 27. It was probably never published, for this copy, the only one known to exist,

is made up of the printer's proofs. This tract was unquestionably drawn up under Clinton's supervision, and my own opinion, after a very careful examination of it, is that it was written by Clinton himself—intended by him to be published as an offset to the Proceedings of a Board, etc., issued by the Americans, but withdrawn from the press by him after the types had been set up and the first proofs taken off. (See *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Dec., 1879, p. 742, note by John Austin Stevens.) Sargent examined the book, and describes it in a foot-note to his *Life of André*, p. 274. It contains an account of the circumstances under which André was taken; the correspondence of the commissioners; the narrative of Captain Sutherland of the "Vulture;" Greene's letter from Tappan, October 2, 1780; the official announcement to the British army of André's death, etc., etc. It terms the three captors "peasants," and states that André's gallows was "placed in full view of the windows of Washington's headquarters, as if the sight afforded him pleasure."

*The Cow-Chase*—This appeared first in *Rivington's Gazette*, for 1780, at intervals: the first canto August 16, the second August 30, and the third and last on September 23, the day of its author's capture. After his death it appeared in book form—*Cow-Chase in Three Cantos*, published on occasion of the Rebel General Wayne's Attack of the Refugees' Block-House on Hudson's River, on Friday, July 21, 1780. New York: Rivington, 1780, 8vo, pp. 69;—followed by *The Cow-Chase, an Heroick Poem, in Three Cantos*, written at New York, 1780, by the late Major André, with Explanatory Notes by the Editor.

"The man who fights and runs away,  
May live to fight another day,"  
Said Butler in his deathless lay.  
"But he who is in battle slain,  
Can never rise to fight again;"  
As wisely thought good General Wayne.

London: Fielding, 1781, 4to, pp. 32. An advertisement in *Rivington* offers for sale "Monody on Major André, by his friend and correspondent, Miss Seward, with three letters written by him, at eighteen years of age, to a most accomplished young lady, the object of his tenderest affection; also a few copies of the three cantos of the *Cow-Chase*, which makes the collection complete respecting the literary productions of this ever-valued and universally beloved young gentleman." An advertisement to the English edition before me states that André was put to death "By a set of miscreants calling themselves general officers in the American Rebellion . . . with the inhuman Washington at their head." The *Cow-Chase* is printed by Dunlap, with his tragedy of André (London, 1799); in *Lossing's Field-Book of the Am. Rev.* ii. 684, with a fac-simile of the last stanza; in *Lossing's "Hudson from the Wild. to the Sea,"* 4to, N. Y., n. d., pp. 441-448; in *Moore's Songs and Ballads of the Am. Rev.*, 12mo, N. Y., 1856 (the name Tinack in the 13th stanza is printed by Moore as "Nyack"); and it was also published in 8vo, at Cincinnati, 1869, pp. 32.

An original manuscript copy, in the handwriting of André himself, is in the collection of autographs which belonged to the late Rev. Wm. B. Sprague, of Albany, N. Y. It is written on small folio paper, is signed by André, and dated "Elizabethtown, Aug. 1, 1780. It was made by its author for some person in New Jersey, and by this fact is suggested the idea that he was in the habit of making copies of it for his friends. On the MS., under the endorsement of André himself, is written :

"When the epic strain was sung,  
The poet by the neck was hung;  
And to his cost he finds too late,  
The dung-born tribe decides his fate."

There would seem to be another autograph copy in existence, for Sargent (who prints it in his André) makes but incidental mention of the above, though he states (p. 235) that he prints his version from the published editions, collated with the original manuscript in André's handwriting. A notice of Jno. Thompson, the wood-cutting agent (Sargent, p. 234), with whom André boarded, is in Sabine's *Am. Loyalists* (ed. 1864) ii. 355.

*Contemporary Records*—The papers found in André's boots are in the State Library at Albany, N. Y. A writer in the *N. Y. World*, Sep. 28, 1880, says that the one marked 7, "Minutes of a Council of War, &c.," is missing. With them are the passes signed by Arnold, and a letter and memorandum of Joshua Hett Smith. These papers were printed in the *N. Y. Herald* in 1842, and reprinted by J. G. Bennett in pamphlet form the same year, "Rev. Relics or Clinton Correspondence," N. Y., 1842. All of them are printed *in extenso* in Bolton's *Hist. of Westchester County, N. Y.* (first ed., 1848, new ed. recently printed) i. 215-223; and in Boynton's *Hist. of West Point*, 110-120. Lossing (*F. B. of the Rev.*, i. 721) says those written upon one side of the paper only have been pasted upon thicker paper for preservation; the others still exhibit the wrinkles made by André's feet in his boots. The official and other writings of Washington relative to André are in the 7th vol. of Sparks's *Life and Writings of Washington*. Washington's Order-Book for the period of André's capture and execution is in the *Am. Hist. Record*, ed. by B. J. Lossing, for March, 1874. Jameson's letter to Arnold, in which he specifies the papers found on the prisoner, and his letter of countermand to Lieut. Allen, are in *The Case of Maj. A.*, p. 18. The statement of Tallmadge, who first saw André on the morning of the 24th, is in the *Mag. of Am. Hist.*, iii. 743-756, and *A Memoir of Col. Benj. Tallmadge*, prepared by himself at the Request of his Children, 8vo, N. Y., 1858 (Cf. with Sparks's Arnold, p. 233). The statement of Lieut. King, to whose custody André was entrusted, is in the *N. Y. Hist. Mag.*, Oct., 1857, p. 293; rep. by H. B. Dawson, in the *Yonkers Gazette*, June 7, 1865, as No. 7 of the documents collected by him on the capture of André; it is also in the *Boston Sunday Herald*, Sep. 14, 1879; *N. Y. Evening Post*, Sep. 16, 1879 (from the *New Haven Palladium*, date not given); and the *Sunnyside Press*, Tarrytown, N. Y., Sep. 18, 1880. (In

Recollections of a Lifetime, by S. G. Goodrich, N. Y., 1856, may be found a biographical notice of Lieut. (afterward General) Joshua King, and also his letter relating to André's capture). André's letter to Washington, Sep. 24, 1780, is in Proc. Board of Gen. Off., p. 6, from which it is given in The Case of Maj. A., p. 17 (where as a matter of course its correctness is doubted); rep. in Sparks's Arnold, 235; Sargent, 324; and elsewhere. Robinson and Arnold on board the Vulture, to Washington, Sep. 25, is in Proc. of a Board, 10-11; and in Sparks. Robinson's letter is in Sargent, 331. For details of the proceedings at Robinson's house, cf. Mem. of Lafayette, i. 264, and Hamilton to Miss Schuyler in Writings of Hamilton. Washington's orders to bring the prisoner up are in Sparks. Some local details of the journey from Salem to Robinson's house are in Blake's Hist. of Putnam County, N. Y., 12mo, 1849; and in Pierre Van Cortlandt's letter to the Albany Institute (Albany Daily Advertiser, 1839) in Potter's Am. Monthly, Sept., 1876. Sir H. Clinton to Washington and Arnold to Clinton, both of date Sep. 26, are in Proc. of a Board, p. 12; The Case of Maj. A., p. 9; Sargent, 343-344. Smith's account of his own reception in his Narrative is rep. in Blake's Putnam Co. The announcement of the treason was made to the army in general orders of the 26th, Am. Hist. Rec., 1874, p. 115; Sargent, 342. A letter of Washington to the President of Congress is in Sparks; an extract from it prefaces the Proc. of a Board. Major Burroughs testified on Smith's trial that André was taken across to West Point on the 27th (Mag. Am. Hist., Dec., 1879, p. 758). A letter of Wayne's at Smith's house, Sep. 27, is in Am. Hist. Rec., i. 436; and Hist. Mag., Nov., 1862. On the 28th the prisoners were taken from West Point—where they were not confined in Fort Putnam (Boynton's Hist. West Point, 8vo, N. Y., 1871, p. 124). Cf. Smith's Narrative; Tallmadge in Sparks's Arnold, p. 255; in Mag. Am. Hist., Dec., 1879, and Mem. of Col. Tallmadge, 8vo, N. Y., 1858; Barber and Howe's Hist. Colls. of the State of N. Y., 8vo, 1851; Barber and Howe's Hist. Colls. of the State of New Jersey, 8vo, New Haven, 1868; "The Stone House at Tappan," by Jno. Austin Stevens, Mag. Am. Hist., Dec., 1879 (see also Mag. Am. Hist., v. 57-58, for details of Partridge's visit in 1818); Lossing's Field Book Rev., i. 764-765; The N. Y. Times, Oct. 3, 1879; "Tappan's Ancient Relics," in the N. Y. Star, Oct. 12, 1879; "The De Wint House," by Jno. Austin Stevens, Mag. Am. Hist., v. 105-112. (Irving, ch. xi., vol. iv., gives the order for André's safe keeping from a copy preserved among the papers of Genl. Hand.) "Smith's House at Haverstraw," Chas. A. Campbell in Mag. Am. Hist., July, 1880.

*André's Trial*—The authorities for the trial are the proceedings of the board in MS. and as published by Congress. "Proceedings of a Board of General Officers held by order of His Excellency, Gen. Washington, commander in chief of the Army of the United States of America, respecting Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, Sep. 29, 1780: Phila. Printed by Francis Bailey in Market Street, 1780," 8vo, pp. 21. Sargent (p. 348) verified this account by comparison with the original manuscript preserved at Washington, and corrected some of

its errors. This pamphlet (which is rather a manifesto than a report of the trial) is reprinted entire in fac-simile in Boynton's *Hist. West Point*, pp. 127-147. It does not contain André's statement which is given in Sargent, p. 349; Boynton's *West Point*, pp. 149-151, and elsewhere. Cf. P. W. Chandler's *Am. Criminal Trials*, ii. Sargent, ch. 22 and Biddle, *Mem. Hist. Penna.*, vi., give the characters of the members of the board. Cf. *Washington and the Generals of the Am. Rev.*, Phila., 1848, and the separate biographies mentioned by Biddle, p. 341. Lord Mahon says that the judges had probably never even heard the names of Vattel and Puffendorf. To this Prof. Geo. W. Greene (*Life of Gen. Greene*, p. 234) replies that Gen. Greene was as familiar with the common law "as an attentive study of Jacobs and Blackstone could make him familiar; and the law of nations he had studied in Vattel, the leading authority of the day." Washington's letter, dated Tappan, Sep. 29th, is in Sparks, vii.; Sargent, p. 347; and *Proc. of a Board*, p. 5. Letters of André to Clinton, and Robertson to Washington, Sep. 29th, are in Sparks; Sargent, p. 360-361. The case of Maj. A. rep. of André's letter on p. 9. Both the letters are given in the app. to *Proc. of a Board*. A letter of Tallmadge to Col. Webb, dated Sep. 30th, was printed in the *Troy (N. Y.) Morning Whig* in Apl., 1879, the original is among the Webb MSS., part of it is given in *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna.*, vi. 398. Cf. André's statement to Hamilton in *Life of Alex. Hamilton* by Jno. C. Hamilton, i. 271; and letters to Laurens, Sears, and Miss Schuyler, in *Hamilton's Writings*; Gen. Greene's letters in *Rhode Island, Col. Rec.*, ix. 246; and *Rev. Correspondence in R. I. Hist. Colls.*, vi. Greene's letter to Robertson, dated Tappan, Oct. 2d, is in the case of Maj. A., p. 12, and Sargent, p. 380. The correspondence of the Commissioners is in Sargent, and the case of Maj. A. André's letter to Washington, requesting a change in the mode of his death, is given in Sargent, p. 390, and *Lossing's Field Book*, i. 770, where the original is stated to be at Charlottesville, Va. Clinton's official dispatches to the British Government are in the State Paper Office in London. "Narrative of correspondence respecting Gen. Arnold;" in *Sir H. Clinton's* of Oct. 11, 1780. *S. P. O. Am. and W. Inds.*, vol. 126. His letters of Oct. 11th and 12th; his report to Lord Amherst, Oct. 16th; and his secret letter, Oct. 30th. These papers have been used by Sparks and Sargent. Cf. *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1780, *et seq.*

*Execution and Burial*—The testimony of a soldier (name not given) who was an eye-witness of the execution is in Barber and Howe, *Hist. Colls. N. J.*, p. 77; and *Hist. Colls. N. Y.*, p. 479. It is rep. in Sargent, p. 396. Sargent collated the different printed accounts with the MS. of Maj. Benj. Russell. *Memoir of Tallmadge*, N. Y., 1858, p. 36. Letter of Tallmadge to Heath in app. to Sargent. A paragraph from *Fishkill*, Oct. 5, 1780, in *Yonkers Gazette*, March 24, 1866. *Editor's Table of Knickerbocker Magazine*, vol. xvi., 1840. A letter of Col. Scammell, dated Tappan, Oct. 3, 1780, is in *Farmer and Moore's Coll. Hist. and Misc. & Monthly Lit. Journal*, iii. 288. A letter of Col. Meade, dated Tappan, Oct. 3d, to Col. Theod. Bland is in the *Bland Papers*, ii. 33. Dr. Thacher's account in his *Military*

Journal, 8vo, Boston, 1827, p. 225. Letter of Jephtha R. Simms, in *N. Y. World*, Oct. 12, 1879. Observations Relative to the Execution of Maj. André, by James Thacher, M.D., in *New Eng. Magazine*, May, 1834, vi., 358, where he refers to the *Continental Journal and Weekly Adv.*, ed. by Gill, at Boston, Oct. 26, 1780. In this art. he gives Maj. Benj. Russell's letter. The results of Sparks's correspondence with eye-witnesses of the execution, were first used by him in a lecture delivered in Boston in the Winter of 1833-34. Notices concerning the execution from Anburey's *Travels and Mackinnon's Coldstream Guards* are rep. in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, July, 1880, p. 59. The account given by Lieut. Jno. Shreve is in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Sep., 1877, p. 573. Extract of a letter from Camp Tappan, Oct. 2, 1780, is in *Penna. Packet for Tuesday*, Oct. 10, 1780, and in the *Penna. Gazette and Weekly Adv.*, Oct. 11, 1780 (see remarks about this letter in the *N. Y. World*, Sep. 21, 1879; and also remarks about a passage in the *Connecticut Courant* of Oct. 24, 1780, in the *N. Y. World*, Sep. 14, and 16, 1879). Letter from a gentleman (Alex. Hamilton) in camp to his friend (Col. Laurens) in Phila. is in *Penna. Packet*, Oct. 14, 1780, and the *Penna. Journal*, Oct. 18, 1780; rep. in *Life of Hamilton*, N. Y., 1834, i. 273. Letter of Chas. M. Oblenis in the "*City and Country*" (pub. at Nyack and Piermont), Sep. 26, 1879. In this letter is the following passage: "Even the wagon out of which André was hanged has its history. It was one of the few wagons then owned in the County. My great-grandfather, Hendrick Oblenis, was one of the committee of safety whose duty it was to furnish wagons, etc. As there was no money to buy with they were pressed into the service wherever found. Knowing this, the owner (one Van Ostrand) hid his under the hay in his barn, where it was found. After the close of the war the wagons so taken were collected by my grandfather and the owners notified. Van Ostrand never called for his, but sued Hendrick for its value. The case was, however, thrown out of court, and the wagon, though serviceable at the time, finally rotted away under a pear tree back of the homestead at Clarkstown."

Buchanan's account of the disinterment of André's remains in 1821 is in the *United Service Journal* (London), November, 1833. Mrs. Child's *Letters from New York*; Dr. Thacher, in *New Eng. Mag.* for May, 1834; the *New York Evening Post*, August 11, 1831; Stanley's *Hist. Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, Lond., 1876, pp. 256-257. Tallmadge's letter in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, December, 1879, p. 754. Cf. Sargent, pp. 408-411; *Mem. Hist. Soc. Penna.*, pp. 372-375. In the *N. Y. Evangelist*, January 30, 1879, is a letter relating to the removal of the remains, and in the same paper for February 27, 1879, a letter from James Demarest, Jr., replying, and stating that the account of the gifts bestowed on the Rev. Mr. Demarest, contained in the *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.* for 1875, is erroneous. The statement that the remains of André were never buried at Tappan, but were removed by the British to New York immediately after the execution, is in the *Personal Narrative of the Services of Lieut. John Shreve*, in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Sept., 1879, p. 574. This narrative was not written till more than seventy years after the war. The publication of

this statement occasioned a controversy in the N. Y. World, between two investigators in American history ("New York" and "Tappan") as to the question whether Shreve's assertion was true. Letters signed by "Tappan," and headed "Where was André Buried?" casting discredit on Shreve's statement, are in the N. Y. World, Sept. 8, 14, and 21, 1879. Answers signed "New York," defending Shreve's testimony, are in the same paper, Sept. 10, 15, and 21, 1879. There are also letters relating to the subject in the following newspapers: New York World, Aug. 30, Sept. 14, Sept. 19, and Sept. 23, 1879. Letter of Col. A. B. Gardner to I. N. Arnold, dated Aug. 27, 1879, published in the Chicago Evening Journal; Letter of Oliver E. Branch in N. Y. World, Sept. 29, 1879; Letter of Charles M. Oblenis in "City and Country" (Nyack), Sept. 26, 1879; "Sindbad" (J. R. Simms) in Canajoharie Courier, Sept. 27, 1879; Letter of the same in N. Y. World, Oct. 12, 1879; and Jno. Austin Stevens in N. Y. Times, Oct. 20 and 22, 1879; "A mystery about the schooner Greyhound," under the head of André and Arnold in N. Y. Evening Post, Oct. 15, 1879.

*André's Will*—This is recorded in *Records of Wills* for 1780, in the Surrogate's office, N. Y. City, dated Staten Island, June 7, 1777; admitted to probate October 12, 1780. Wm. Seaton and Henry White testified to the handwriting. Sabine's *Am. Loyalists*, ii. 273, 418; Potter's *Am. Monthly*, September, 1876, p. 172; biog. of Henry White, in Stevens' *Col. Rec. N. Y. Chamber of Commerce*, 8vo, N. Y. 1867. The will is printed in Sargent, p. 402, and Lossing's *F. B. Rev.*, i. 767.

*André's Watch*—Sparks's *Arnold*, p. 230, mentions the fact of the watch being bought by Col. Smith. Sargent, p. 318, quotes Col. Samuel Bowman that André had two watches. A note about the watch is in the *Am. Hist. Record*, Oct., 1874, p. 470, where there is reference to a New York illustrated newspaper of 1857; *N. Y. Graphic*, July 25, 1876 (from the *Phila. Press*); *N. Y. Evening Post*, Oct. 20, 1879; Judge Benson in a fly-leaf appended to the *Vind. of the Captors*, N. Y. 1817; *N. Y. Evening Post*, Oct. 15, 1879; and *Sunnyside Press* (Tarrytown, N. Y.), Sept. 18, 1880.

*Joshua Hett Smith*—In the preface to his *Life of Arnold*, Jared Sparks stated that he had used the records of Smith's trial in writing the book. In 1866, Mr. Dawson issued a "Record of the Trial of Joshua Hett Smith, Esq., for Alleged Complicity in the Treason of Benedict Arnold; 1780: Edited by Henry B. Dawson," 8vo, Morrisania, 1866. This was "a carefully made verbatim copy of what was said, with undoubted truth, to have been a faithful copy of the original record of the court, including all the testimony by question and answer, the original manuscript having disappeared from the Clinton papers, to which it belonged." *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1780, Supplement, p. 610. *Hist. Mag.*, 1866, Supplements 1 and 2. *N. Y. Herald*, 1842. Smith's narrative first appeared in England: "An Authentic Narrative of the Causes which led to the Death of Major André, Adjutant-General of his Majesty's forces in North America, by Joshua Hett Smith, Esq., Counsellor at Law, late Member of the Convention of the State of New York; to which is added a

Monody on the death of Major André, by Miss Seward," 8vo. Matthews and Leigh, London, 1808. The next year, 1809, it was reprinted by Evert Duyckinck, No. 110 Pearl Street, N. Y. See also valuable memoir in Appendix to Maturin L. Delafield's Biog. Sketch of Judge William Smith, Mag. of Am. Hist., April, 1881, vi. 279. An account of Smith's house at Haverstraw, with a picture of André's room in it, is in the Mag. Am. Hist. for July, 1880.

*The Captors*—An abstract of the testimony of Paulding and Williams is in Sparks's Arnold, pp. 222-226. David Williams in Simms's Hist. of Schoharie County, N. Y., 8vo, 1845, p. 646. Hist. Mag., June, 1865. An account given by Van Wart to Browere, the artist, is in Am. Hist. Record, Sept., 1872, p. 407. Jno. Paulding in Hist. Mag., Nov., 1857. Bolton's Hist. of Westchester County, i., pp. 88-213. The party to which the three captors belonged were seven in number (Sparks's Arnold, p. 222); Bolton, i. 213, gives their names. Lossing (F. B. of the Rev., i. 755) substitutes for the name of Isaac See, as given by Bolton, the name of Jno. Dean (Am. Hist. Record, iii. 471, 515). Local details are in Bolton. A genealogy of the three captors is in The Sunnyside Press (Tarrytown, N. Y.), Sept. 11, 1880. Potter's Am. Monthly, September, 1876. The Centennial Souvenir, Tarrytown, 1880. Quincy's Journals of Sam'l Shaw. N. Y. Times, September 23, 1880. The character of the captors is discussed in Sargent's André, app. Statements of one of André's guards, printed in the newspapers in 1817, are given in Jones's N. Y. in the Rev. War, i., 734. Paulding petitioned Congress in 1817 for an increase of pension. The Journals of the House, 1817, give Tallmadge's recollections. Analectic Magazine, x. Vindication of the Captors of Major André, N. Y., 1817; this book (written by Judge Benson) was rep. in N. Y. in 1865 (Sabin reprints, No. 3), and elsewhere; see Potter's Am. Monthly, Aug., 1876, p. 102. Am. Hist. Record, Dec., 1873. The statement of one of the Pines, of Pine's Bridge, that Van Wart was a tory, is in Sabine's Am. Loyalists, ii. 194. N. Y. Sun, Sept. 29, Oct. 1, and 2, 1879. N. Y. Evening Post, Sep. 16, 1879. N. Y. Sun, Oct. 15, 1879. On the 2d of Oct., 1879, Cyrus W. Field, of N. Y., placed a stone marking the spot where André was executed. Letter of Benson J. Lossing, dated Jan. 8, 1879, in N. Y. Evening Post; and the following New York city newspapers of 1879—Comm. Adv., Aug. 30; World, Sep. 23; Evening Post, Oct. 1; Sun, Oct. 2; Sun, Herald, Times, Tribune, Star, Comm. Adv., Evening Post, Evening Express, and Mail of Oct. 3; Times, Sun. Courier des États Unis, Evening Post, Telegram, and Mail of Oct. 4; Sunday Mercury, Oct. 5; Sun, Oct. 6; World and Tribune, Oct. 7; World, Oct. 8; Greenpoint Globe, Oct. 11; Sun, Oct. 12 and 13; Evening Post, Oct. 20 and Nov. 21; Times, Nov. 23. There are also notices in the City and Country (Nyack), Oct. 10, 1879; Rockland Co. Journal, Oct. 11, 1879; Pittsburgh Telegraph, June 11, 17, and 25, 1879. There are caricatures in Puck (N. Y.), Oct. 22, and N. Y. Daily Graphic, Oct. 6, 1879.

*Poems and Ballads*—The ballad of "Brave Paulding and the Spy," is in Moore's Songs and Ballads of the Am. Rev., p. 316. André's lines, "Return Enraptured



Hours," are in the Literary Miscellany: Stourport; J. Nicholson, 1812. A glee in André's praise is in Hobler's Glees, as sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, London, 1794. Jas. Smith's "Milk and Honey," letter vii., these are all given in Sargent, with the exception of the first. Sergeant Lamb (Journal of the Am. War, p. 338) gives a hymn of nine verses, which, if we are to believe Lamb, was written by André in prison. André's Lament is in The Am. Musical Miscellany: Northampton, 1798; it was also printed on a broadside by Nathaniel Coverly, Jr., Milk Street, corner of Theatre Alley, Boston, Sargent, App. Brillat Savarin, in 1794, alludes to a young lady of Hartford singing to him "la chanson nationale, *Yankee Doodle*, la complainte de la reine Marie et celle du Major André, qui sont tout à fait populaires en ce pays." "An Incident of André's Capture," by Jno. Banvard, in N. Y. Commercial Adv., Sept., 1880. The verses of Mr. Willis and Mr. Miller on the subject are well known. Besides Dunlap's there is a tragedy of "André" in five acts, 1798, believed to be written by Dr. Elihu H. Smith. "Arnold and André," by Geo. H. Calvert, 1840. Miss Seward's Monody is reprinted in Potter's Am. Monthly, 1876. The tragedy of "Arnold." In fiction André is the hero of Sir Henry's Ward: a Tale of the Rev., by Mrs. Ann S. Stephens in Graham's Magazine for 1846. The N. Y. Mirror for 1838 mentions Theodore S. Fay as being engaged on a novel called "André." "Pemberton; or, One Hundred Years Ago," Phil., 1876.

*Maps, Plans, and Views*—Villefranche's map of the fortifications at West Point (believed to be the one used by André and Arnold at their conference) is in the first edition of Boynton's West Point—not included in the later editions. In the same is Villefranche's map of the west side of the Hudson, 1780. Erskine's map of the scene of Arnold's treason is in Mag. Am. Hist. Soc., p. 757, from the original in the N. Y. Hist. Soc. Sargent, p. 302, gives a map of the east side of the Hudson, found among the papers of his grandfather, Major Sargent. Sparks (Arnold, p. 177) gives a map to illustrate André's route, which, however, is not accurate in detail. Carrington's Battles, 512. Guizot's Washington Atlas. Marbois's Complot has a plan of West Point, and there are wood-cut maps giving a general idea in Lossing's Field Book and Boynton's West Point. The Atlas of New York and its Vicinity, pub. by Beers, Ellis and Soulé, N. Y., 1868, contains 72 maps, folio, of Westchester and Putnam counties, showing the roads, on which the position of some of the houses André stopped at are laid down. The N. Y. Herald for Sep. 23, 1880, gives maps of Tarrytown, 1780–1880. Pictures of the Hallman house near Peekskill, and Underhill's house on the Pine's Bridge Road, are in Potter's Am. Monthly, Sep., 1876. Pictures of the Beekman house and André's room in it, are in Valentine's Manual Comm. Council, N. Y., 1861, 496, 498. Robinson's house in Mag. Am. Hist. for Feb., 1880, and Smith's house in same for July, 1880. A view of Sir H. Clinton's private room in No. 1, Broadway, is in Valentine's Manual for 1858. In this house Dr. Francis (Old New York, 8vo, 1866) says that Jno. Pintard had an interesting conversation with André about their respective claims to Huguenot descent. A copy of André's drawing of a knight of the Mischi-

anza is in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, March, 1880, p. 200. There are various wood-cuts relating to André in *Harper's Mag.* for May, 1876, Bolton's Westchester County, Loring's F. B. of the Rev., and the Hudson from the Wild, to the Sea. Of personal relics, his silver spur is in the headquarters at Newburgh. His pocket-book belongs to the Connecticut Hist. Soc. Silhouettes cut for him for Miss Rebecca Redman, of Phila., together with the autograph of "Return Enraptured Hours," and a Mischianza ticket, were exhibited in New York in Dec., 1880—the property of the Foxhall Parker estate. Similar relics, given by Miss Craig to Watson, the antiquary, were by him presented to the Philadelphia Library. His MS. account of the Mischianza belongs to the Howard family of Maryland.

*Miscellaneous*—A spurious "Defence," alleged to have been read by André at his trial, is in Blake's *Hist. of Putnam Co., N. Y.*, copied from the *Newark Daily Advertiser*. It is in *Potter's Am. Monthly* for April, 1876; see in regard to it the same *Mag.* for July, 1876, p. 60, and Aug., 1876, p. 101, where it is said to have been also printed in *Sabin's Am. Bibliopolist*. At the fall meeting of the *Penna. Hist. Soc.* in 1876, measures were taken to recover the portrait of Franklin carried off by André. The *N. Y. Sun* of Oct. 20, 1879, has a letter from E. G. N. Butler, stating himself to be a kinsman of André. The *Mag. Am. Hist.*, Dec., 1880, reprints a notice of the tulip tree at Tarrytown, from the *Am. Citizen* of Aug. 25, 1801. Articles relating to André are in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec. 1860; *N. A. Review*, July, 1861; "Dealings With the Dead," by L. M. Sargent; *Sabin's Am. Bibliopolist*, 1869-1870; *N. Y. Christian Advocate*, 1880; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, ii. 195; *Political Magazine*, March, 1781; *Faux's Memorable Days in America*, London, 1823; *Prog. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.* for 1876; *Smith and Watson's Am. Hist. and Literary Curiosities*; *Rush's Washington in Domestic Life*; *Simcoe (Milit. Journal, 8vo, N. Y., 1844)* speaks of the proposal to rescue André, and *Trumbull (Autobiography)* tells of his own arrest in London. The *Galaxy*, N. Y., Feb., 1876. The *Duke of Saxe-Weimar's Travels in America*, 1828. *Reed's Life of Reed*. *Rochambeau's Mémoires*, vol. i. *Botta (Guerra Americana, lib. xii.)* gives a brief account of André's case, and comments upon his sentence, "Cosi fu tratto a giusta, ma indegna morte."

The captor's medal is given in *Loubat's Medallie Hist. of the U. S.* It is graven on the monuments of Paulding and Van Wart. There is an article on the dress of André in the *N. Y. Evening Post*, Oct. 2, 1879, and notes relating to his burial in the *Mag. Am. Hist.*, July and Aug., 1880. H. B. Dawson published in the *Yonkers Gazette* a series of papers, sixty-eight in number, from May 6, 1865, to April 14, 1866, afterward reprinted in book form: "Papers Concerning the Capture and Detention of Major John André."

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

## LITERARY NOTICES.

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON, INCLUDING SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS. 1630-1880. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR, in four volumes. Vol. III. The Revolutionary Period. The last Hundred Years. Part I. 4to, pp. 691. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1881.

In the present volume, the interest of the Memorial History is more than maintained. The volume contains twenty chapters, with an Introduction by Mr. Winsor, who treats of the maps of the Revolutionary period, and the maps of Boston subsequent to the War. Edward G. Porter writes of the "Beginning of the Revolution;" Edward E. Hale of "The Siege of Boston;" the "Pulpit, Press, and Literature," is by the late Delano A. Goddard; Horace E. Scudder treats of "Life in Boston." Mr. Lodge opens the last Hundred Years, with an account of "The Last Forty Years of Town Government;" "Boston under the Mayors" follows from James M. Bugbee; Governor Long treats of "Boston and the Commonwealth under the Charter;" the "Boston Soldierly" are dealt with by Col. Palfrey; Admiral Preble discusses "The Navy and the Charlestown Navy Yard," and James Freeman Clarke does justice to "The Anti-Slavery Movement." Then follow eight chapters on the Churches, by an equal number of writers; when the deeply interesting subject of "Charlestown in the Last Hundred Years" is reached, by Mr. Henry H. Edes, the pages being sprinkled with the autographs of many well-remembered men. The story of "Dorchester in the Last Hundred Years" is well told by Samuel J. Barrows; and Mellen Chamberlain performs the same office for Brighton. The work closes with a notice of "The Press and Literature," by Charles A. Cummings. The illustrations are for the most part very superior, both as regards subject and execution, the heliotype, the photo-engraving and the hand process being combined. Many rare maps and views of Boston and vicinity are thus made cherished possessions of the fortunate subscriber, together with fine portraits and innumerable autographs, rendering the volume worth many times its cost, even to break up for the purposes of special illustration, as the collector will here find what he can never obtain in any other way. The typography of this volume could hardly be excelled, being, in fact, everything that one could desire. It would be a pleasant task to dwell upon some of the more prominent features of this sumptuous work, edited throughout with good judgment and taste. Nothing has been left undone to give a faithful expression to the portion of Boston's history under consideration.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VIII. Svo, pp. 511. HOYT, FOGG & DONHAM, Portland, 1881.

At the February (1881) meeting of the Society, it was determined that its publication should hereafter be divided into two series, the first to embrace papers properly belonging to the documentary history of the State, the second the proceedings and transactions and papers read at its meetings. Two volumes of the documentary collection have already been issued: one on the Discovery of North America, by Dr. J. G. Kohl, in 1869, a Discourse on Western Planting, by Richard Hacklyt, written in 1584, published in 1877. A third, The Trelawney Papers, is now in press. The present volume contains twelve articles, viz.: The Northeastern Boundary, by Israel Washburne, Jr.; Col. Arthur Noble, of Georgetown, by William Goold; Educational Institutions in Maine while a District of Massachusetts, by J. T. Champlin; The Pemaquid Country Under the Stuarts, by H. W. Richardson; Fort Halifax, its Projectors, Builders, and Garrison, by William Goold; Col. William Vaughan, of Matinecus and Damariscotta, by William Goold; Norambega, by John E. Godfrey, and six memoirs and biographical sketches. Together these papers are a valuable contribution to historical information.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE TOWNS ALONG THE HUDSON AND MOHAWK RIVERS, with the exception of Albany, from 1630 to 1684, and also illustrating the relations of the Settlers with the Indians. Translated, compiled, and edited from the Original Records, by B. FERNOW, Keeper of the Historical Records. 4to, pp. 617. WEED, PARSONS & Co., Albany, 1881.

This collection makes the thirteenth volume of the Old Series, and the second of the New Series of Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York, preserved in the office of the Secretary of State at Albany. The publication could not have been confided to more competent hands than those which the accomplished editor brought to the task. It is arranged in two periods, the first, from the first recorded Dutch Patent to the occupation of the Province by the English, 1630-1664; the second, the Province under English rule from the surrender of the Dutch to the establishment of counties, 1664-1684.

The New York Province has been aptly termed a pivotal State. Its territorial position gave it international as well as local importance. In its history may be found the beginning of American diplomacy, which, small apparently, had

lasting bearing upon the destiny of the entire country. The negotiations of the earliest English Governors of the Duke of York's patent were the foundation of English policy toward Canada; the treaties with the Iroquois tribes determined the right of sovereignty to the soil. These important subjects cannot be rightly understood without the aid of the Documents which are now for the first time made public.

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**CHICAGO ANTIQUITIES, COMPRISING ORIGINAL ITEMS AND RELATIONS, LETTERS, EXTRACTS, AND NOTES PERTAINING TO EARLY CHICAGO,** embellished with views, portraits, autographs, etc. By HENRY H. HURLBUT. Svo, pp. 673. Printed for the Author, Chicago, 1881.

Under this title the author presents a variety of information concerning the early history of this remarkable city. The range of subjects treated is extensive. The laws and ordinances passed in Common Council in 1831 and a business directory, sharing the honors of reprint side by side with extracts from the diaries of travellers from Joliet and Marquette, down to the present day, and critical essays upon the early discoverers of the Illinois and Mississippi. There are some excellent illustrations and reprints of maps, which may be consulted with profit.

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**HICKEY'S CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, WITH AN ALPHABETICAL ANALYSIS; PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS; Non-Importation Agreement; Address to the Crown and People of Great Britain; the Declaration of Independence, etc.,** to which is added a descriptive account of the State Papers, Public Documents, and other sources of political and statistical information at the head of Government. By WILLIAM HICKEY. New and enlarged edition, revised and brought down to March 4, 1877. By ALEXANDER CUMMINGS. 12mo, pp. 624. JOHN MURPHY & Co., Baltimore, 1878.

This valuable compendium, with the analysis which accompanies it, has held its authoritative place since its first issue in 1846. It is invaluable to all who have to do with public questions, containing information which can only be obtained elsewhere by diligent search. A large amount of new matter has been added to the present edition.

**AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND CONDENSED CHRONOLOGY FROM THE TIME OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS TO THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.** With a synopsis of England in the nineteenth century, its government, institutions, etc. Compiled by ARCHIBALD HAMILTON MCCALMAN. Svo, pp. 669. TROW'S PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY. New York, 1880.

This is an effort on the part of a man of business to provide others similarly situated with a history of the country from which we drew our laws, our institutions, and our habits. Its only novelty is in the treatment, the text being essentially a compilation from standard authorities. The reign of Victoria fills a large and important place in the volume, the last chapter including the speech from the throne made on the meeting of Parliament in April, 1880, when Gladstone succeeded d'Israeli in the Cabinet. Compactly arranged and clearly written, this is an excellent volume for the family.

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**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Vol. XVIII., 1880-81. Svo, pp. 483. PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY. Boston, 1881.

This volume presents the records of the meetings of the Society from April, 1880, to June, 1881, inclusive. Among other interesting papers, notice is directed to the Relation of the Sagadahoc Colony in manuscripts, edited by Mr. De Costa; The Controversy between Dr. Ellis and Mr. Whittier, concerning the King's Missive; a poem by the latter; a relation by Mr. Ames of The Part taken by Massachusetts Soldiers in Vernon's Expedition against Carthage, and Mr. Winthrop's Account of the Portrait of John Hampden, in the Executive Mansion at Washington.

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**BRIEF, BUT COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND GERMANY.** Giving the contemporaneous sovereigns, literary characters and social progress of each century from the Roman Conquest to the present day. By MARY E. KELLY. Multum in parvo. 4to, pp. 87. E. CLAXTON & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.

This is the result of a teacher's plan of instruction to her own pupils. The important facts in the history of the three countries are presented in as many parallel columns. The chapter divisions are by centuries. It will be found a useful aid in the school-room.

MEMORIAL OF HENRY WOLCOTT, ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT, AND OF SOME OF HIS DESCENDANTS. By SAMUEL WOLCOTT. Printed for private distribution. 4to, pp. 439. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. New York, 1881.

No more sumptuous volume of family history has ever appeared in the United States. The compiler is the Rev. Samuel Wolcott, of Cleveland, Ohio. An account is given of the family in England, and of the eight generations who have adorned the name by their private and public virtues in the United States. The illustrations are numerous and varied in character; abundant photographs of seals, documents, silver, etc.; views of houses and portraits etched or engraved on steel and wood by the best of our artists. The edition is limited and not for sale. Fortunately, therefore, are the societies, libraries, and individuals who have been favored by the generous gentlemen who have assumed the cost of its publication.

THE EVELYNS IN AMERICA: COMPILED FROM FAMILY PAPERS AND OTHER SOURCES, 1608-1805. Edited and annotated by G. D. SCULL. 8vo, pp. 392. Printed for private circulation. PARKES & Co. Oxford, 1881.

English and American records have been ransacked with profit in the preparation of this complete memoir of a family whose name is familiar on both continents. Of greatest interest to our readers are sixteen letters written by Captain William Glanville Evelyn to his relatives at home. Evelyn came to America in the King's Own Regiment, which landed at Boston in June, 1774. He was present at Lexington and Concord, and after the evacuation of Boston returned from Halifax to New York with the troops, under Lord Howe. He was in the battle of Long Island and at the capture of New York, soon after which (September 24, 1776) he lost his life in the movement made upon Washington's flank at Throg's Neck. The present volume differs from the previous publication by the same author (Memoir and letters of Captain Evelyn) in the addition of an account of the family in Virginia, a memoir and letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, the captor of General Charles Lee (1776-77), a notice of John Montresor, and selections from his journals and dairies. The illustrations are views of Wotton House, portraits of Captain Evelyn, General Prescott, Mrs. Boscawen, General Charles Lee, Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, Earl Harcourt, Captain Montresor, Earl Percy, and maps of the movements of the British army in New York, and attack on

the forts on the Delaware. Mr. Scull, a Pennsylvanian by birth, now residing at Oxford, is collecting, from the ample sources of American information in the possession of private families, material of the greatest value to our students, and deserves the heartiest praise for his disinterested work.

MORE PUBLIC PARKS! HOW NEW YORK COMPARES WITH OTHER CITIES. Lungs for the Metropolis, the financial and sanitary aspects of the question. 8vo, pp. 23. PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK PARK ASSOCIATION. 1882.

A topographical map of the annexed district and adjoining territory of Westchester County shows the area of the new park proposed for the benefit of the large population which is rapidly gathering on the mainland to the northward of the Harlem River, and is already in close communication with the city by surface and elevated railroads. The land proposed includes part of the estate of the Van Courtlandts, surrounding old Courtlandt House, a mansion full of historic interest. The area suggested is from eleven to twelve hundred acres in extent, part meadow and part hillside, varied with abundant water-views and abounding in fine trees. Engraved views illustrate the pamphlet. An interesting chapter shows the increased wealth and resources which the establishment of parks brings to the city at large.

THE HUNTOON GENEALOGY. PHILIP HUNTON AND HIS DESCENDANTS. By DANIEL T. V. HUNTOON. 8vo, pp. 113. Canton, Mass., 1881.

The Hunton family is of Wiltshire origin. The traditions of the American branch, verbally given to the author by his father, have been here worked into intelligent shape. Philip, the ancestor of the New England branch, was born in England, about 1664, and immigrated, when a boy, to this country, where he married his master's daughter, Betsey Hall. The list of descendants occupies ninety-two pages of this pamphlet.

THE JAMES FOUNTAIN. THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE PRESENTATION, UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1881. Printed for private distribution. 4to, pp. 26. A. D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. New York, 1882.

This beautiful work of art and utility, the gift to the city of New York of a life long devotee of the cause of temperance, Mr. D. Willis James,

is the work of Donndorf, Professor of Sculpture in the Art Academy of Stuttgart, Germany. No more appropriate charity can be devised than the erection of attractive fountains in public squares and on the thoroughfares, for the use of man or beast.

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WHEN SOUTHAMPTON AND SOUTHOLD, ON LONG ISLAND, WERE SETTLED. By GEORGE R. HOWELL. 8vo, pp. 14. WEED, PARSONS & Co. Albany, 1882.

This is a controversial pamphlet, the purpose of which is to prove that the Rev. Dr. Ephraim Whitaker, in his recent history of Southold, is in error in his claim that the Long Island settlement of that name was made prior to that of Southampton. Mr. Howell insists that the latter was settled in June, 1640, some months before Southold, and supports his opinion with, he says, the harmonious testimony of all the historians.

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TRIBUTE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK TO THE MEMORY OF SAMUEL B. RUGGLES; NOVEMBER 3, 1881. 8vo, pp. 12. PRESS OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. New York, 1881.

Though a lawyer by profession, the life of Mr. Ruggles was passed in the great economic and industrial movements which, in his generation, carried New York to its pinnacle of prosperity. In all of them he had much to do. No man before or of his time devoted the same amount of intelligent labor to the development of the Erie Canal, the water artery of the Northern Continent. As a statistician he stood in the very first international rank.

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NOTES ON THE ANCESTRY OF MAJOR WILLIAM ROE VAN VOORHIS, OF FISHKILL, DUCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK. By his Grandson, ELIAS W. VAN VOORHIS. For private distribution only. Pp. 239. New York, 1881.

A carefully prepared and admirably printed genealogy of a wide-spread family of Dutch descent, which the painstaking author has made of more than usual general interest by the insertion of numerous wills, deeds, documents and extracts from church records. It is illustrated with fine steel portraits of Major Van Voorhis and his wife, and views of some of the country residences of the family, old and new. It is to be hoped that this good example will be followed by many of the descendants of the old New York

families. It is a noticeable feature of the Genealogic and Heraldic Collection, bequeathed to the New York Historical Society, by the late Stephen Whitney Phoenix, that in the division of separate family genealogies, which numbers over seven hundred, there is less than a score of those identified with the Empire State.

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MATERIALS TOWARD A GENEALOGY OF THE EMMERTON FAMILY. Compiled by JAMES A. EMMERTON. Privately printed. 8vo, pp. 244. SALEM PRESS, 1881.

The author in his preface invites the attention of the reader to the mode of arrangement adopted in his genealogy. The name he derives from that of Emberton, a town name in England. The family genealogy is divided into chapters, under tribal denominations, as the tribe of Joseph, the tribe of John, etc. An appendix supplies a list of ancestral tablets, etc. The book is well printed.

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SPECIMENS OF PRINTING TYPES MADE AT BRUCE'S NEW YORK TYPE FOUNDRY, established in 1813. 4to, pp. 352. GEORGE BRUCE'S SON & Co. New York, 1882.

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THE INVENTION OF PRINTING: A COLLECTION OF FACTS AND OPINIONS DESCRIPTIVE OF EARLY PRINTS AND PLAYING CARDS; THE BLOCK-BOOKS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY; the legend of Laurens Janszoon Coster, of Haarlem, and the work of John Gutenberg and his associates. Illustrated with fac-similes of early types and woodcuts. By THEO. L. DEVINNE. 4to, 168. GEORGE BRUCE'S SON & Co., type-founders. New York, 1878.

Published as a specimen book of the fonts of printing types in present use, this elaborate volume is a landmark in the progress of the art of Gutenberg. The name of Bruce is indissolubly connected with the art of type-founding and stereotyping in this country. For seventy-nine years this house, founded by George Bruce, has furnished the printing houses of the United States with their best working material. The present manager, Mr. David Wolfe Bruce, is a worthy successor of his distinguished father, who united to a practical understanding of his art a thorough scholarship. In the extensive library formed by the father and son may be found many rare specimens of the early masters. To the former, the New York Historical Society owes its almost unique file of the Boston News Letter, 1704-1708,

presented in 1805, soon after the foundation of the institution.

The second part of the bound volume is a reprint of DeVinne's well-known work, arranged so as to display the different fonts of the Bruce type from Great Primer to Diamond.

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STATE OF NEW YORK. YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL. MESSAGE OF THE GOVERNOR AND REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE STATE for the reception and entertainment of the National Guests. Albany, January, 1882.

Our readers will find here the formal act of the Commission appointed by Governor Cornell, to extend the courtesies of the State of New York to the distinguished visitors to the United States, who took part in the celebration at Yorktown. The expenses of these elegant hospitalities tendered by the Commission was entirely borne by the fifteen gentlemen appointed by the Governor.

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THE BOOK OF THE VARIAN FAMILY, WITH SOME SPECULATIONS AS TO THEIR ORIGIN, ETC. By SAM. BRIGGS. 8vo, pp. 102. Cleveland, Ohio, 1881.

This genealogy, the edition of which is limited to one hundred copies, is of a New York family. The origin of the name of Varian is uncertain, but supposed by the author to be Norman. In his argument to show this derivation, Mr. Briggs pleasantly regrets any association with this race to whom he devotes a chapter, closing with the paragraph that the early Norman was not a "pleasant person to do business with." In France and Canada the name takes the form of Varin or Varrin. In Ireland it became Varian. Isaac, the first of the name in the United States, appears as a butcher in the Old Slip Market, in the city of New York in 1720. His descendant in the fifth generation, Isaac L. Varian, was Mayor of the same city, 1839 to 1840. This volume is illustrated with portraits, a view of the Varian House, and a plan of the farm, the buttonwood tree on which was at one time a city landmark. It stood on the sidewalk, between Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets, on the west side of Broadway.

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HENRY KNOX THATCHER, REAR-ADMIRAL, U. S. NAVY. By GEORGE HENRY PREBLE, U.S.N. 8vo, pp. 20. Printed for private distribution. Boston, 1882.

Henry Knox Thatcher, the grandson of General Knox, of the Artillery of the Revolution, was born in Thomaston, Maine, in 1806, the year of the General's death. Educated at Boston, he was admitted to West Point as a cadet in 1822. Resigning

because of ill-health in 1823, he received an appointment as midshipman in the Navy the same year. He served with Hull on the United States, with Crane on the Delaware, and later on the Independence, on Boston Station. In 1831 he was acting master of the sloop-of-war Erie, under Captain Rousseau, and in 1834 on the Falmouth, under the same officer. In 1840-41 he was attached to the Brandywine. In 1848 he was on the sloop-of-war Jamestown, with Bolton, on the coast of Africa. In 1857, after long shore-duty, he was promoted commander and assigned to the sloop-of-war Decatur. In 1862, while commanding the Constellation, on special service in the Mediterranean, he was promoted commodore; anxious for more active service, he was ordered to the command of the screw steam frigate Colorado in 1863, and in 1864 commanded the first division of Porter's fleet in the attack on and capture of Fort Fisher, where he displayed the greatest gallantry. After this victory he was appointed Acting Rear-Admiral, and ordered to succeed Farragut in the command of the West Gulf Squadron. From this he passed to the command of the North Pacific Squadron in 1868, and hoisted his flag on the U. S. steam ship Pensacola. In July, 1866, he was promoted rear-admiral by seniority, and in 1868, having completed his sixty-second year of age, and forty-five years of service, he was placed on the retired list. In 1869 he served as Port Admiral at Portsmouth, and held the office until it was abolished in 1871. He died in April, 1880, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. A general order announced his eminent services, and directed suitable honors to his memory.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY EDUCATION FUND, 1874-1881. Printed by order of the Trustees. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 441. JOHN WILSON & SON, University Press. Boston, 1881.

The first volume of these proceedings was published in 1875. The present volume contains the history of the Trust, with all the records for the seven years which have since elapsed. It contains a mass of information as to the educational condition of the Southern States.

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TIMES BEFORE THE REFORMATION, with an account of FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA, the Friar of Florence. By WILLIAM DINWIDDIE. 16mo, pp. 381. ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS.

The fifteenth century was the dawn of that day of enlightenment and progress which ushered upon the world a new era. Spiritual and intellectual forces were then, and not always silently, at work, which afterward convulsed Europe and



changed the currents of civil and ecclesiastical life.

The time had almost come when a voice was to be raised at the power and pretensions of the Roman Hierarchy, which would echo down succeeding centuries as the rallying cry of humanity in its ceaseless strife against spiritual usurpation. A succession of Popes had sat in the chair of St. Peter, whose corruption, licentiousness, and crimes were so monstrous as to make it seem that their presence was as a warning of God against Babylon.

Huss and Jerome died in the flames of martyrdom; John Ziska gathered armies to enforce his protest against the tyranny of the priests; change was as necessary as it was imminent. The period of the Renaissance, when science, literature, and art took a fresh start, contributed greatly to the emancipation of the human mind from the bonds of ignorance and superstition in which it had so long lain. The invention of printing made books and knowledge not the monopoly of the wealthy few, but put it in the power of the poor and lowly to stand on the same plane with the great ones of earth; at first it contributed chiefly to the spread of classical literature, nothing else being thought worthy by the diletanti of Florence, the seat of learning under the Medicis, father and son, who acquired and held supreme power in what had been the Florentine Republic. Florence under their rule was the home of all that was noble in literature, refined in art, the chosen resort of the learned, and the refuge of the Greeks, driven from their homes by the Turks, and the most prosperous commercial community of that day. Lorenzo the Magnificent had exchanged the revenues of a merchant for the revenues of the State, and expended them with a lavish hand. Although he regarded religion with well-bred contempt, he considered it a good thing for the common people. In this spirit of condescension he procured one son to be made an abbot, and another, at the age of fourteen, a cardinal—afterward Pope Leo X. He also built a convent, and thither came, in the year 1497, the monk Girolamo Savonarola, who afterward made Florence his place of residence; there by precept, example, faith, prayer, and good works, he held his light before men; there for a space he ruled; and there at last he died on the scaffold, a victim of political hate, priestly persecution, and the perfidy of the Pope, and bearing a name which, as reformer and martyr, will be remembered with reverence long after those of his enemies shall have faded into the mists of historical oblivion, only to be recalled by reason of their association with him.

Savonarola was the third son of Nicholas, who married Helen of the Mantuan family of Buonaccorsi. He was educated until his tenth year by his paternal grandfather, Michael, a physician and man of science, greatly favored by Nicholas

III., Marquis of Este. Little is said by biographers of his mother, but from his letters to her in after-life it may be gathered that she possessed those qualities of mind and heart—a sound and penetrating judgment—fitted to cause even such a man as her son to fall back upon her for support and comfort in the struggles and depressions of spirit consequent upon his career. He was intended by his family for the medical profession; but what he felt to be an inward call from God caused him to abandon his home and enrol himself in a Dominican monastery, where, seven years afterward, he took the vows of the order. The fame of his learning caused his superiors to appoint him instructor in philosophy to the novices; subsequently he preached to the fraternity and in his native town of Ferrara, but without making any impression.

In 1482 he was sent to Florence, and was domiciled in the convent of San Marco; here a second attempt at preaching failed. Not discouraged, he bided his time, and in 1486, at Brescia, delivered a series of sermons which attracted wide attention, and brought him to the notice of Lorenzo the Magnificent, at whose invitation he became a resident of Florence. Here he again entered the pulpit, and such was the power of his discourses that the whole city was moved by his denunciation of the wickedness of the time and the certainty of Divine judgment in the near future. Thus was opened the career which, as he predicted, lasted for eight years and closed on the scaffold. Although made prior of San Marco, he refused to do homage to Lorenzo, nor is there any evidence that they ever met, save when on his death-bed the prince sent for the monk and asked absolution, which was not given because the prince declined to restore to Florence her liberties.

The invasion of Italy, by Charles VIII. of France, brought the great monk into prominence as an ambassador, and he addressed the king after the manner of the prophets of old, causing him to yield in superstitious awe to his demands. Relieved of the French and of Pietro Medici, son of Lorenzo, Florence was once more free, and Savonarola appeared in the light of a political reformer, with such power and effect, that for a time, at least, the city seemed purged of evil and evil-doers; but it was this very course—the efforts he ceaselessly made to cleanse the Church and the body politic, and his partial success in so doing—which raised up against him a host of enemies. These at length, by intrigue, by appeal to the pope—who wished the spoil of Florence for his bastard monster, Cæsar Borgia—and by violence, brought him before a tribunal on a charge of heresy. Before the trial began the death-warrant was in the hands of one of his judges, and on the 23d day of May, 1498, in the presence of the fickle people for whom he had given his life, the smoke of his burning went up



to heaven as a testimony. The prophet was gone, the woes that he had denounced fell upon Florence and on Italy. For nearly four hundred years after his death the land lay prostrate under the foot of an alien enemy, its liberties extinguished, its nationality a mockery, until the doctrine of a Free Church in a Free State finally prevailed, and Italy again became one of the powers of the earth. No one interested in the history of humanity, as presented in this little-known phase of development can fail to be charmed with the dignity and force with which it is presented in this volume.

W. CAREY SMITH

**EDWY THE FAIR; OR, THE FIRST CHRONICLE OF ASCENDANCE.** A Tale of the Days of St. Dunstan. By REV. A. D. CRAKE. 16mo, pp. 245. POTT, YOUNG & Co. New York, 1880.

Under the guise of fiction, the writer presents in an attractive form the history of the unfortunate young King Edwy, called by reason of his beauty of person the Fair, and of his unfortunate wife, Elgira, and the fact that Dunstan, the monk, whose fantastic interviews and unceremonious treatment of the devil who often tormented him, had in bringing about the rebellion against the king, and his divorce from his wife. The fate of the queen is left in doubt, but the author dismisses as untrue the early legends of her tragic fate. The book is attractive in its method of treatment, and full of information of the period to which it relates.

W. CARY SMITH.

#### REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

**HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA in 1776,** from the Death of Montgomery to the Retreat of the British Army under Sir Guy Carleton. By Charles Henry Jones. 8vo. Porter & Coates, Philadelphia, 1882.

**YOUNG FOLKS' HISTORY OF BOSTON.** By Hezekiah Butterworth. Illustrated. 12mo. D. Lathrop & Co., Boston, 1881.

**ABRAHAM LINCOLN: His Life and Public Services.** By Phebe A. Hannaford. 8vo. D. Lathrop & Co., Boston. [1881.]

**ALL ABOARD FOR SUNRISE LANDS.** A trip through California, across the Pacific to Japan, China, and Australia. By Edward A. Rand, Illustrated. Second Edition. Small 4to. D. Lathrop & Co., Boston. [1881.]

**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE TOWNS ALONG THE HUDSON AND MOHAWK RIVERS** (with the exception of Albany), from 1630 to 1684, and also illustrating the relations of the settlers with the Indians. Translated, compiled, and edited from the original records in the Office of the Secretary of State at Albany, under the direction of the Hon. Joseph B. Carr. By B. Fernow. 4to. Weed, Parsons & Co., Albany, 1881.

**COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.** Reports from the Consuls of the U. S. on the Commerce, Manufactures, etc., of the Consular Districts. No. 13, Nov., 1881. 8vo, pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

**REMINISCENCES OF THE EARLY LIFE OF ELIHU BURRITT.** By William H. Lee (from the N. Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record, July, 1881). 8vo, pamphlet. Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co., New York, 1881.

**A SHORT DISCOURSE AT THE FUNERAL OF MARY AVERY HARRIS,** Groton, Conn., Feb. 4, 1881. By Rev. Jared R. Avery. 12mo, pamphlet.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY** for September, 1881. 8vo, pamphlet.

**A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS DONALDSON.** By George William Brown. 8vo, pamphlet. Cushings & Bailey, Baltimore, 1881.

**ORATION ON THE HUNDRETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS** to the combined forces of America and France at Yorktown, Va., October 19, 1781. Delivered at Yorktown, October 19, 1881, by Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D. 8vo, pamphlet. Little, Browne & Co., Boston, 1881.

**HARPER'S POPULAR CYCLOPEDIA OF UNITED STATES HISTORY,** from the Aboriginal Period to 1876. Containing brief sketches of important events and conspicuous actors. By Benson J. Lossing. Illustrated. 2 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

**THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON,** including Suffolk County, Mass., 1630-1880. Edited by Justin Winsor. In four vols. Vol. III. The Revolutionary Period. The Last Hundred years. Part I. Issued under the business superintendence of the projector, Clarence F. Jewett. 4to. James' R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1881.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VIII. 8vo. Hoyt, Fogg & Durham, Portland, 1881.

CAMPAIGNS OF THE CIVIL WAR. I. The Outbreak of the Rebellion. By John G. Nicolay, 12mo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881.

II. From Fort Henry to Corinth. By M. F. Force. 12mo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881.

III. The Peninsula. McClellan's Campaign. By Alexander S. Webb, LL.D. 12mo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881.

IV. The Army under Pope. By John Codman Ropes. 12mo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1881.

MASSACHUSETTS IN THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT. 1774 to 1881. By Harriet H. Robertson. 16mo. Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1881.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Dr. H. von Holst. Translated from the German by John J. Lalor and Paul Shorey. 1846-1850. Annexation of Texas—Compromise of 1850. 8vo. Callaghan & Co., Chicago, 1881.

IN THE BRUSH; or, Old Time Social, Political, and Religious Life in the Southwest. By Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, D.D. With illustrations. 12mo. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1881.

SKETCH OF EDWARD COLES, Second Governor of Illinois, and of the Slavery Struggle of 1823-4. By E. B. Washburne. 8vo. Jansen, McClurgh & Co., Chicago, 1882.

BANQUET GIVEN BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK in Honor of the Guests of the Nation to the Centennial Celebration of the Victory at Yorktown, Nov. 5, 1881. 8vo. Press of the Chamber, New York, 1881.

HANDBOOK OF WOOD ENGRAVING. By William A. Emerson. Illustrated. New Edition. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1881.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S MANUSCRIPT HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, and its transmission to our times. By Justin Winsor. Private Edition. 8vo. John Wilson & Sons, Boston, 1881.

IN MEMORIAM. William E. Dubois. 4to. Privately Printed. Philadelphia, 1881.

NOTES ON THE ANCESTRY OF MAJOR WILLIAM ROE VAN VOORHIS, of Fishkill, Dutchess Co., N. Y. By his Grandson, Elias W. Van Voorhis. 8vo. Privately Printed. New York, 1881.

CHICAGO ANTIQUITIES. Embellished with Views, Portraits, Autographs, etc. By Henry H. Hurlbut. 8vo. Fergus Printing Co., Chicago, 1881.

PROCEEDINGS ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE OCCUPATION OF VALLEY FORGE BY THE CONTINENTAL ARMY under George Washington, June 19, 1878; also Dedication of Headquarters, June 19, 1879, with Appendix. 8vo. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1879.

MATERIALS TOWARD A GENEALOGY OF THE EMMERTON FAMILY. Compiled by James A. Emmerton, M.D. 8vo. Privately printed. Salem Press, 1881.

LETTER FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, transmitting a report of Theodore F. Dwight on the papers of Benjamin Franklin, offered for sale by Henry Stevens, and recommending their purchase by Congress. Senate, Forty-seventh Congress, First Session, Misc. Doc. No. 21. 8vo, pamphlet. [Washington, 1881].

SKETCH OF HENRY KNOX FLETCHER, Rear-Admiral U. S. Navy. By George Henry Preble, U.S.N. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Jan., 1882. 8vo, pamphlet. Privately printed. David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1882.

YORKTOWN: A COMPENDIOUS ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIED FRENCH AND AMERICAN FORCES, Resulting in the Surrender of Cornwallis and the Close of the American Revolution, etc. By Jacob Harris Patton. Illustrated. 8vo, pamphlet. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, New York, 1882.

OBSERVATIONS ON CUP-SHAPED AND OTHER LAPIDARIAN SCULPTURES in the Old World and in America. By Charles Rau, Department of the Interior. U. S. Geographical and Geological Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region, J. W. Powell in charge. (From Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. V). 4to. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

WILLIAM B. OGDEN AND EARLY DAYS IN CHICAGO. A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, Dec. 20, 1881. By Hon. Isaac N. Arnold. 8vo, pamphlet. Fergus Printing Co., Chicago, 1881.





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## MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT

**H**ISTORIC truth often contains elements stranger and more dramatic than fiction, yet writers of romance incline to fling their opportunities away. Motley did this, when dealing with the character of Thomas Morton, in his maiden effort called "Merry Mount;" while Hawthorne, in his "Twice Told Tales," was still more heedless of the true value of the same theme. These attractive writers, therefore, have made the general reader familiar with Morton's name, but little more. Prompted by a vague, and as yet undeveloped historic instinct, Motley offered a half apology for the doubtful character of his performance, but the reader searches in vain on the page of Hawthorne for some proper indication, that the picture of Morton is not the offspring of an imagination every way weird, morbid, and grotesque. Who, therefore, was Morton of Merry Mount, that he should present such an aspect in early New England history?

Thomas Morton was a London lawyer, who, about the year 1622, established himself upon Mount Wollaston, or "Merry Mount," an eminence in the present town of Quincy, overlooking Massachusetts Bay, being twice sent back to England, whence he finally returned to be cast into prison and die. Yet this statement is too brief. Let us, then, go back to Morton's cotemporaries, though in examining some historical writers we shall find their statements as unreliable as the unqualified romance. It is, therefore, necessary to hear what such men as Bradford have to say, as the grim Governor of Plymouth, after declaring that Morton obtained Mount Wollaston by violence and fraud, alleges that he fell into a licentious life, "powering out into all profaneness." According to this magnate; "Morton became the lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a Schoole of Athisme." He and his friends were also guilty both of "quaffing" and "drinking" wine and strong waters in "great exsess." One gossip reported the quantity to be ten shillings worth "in a morning." They also set up a "May-pole." Probably Morton did not know the signification of the May-pole, but he and his men fell to "dancing aboute" it all the same, and not once only, but

for "many days together;" also "inviting the Indean women for their consorts, dancing and frisking together (like so many fairies, or furies rather), and," the virtuous old chronicler solemnly adds, "worse practices." What these "practices" were, the Governor does not disclose, though they must have been very bad, coming, as they did, after the May-pole. Still he gives a hint, and says, that it was "as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of y<sup>e</sup> Roman Goddes Flora, or the beastly practices of y<sup>e</sup> madd Bachanalians." Yet even this was not the worst, for this Morton of Merry Mount presumed to write "poetrie," even verses that tended to "lasciviousness," and to "destruction and scandall." They "chainged allso the name of their place," and, instead of Mount Wollaston, called it "Merie mounte, as if the jolity would have lasted ever." This state of things continued until Endicott visited "those partes," when he cut the May-pole down, and admonished them to see that there was "better walking." Similar language might be quoted from other old writers, who, with modern historians, have put Morton and his friends before the public in a false light. Even one who left Morton's character better than he found it, and evidently wrote without prejudice, speaks of him as probably wholly devoid of principle.<sup>2</sup> Thomas Morton forms one of the most picturesque yet least understood characters in early New England history. It has been considered well-nigh a proof of loyalty to treat his memory with scorn.

Of Morton's history prior to his arrival in New England, little is known. Upon the title-page of his book, he describes himself as of "Clifford's Inn, Gent." Bradford says, that he "had been a kind of petie-fogger of Furnifell's Inn." Dudley adds, that he "had beene an Attorney in the Weste Countreyes." On this point Morton volunteers no information, but Maverick speaks of him as a "gentleman of good qualitie." Morton begins the account of his proceedings by saying that, in the month of June, *Anno Salutis*, 1622, it was "my chauce to arrive in the parts of New England, with 30 Servants, and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation" (p. 59). He may have come with Weston's colony in the Charity. It is clear enough that Morton was in New England at Michaelmas, 1622.

In 1625 Wollaston came to Massachusetts with thirty men. This individual is described by Bradford as "a man of pretie parts," and possessed of an abundance of the supplies required to establish a colony. He also says that when Wollaston went to Virginia he left one Fitcher as his deputy, whom Morton overcame with drink, and then persuaded the servants to rebel. The falsity of this story, however, lies upon its face. Such an act must inevitably have become the subject of proceedings. The fact that no proceedings were hinted at by those who employed every pretext for an-

noying the master of Merry Mount, shows that the act complained of never took place, and that Morton was first on the ground at Wollaston, while Mr. Adams, who has generously exonerated him from some charges, admits that Wollaston "had neither charter nor grant of land," while Bradford allows that Morton had an "interest" in the enterprise. The story of Bradford may, therefore, be left to take care of itself, though, before passing from the subject, it will be proper to state what does not appear to have been recognized by any writer heretofore, namely, that Morton actually had a patent. No early writer utters a syllable which indicates that Morton's right to the soil was questioned. His settlement was commenced at a place known by the Indians as "Passonagesset," which was changed to "Mount Wollaston," and afterward by Morton to "Ma-re Mount," intended for "Merry Mount," though, to the ear, it might suggest the Latin of the Mount by the Sea. Here on this beautiful elevation, amid scenes that lifted the mind up "from Nature to Nature's God," Thomas Morton, the London lawyer, we are told, set up "as it were," a "Schoole of Athisme." But what kind of atheism was taught? The reader may judge, from the fact that the text-books used were the Bible and Common Prayer. Speaking of himself, Morton writes: "Our Master [of Ma-re-Mount] say they, reades the Bible and the Word of God, and useth the booke of Common Prayer."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless we are told that he set up a "Schoole of Athisme." It is undeniable that Morton became an object of aversion largely for the reason that he used the Prayer Book. The answer to Bradford and all those who have fallen into the notion that Morton was a Bohemian, without law or morals, and believing in nothing, is found in Morton's own work, a book denounced the most severely by those who know it best by its back. Let us therefore glance at "The New English Canaan," a quaint little quarto, forming a bibliographical nut that librarians have long essayed to crack.<sup>4</sup>

The "New English Canaan" is divided into three books, the first and second of which describe the country and the aborigines, while the third is devoted to Morton's connection with the men of Plymouth and Boston. At the end of the second book is an Epilogue, "New Canaan's Genius," which may show that originally his intention was to end there. This Epilogue finds New Canaan's genius in Lake Champlain, and probably forms the earliest existing example of lake poetry in connection with America. Morton saw that great commercial advantages might be derived from

"Th' admired Lake of Erocoise."

"New English Canaan," upon the whole, is a remarkable work to proceed from a "Madd Bachanalian." With reference to the author's style, it may

be admitted that the work belongs to Morton's age rather than to ours. If he had lived in the present day, Morton might have been an admirer of Swinburne. There are several phrases that could have been left out, but no one who has the perseverance to go through the book will be offended, unless a prude. Yet the book is not disfigured by the coarseness of Shakespeare, and the reader who is sufficiently well grounded in the history of the period to comprehend the third part, may enjoy a hearty laugh. Morton was indeed too rude, and was unmercifully severe. This is easily recognized by the reader who to-day is smarting under no terrible wrong. Yet there is something besides sarcasm in the "New English Canaan." The first and second books show the groundwork of Morton's character, while his enemies knew him only by the exterior of his life. They were unfitted to appreciate his best qualities, even as Morton failed to recognize what was superior in them, not distinguishing between deep religiousness and the surface deposit of grotesque, selfish fanaticism obscuring that wealth of character which the impartial student is ready to recognize and admire.

The language of the book may be obscure, but Morton's cotemporaries understood it, and writhed under it; while, respecting his verses, it may be said that poorer lines have been praised. Of Morton's fancy the reader can judge from the quaint pictures scattered on his pages.

In turning over the leaves of the "New English Canaan," which recounts the story of wilderness life, the mind reverts to "As You Like It," a play laid amid forest scenes. Though Morton did not, with the banished *Duke* in the Forest of Arden, essay the rôle of Robin Hood, the proprietor of Passonagessit, at least, had "merry men with him." Whoever visits Merry Mount to-day, will search in vain for any primeval forest, but around the open hill-top there once spread a little Arcadia, wherein, breathing the free air of the forest, Morton and his companions made labor light, while festival and song often attended the passing hour. There was doubtless method in what Bradford called madness, and if all the circumstances of the case were known, we might, possibly, esteem Morton wise. Whoever reads the history of colonization often comes face to face with men dying on foreign shores of mere *ennui* and homesickness, the wilderness being depressing, and life shorn of all zest.

Morton may have found an example of cheerfulness thought quite worthy of imitation on the page of "*Nouvelle France*," a work which appeared in 1609, from the pen of one who was a lawyer like himself. This work was written by the witty Parisian advocate, Mark Lescarbot. The two lawyers were of different religions, but they possessed many tastes in common, though Lescarbot, in the community at Port Royal, in 1606-7, had



none of those sad conflicts which led Morton to dip his pen in gall. Morton and Lescarbot were both fond of jests; both wrote poetry, or at least, verses; and, as laymen, conducted religious services; while both believed in good fellowship and lofty cheer. These two men, fighting hardship and privation in the wilderness, had the highest of all authority for trying to make life cheerful. It is very reasonable to suppose, therefore, that Morton had read Lescarbot's "New France." If so, he would have discovered that his brother at Port Royal was a prominent member of the order of "*Bon Temps*." In the French "Acadie," poesy added to the glory of a cuisine worthy, at least in its aims, of the famous Parisian restaurant in the *Rue aux Ours*.

Lescarbot called the country "New France," but Morton styled it the "New Canaan." Morton found in New England "a kind of paralell" to the "Canaan of Israel," because it lay along the sea; and Champlain's Lake of the Iroquois he called Gennesaret. The object of these two lawyers was to overcome hardship by giving to wilderness life all the animation and cheerfulness possible. Morton has been stigmatized as a bad man, yet a man of his tastes, possessing as he did such reverence for nature, and such a deep sympathy with all her moods, could not be thoroughly bad.

The opening of Morton's work sounds like some ancient hymn of praise, recognizing as he does "the wise Creator of the universal Globe," using such language as "the secret wisdom of Almighty God," and demonstrating, by appeals to the beauties of nature that lay around Merry Mount, "the wondrous wisdom and love of God!" (page 11). Yet Bradford is so carried away by passion as to declare that he set up a school of atheism, and actually wrote a book full of profane calumnies "against ye ways of God." Bradford is unworthy of trust where the "Sachem of Passonageset" is concerned.

Morton indeed formed a composite character, but even in his jesting, which was not convenient, he appears to have had an object in view. Like *Jaques*, in the Forest of Arden, he said to himself:

"I must have liberty  
Withal, as large a charter as the wind  
To blow on whom I please!"

Yet, like that eccentric individual, it would also appear that he proposed to

"Cleanse the foul body of the infected world,"

if it would patiently receive his medicine.

Morton was a keen sportsman, but in this, as in other respects, he was guided by the utilities. He pursued the chase with no idle mind. He

knew the beasts and birds. He hunted the beaver, and understood his ways from the Blue Hills to the banks of the Kennebec. He had scarcely landed when his practised eye told him he could make merchandise of the hawks that, like Shakspeare's crows and choughs at Dover, midway cleaved the clear, crisp air, one sup of which, in New England, some of the visitors thought, was better than a barrel of Old England's beer. He writes: "At my first arrival in those parts [I] practised to take a lannaret, which I reclaimed, trained, and made flying in a fortnight, the same being a passenger at Michaelmas." Motley, in his "Merry Mount," enjoys this phase of Morton's life; but it was, after all, less a pastime than the novelist supposed. The practical character of the man excited deep envy among his less skilful neighbors. However much they may have condemned his mirthfulness, they never wrote a line to suggest that he was indolent, as he should have been had other charges proved true. He was not slothful, like the man condemned by the wise king, because he failed to roast that which he took in hunting. They saw that he was a diligent man, whose substance daily grew. In fact, those solemn magnates who ruled the Bay were terribly annoyed by the sight of free living joined to prosperity; yet this man, who, according to their account, did nothing but drink and carouse, went on piling his storehouse with beaver.

In training the hawks, Morton looked sharply to the profits. As early as 1503, Henry VII. records this item of the privy purse: "To one that brought hawks from the Newfound Island, £1." In 1609 Richard Gyfford was licensed to import hawks into England from America. Again, as it appears from the Colonial Manuscripts, that, in 1635, the Massachusetts hawks were highly prized. The Council for New England presented the king with some specimens brought to London by one Captain Smart, while the bringer was recommended for promotion. The eagle is the royal bird, as Motley causes Morton to explain; yet Charles I. considered a New England hawk fit for a king, little dreaming, perhaps, that a bird of another feather, in the person of Peters, the regicide, was then in New England, preparing to stoop and find a quarry in his own royal person.

Of the precise order of events at Merry Mount it may be impossible to speak, as Morton does not deal in dates. It is nevertheless certain that he was arrested and banished twice. Ostensibly, the first arrest was based upon the charge of selling firearms to the Indians; but, realizing that the charge was too feeble, they claimed that he intended to send to England for more. Morton, being a lawyer, replied that the proclamation respecting firearms was not a law; further, he was not subject to the jurisdiction of his opponents. In defiance of the law, they resolved to get rid of him. Her-

bert Spencer says that the "abject submission of the weak to the strong, however unscrupulously enforced, has in some times and places been necessary," and the principle underlying this dictum has been pleaded, saying that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that, being endangered by Morton, his enemies had a right to proceed in the absence, and even in defiance, of the law. The truth is that they were in no danger, and that they did not and could not prove their charge. As the Colonial Manuscripts show, the harm was done and the proclamation was issued before Morton arrived in New England. At the most, he could not have disposed of more than half a dozen guns. Bradford simply makes himself ridiculous. Lamenting that Morton initiated the red men into so many useful arts, he says: "Could they attaine to make saltpeter they would teach them to make powder. O the horiblnes of this vilanie!"

This charge was a cover for something else. Their opposition was based upon the fact that he was "a maine enemy of their Church and State," which he had a right to be; therefore every opportunity was improved, and, therefore, his May-pole was cut down. This pole, eighty feet high, and surmounted by a pair of antlers, had been planted with the aid of the Indians and his friends. Here he had kept the revels in good old English style, showing suitable hospitality to all comers. This alone was enough for Bradford, who, on Christmas Day, 1621, had put a stop to the athletic sports and innocent games inaugurated at Plymouth. At Merry Mount they may or may not have indulged to excess. It was no concern of Bradford's, if they did. There may have been bad fellows in the company, yet we hear of none who fought duels, indulged in the horrible profanity rebuked by Bradford, nor of any who, for thieving, were "well whipt," like those who came under the lash at Plymouth. Of the people of Merry Mount he knew little, except by the reports of paid spies, who abused the hospitality of the merry Sachem of Passonagesset. Nevertheless, it was resolved that the industrious and enterprising Morton, who was fast monopolizing the trade in beaver, "must go." Accordingly the Plymotheans sent doughty Miles Standish to make the arrest. Standish pounced upon his victim at Weymouth, where he happened to be making a visit; but in the night, while Standish and his men were drowsy with drink, he managed to escape. During a severe thunderstorm, he made his way back to Merry Mount. Thither he was pursued by nine armed men, under the diminutive Standish, designated by Morton as "Captain Shrimp," and, through the window of his stronghold, a treaty was made, in accordance with which Morton surrendered. The latter makes "Shrimp" appear as ridiculous as possible, while Bradford employs the account of some "swashbuckler," representing

mine host of the Mount in his own fashion, and says that one of his men was "so drunke y<sup>t</sup> he rane his own nose upon y<sup>e</sup> point of a sword y<sup>t</sup> one held before him as he entred y<sup>e</sup> house." According to the same chronicler, Morton had filled his carbine half full of powder and shot, being determined on desperate deeds; while Captain Shrimp, described as one of those little chimneys easily fired, threatened to shoot his captive with a pistol.

From the Mount Morton was taken on board a shallop, and conveyed to the "inchaunted Castle at Plymouth," being afterward carried to the Isles of Shoals. There he was left in the winter, thinly clad, being relieved by the Indians, who provided for his wants, and brought bottles of "strong liquor," such as Plymotheans, even, under the name of "aqua vitæ," loved unwisely and too well. Morton concludes the account by saying, thus "full of humanity are these infidels before these Christians."

After much difficulty, a captain was found to take him to England, where, notwithstanding the fact that the Plymouth purse was at the disposal of the prosecutor, no attorney could be found to risk his reputation by undertaking a suit. He had used the Book of Common Prayer, and had scored his enemies with his tongue, but in England these things were not crimes. No one, therefore, was found to interfere with Morton. The charge to which he was really open was that of indiscretion. He knew the opinions and the temper of the men against whom he levelled his stinging satires, and should have been cautious.

All proceedings having failed, he returned the next year to New England. To the infinite scandal of Bradford, he landed at Plymouth. What made it worse, he came out with the Plymouth agent, the highly respected Mr. Allerton, thus refuting the charge of Bradford, that Morton was despised by "ye meanest servants." The men of Plymouth, too, knew the groundlessness of their old charges, and did not venture to rearrest him. Bradford complains that Allerton brought Morton to "ye towne, as it were, to nose them." This does not appear to be an unreasonable view of the question. They had violated every principle of law, and deserved to be "nosed." But Allerton was just. He knew Morton's rights, and felt bound to respect them. He accordingly entertained him in his own house, as his secretary, and utilized his literary talents. Finally, however, the opposition of his neighbors was more than he could support, and Bradford gleefully remarks, that Allerton was obliged "to pack him away," whereupon Morton "wente to his olde neste in y<sup>e</sup> Massachusetts." This "nest" he held by patent, and no one at that time interfered with his rights. If Morton had been discreet, he might have passed his life there. Quincy was the *Ultima Thule*, and Morton was a remote barbarian, who had nothing to

do but to hold his tongue. That, however, he did not do, and, as the result, he was called upon by Endicott to sign certain articles, the tenor of which was that, in ecclesiastical and political matters, the people should follow "the rule of God's word." This aimed at freedom of worship. He refused to sign, unless he could add the proviso, that nothing should be done contrary to the laws of England. Boston, however, was resolved, and accordingly they invented the charge of cruelty against the Indians, as well as insinuations respecting his treatment of their women, whom, in reality, he had sought to instruct in the principles of religion. Indeed, his life had been marked by a wise consideration and kindness, and a desire to make the red man his friend. He succeeded well. He had entertained them at Merry Mount, taught them a superior woodcraft, showed them how to hunt, and retained them in his service in a kindly, feudal spirit. He made himself so loved, trusted, and popular, that, though near Weymouth, where the whites had been massacred, he lived in security, having, like the merry men in the Forest of Arden,

" No enemy but winter  
And rough weather."

Nevertheless, at Charlestown, September 17, 1630, the court decreed, "that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wolliston, shall presently be sett into the bilbowes and after sent prisoner into England by the shipp called the Gifte, nowe returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized vpon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a cannoe he had vnjustly took away from them; and that his howse, after the goods are taken out, shalbe burnt doune to the ground in the sight of the Indians for their satisfaction, for many wrongs hee hath done them from time to time."

Morton was skilled in the law, and he stood bravely upon his defence, yet the charges, though manufactured, were pressed. That they were false is as certain as that they caused Morton's condemnation; and at this late day we have the testimony of Samuel Maverick, one of the most upright, enterprising, and responsible men of Boston, to prove the general charge false. He not only testifies that Morton had a patent for his land, but that the firing of the gun upon the Indians, not mentioned in the sentence but charged, was accidental, and that no one was seriously hurt, while the Indians lamented when they saw Morton's house in flames. The offence against the savages consisted in getting their good-will, in sharing his food with them, and in dissuading them from the improper use of strong drink, assuring them that the *aqua vitæ* they demanded was the exclusive "drink of Sachems." If he had been guilty of the charge brought against

him, he was entitled at least to a fair trial. But his case was decided without law. Before the court he had no counsel, and when he endeavored to speak in his own defence his voice was drowned by the cry, "Hear the Governour!" The government, however, had organized itself into a mob, and Morton, viewing the whole procedure with a legal eye, saw that the demonstration was nothing more than a "riot." No one would lend an ear either to justice or mercy. It was a procedure which no sophistry can defend. The sentence of the court was executed to the letter. There was also a refinement in their cruelty, and Maverick says, that it was ordered that Morton should "saile in sight of his howse" and view the conflagration.

Having thus condemned and punished him without a trial, for a crime of which he was innocent, one might suppose that they would rest satisfied. But the next step was to order him to England a prisoner. Yet, for what? Bradford says that he was sent in response to a requisition from the Lord Chief Justice, to answer for a murder of which he was "vehemently suspected." The captain of the Gift, to whom they applied, refused to carry him, evidently having not heard of the alleged "warrante" which existed only in imagination, otherwise he would not have refused. As it remained, it required three months to find a man who would do their work. Morton finally sailed on the "Handmaid."

Mr. Adams, who approved the first prosecution, would go no farther. He says, "The charges alleged against him were certainly not of a character to justify the extremely harsh sentence inflicted, for they amounted to nothing more than taking an Indian canoe, and a vague suggestion of other offences. Had he continued the illicit trade in firearms after his return, or even kept up his may-pole revels, we may feel very sure that emphasis would be given to the fact. Nothing of the sort was even intimated." The conclusion, in the words of the writer just quoted, is that "these were high-handed acts of unmistakable oppression;" adding, "the probabilities in the case would seem to be that the Massachusetts magistrates had made up their minds in advance to drive this man out of Massachusetts."

In this manner Morton was, nevertheless, treated, and after being well-nigh starved on the voyage, he was lodged in Exeter jail; but there being no charge against him, he was set at liberty; and none of his enemies repeated the base insinuation of Bradford. Morton was more than acquitted.

The spirit of Morton, therefore, was not yet broken, and in England he set himself at work to secure the punishment of his oppressors. Winslow, of Plymouth, was then in England, and Morton went so far as to persuade Laud to throw him into jail for performing the marriage service in New England. It was a mean act, and one unworthy of the generous and hos-

pitiable master of Merry Mount, even though Winslow had sought to prejudice the Privy Council against him. Morton, like his enemies, was human. At this period his chief efforts were directed to securing the vacation of the Massachusetts charter, the only course, in his opinion, that promised a remedy. In 1634, he was so confident of success that he sent Jeffrey that unfortunate letter beginning, "My very good gossip,"<sup>5</sup> in which he refers to "Annanias and his brethren," and saying that the king had declared the patent void. Morton already saw Winthrop's ears cropped. Action, nevertheless, was delayed, and in 1644 he returned, when he was greeted with a dramatic surprise, his letter to Jeffrey being flaunted in his face. In court Morton was charged with bringing a complaint before the Council accusing the leaders in Massachusetts of treason and rebellion. This Morton denied, having being summoned by Sir Christopher Gardiner simply as a witness.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, Winthrop says Morton had set forth a book against us, and had threatened us, and had prosecuted a *quo warranto* against us." Bradford also says that for this book, written against "y<sup>e</sup> ways of God," and for "other things," he was imprisoned at Boston, "being grown old in wickedness."

The institution of proceedings, ten years after the book was published, and at a time when the waning power of the king gave them nothing to fear, showed a vindictiveness with which Morton, notwithstanding his prejudice, did not credit them. Otherwise he would not have trusted himself in their power. But time had not mollified their resentment. Morton, however, in the whole business, had simply availed himself of his constitutional rights as an Englishman. He violated no law in arguing for the vacation of the charter, and was guilty of no misdemeanor in publishing a book. The fault was to be found in the fact that the book was tolerably true, though disrespectful and needlessly severe.

Winthrop says that Morton did not deny the authorship of "New English Canaan," while Maverick says "he confessed not." Being a lawyer, and knowing his rights as an accused man, he probably refused to acknowledge the book as testimony, and threw the burden of proof upon his enemies, who knew the weakness of their case, and comprehended the fact that, whoever may have written the book, neither its composition nor its publication constituted a crime. Conscious of this fact, Morton was put in jail, to gain time and rake up something else. At all events, they were resolved what they would ultimately do, and Mr. Adams admits that "had he been as pure as ice and chaste as snow he would not have escaped calumny." It is also admitted as being more than probable that in the second prosecution

“complaints were trumped up” against him. In connection with the third arrest, the conduct of the Governor and his associates appears still worse. Let Winthrop tell the story. The Governor says: “Having been kept in prison about a year, in expectation of further evidence out of England [*sic*!], he was again called before the court, and after some debate what to do with him, he was fined £100 and set at liberty. He was a charge to the country, for he had nothing, and we thought not fit to inflict corporal punishment upon him, being old and crazy, but thought better to fine him and give him his liberty, as if it had been to procure his fine, but indeed to leave him opportunity to go out of the jurisdiction, which he did soon after, and went to Acomenticus, and living there poor and despised, he died within two years after” (II., p. 190).

Here we have a “crazy” man treated as a felon, and turned out, robbed of all that he possessed, to wander away into the wilderness and die. But this is not all, for Maverick, in writing to the Earl of Clarendon, after reciting that Morton was a gentleman of good quality, who had been sent a prisoner to England, not in obedience to any warrant of the Chief Justice, but on the false charge of firing intentionally upon the Indians, says: “He wrote a book entitled New Canaan, a good description of the Cuntry as it then was, only in the end of it he pinched to closely on some in authoritie there, for which some yeares after cominge over to looke after his land for which he had a patent many yeares before, he found liis land disposed of and made a township, and himself shortly after apprehended, put into the goale without fire or beddinge, no bayle to be taken, where he remained a very cold winter, nothing laid to his charge but the writing of this booke, which he confessed not nor could they prove; he died shortly after, and as he said and many well supposed, on his hard vsage in prison.”<sup>7</sup> This turns the case into something nearly akin to judicial murder.

Thus the able, accomplished, and merry-hearted Sachem of Passonageset disappeared under a cloud. Of the closing scenes in his career the accessible records afford no description beyond what is found in the two writers just quoted. The “Accomenticus” of Winthrop is the “Agamenticus” of the present day. The name is now affixed to a beautiful green hill on the coast of Maine, near Cape Neddock, which salutes the voyager from afar. In this pleasant region, outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, this “gentleman of good qualitie” sought an asylum. Winthrop says that he was “despised.” What was worse, he was “poor,” and unable to pay Boston the hundred pounds. If, however, he was not poor, the men of the Bay were not to blame; while if he was not despised, it was hardly because they had not employed all their arts to render his appear-



ance despicable. But there is no proof that he was despised by any except his foes. As respects Bradford, he contradicted himself; while, after Morton's second banishment, the authorities at home appointed him solicitor in connection with the proposed vacation of the charter.

Morton went to Maine, but, so far as is known, not to be despised. Clearly he must have had the possession of his faculties, and in Maine he would be free from persecution. In 1641-42 charters were drawn up for a city to be called "Agamenticus," Edward Godfrey being designated as Mayor. It was to be a prosperous and right cheerful place. Two fairs were to be "held or kept" in the Agamenticus "every year forever upon the festivals of SS. James and Paul." The good old feasts of "merrie England" were to be celebrated there. Those who cared to frolic around an innocent May-pole might freely enjoy the sport; and there, too, would be lawyers, courts being held in "the town hall." The Christmas and Whitsuntide holidays would resound with mirth. Morton, beyond doubt, had heard of the proposed city, which promised to be an attorney's paradise; and toward "Agamenticus," then only a "poore village," he dragged his way, racked with pain and dying, yet hoping to live. There, he trusted, he might find friends. He certainly, however, could not hope for much enjoyment, but the phantom of Pleasure led the way, and his ruling passion was strong. Still, the projected city was not built. It remained as unsubstantial as the famous "Norumbega," searched for by the French on the Penobscot, and described by early visionaries as having houses with pillars of crystal and silver, and roofs resplendent with gold. To-day no affluent commerce seeks the shelter of the silent port, where only a few small craft come and go with the lazy lapse of the idle tide. There, in the infant settlement, Thomas Morton died. What were his last thoughts and final consolation no man, perhaps, can tell. Did he relent respecting his enemies, and, in a penitential spirit, address to himself some portion of the merciless severity that he often poured upon others? It is impossible to say. It is not unreasonable, however, to think that the end of his life may have been in harmony with the trustful and reverent beginning of his book; that the sternness of his resentment may have been softened by some degree of the charity so consistent with his generous heart, and that, as "Agamenticus" failed, another city, "Urbs Zion Mystica," a city with foundations, rose upon his gladdened view.

To-day the ashes of the Lord of "Merry Mount" rest in some unknown spot, under the shadow of "Mount Agamenticus," yet the imperishable chronicle will keep his memory alive; while, when the ideal history of New England is written, with an exact analysis of motives, and a supreme fealty to truth, doing simple justice alike to Churchman and Nonconformist, Thomas

Morton will appear, with all his imperfections, yet in his real character and true place.

B. F. DE COSTA.

<sup>1</sup> Bradford's History. Mass. Coll., S. 4. Vol. III., pp. 236-242.

<sup>2</sup> See the valuable articles of Mr. Adams in the Atlantic Monthly, May and June, 1877.

<sup>3</sup> In referring to this objection against him, he quotes his opponents, who say of the Book, "but this is not the meanes; the answer is: the meanes they crie; alas, poore soules, where is the meanes? how can you be stayed from fallinge headlonge to perdition. *Facilis descensus averni*: the booke of Common Prayer sayd they, what poor thing is that, for a man to read in a booke. . . . Give me a man hath the guifts of the Spirit, not a booke in hand." New English Canaan, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Morton says that he wrote the book upon ten years' knowledge and experience of the country, which would place its composition in 1632-33. It was actually entered for copyright November 18, 1633. Peter Force reprinted the work in 1838, and his copy bears upon the title-page, "Printed by Charles Green. 1632." Yet, since Morton quotes from Wood's New England's Prospect, printed in 1634, it has been argued that his work was printed subsequent to Wood's. Possibly, however, Morton had seen Wood's manuscript. The copy used by Force in reprinting wants the title-page, which he evidently made up from the title as given by Bishop Kenneth (*Bibliotheca Americanæ Primordis*, London, 1817), who, however, says, "Printed for Charles Green." The Bishop of Peterborough puts the date in the *margin* as 1632. Clearly his copy was without a printed date. Such is actually the case with the copy in the Library of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which has the date 1632 *written in*, while "nowhere else," writes the Secretary, "is there a date mark of any kind." The title-page of the Society's copy says, "Printed for Charles Greene, and are sold in Paul's Churchyard."

The edition in possession of the New York Historical Society, says, "Printed at Amsterdam, by Jacob Frederick Stam, In the yeare 1637." It is, therefore, clear that two editions of the book were printed, and that one was without date, though there is nothing in the edition of 1637, beyond the imprint, favoring the theory that this edition, and not that of Green, was printed in Amsterdam. Also, if the book was printed in Amsterdam by Stam, why did the printer blunder on the name, which, according to the present testimony, should have read "Jan" instead of "Jacob"? Lowndes also states that the North and the Gordonstoun sales contained copies with the date of 1634. This is an error with respect to Gordonstoun, as is probably the case with the North catalogue. There seems to have been two editions, neither of which had the date 1632. Both may have been printed at London. The facts, so far as known, seem to point to the conclusion, that the work was written in 1633, and revised after the author had seen Wood's Prospect. The subject is discussed in Harvard College Bulletin, No. 10, where it is said, "Now that the Force copy fails, it is not known that a single copy of title and date, corresponding to White Kennet's 1632 entry is in existence; and that one such did exist rests upon his entry alone." We have shown, however, that the copy described by Bishop Kennet has no date. The Clarendon Papers also show that when Morton was accused of writing the book they could not prove it. Now would this have gone on record, unless the copy produced was without the author's name? This, perhaps, leads to the consideration of the question, whether or not an edition was published without the author's name, as well as without the date.

<sup>5</sup> Found in Winthrop's History of New England, vol. II., p. 190, ed. 1826.

<sup>6</sup> It is curious to observe how the ground was changed at this point, for they at once brought forward the irrelevant statement, that Gardiner had no cause to complain, as "he was kindly used and dismissed in peace, professing much engagement for the great courtesy he found here." Bradford, however, shows the error of Winthrop's statement, where he writes that Gardiner was charged with gross immorality, accused of being a "Papist," and was beaten with poles at his arrest, while his capture in this barbarous fashion was "taken thankfully" by the Governor of Massachusetts.

<sup>7</sup> N. York Collections, 1869, p. 40. The neglected Clarendon Papers are of no little importance.

## THE SECRET SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTION

Ever since the redoubtable Joshua, of Scriptural fame, despatched two spies into his enemy's territory, with instructions to make their way to its very stronghold—"even Jericho"—and afterward amazed the world with supernatural tactics on the plain of Gibeon, it has been a standard maxim of war to use all possible means and devices to win success. The military man has never failed to tax his ingenuity to overreach his antagonist, and some of his methods, in common use to-day, are of a very old date. What is known as the secret service, at least, is clearly no modern institution, for we may credit Joshua himself with being one of its originators, so far as he appears on the list of those tribal leaders who undertook to examine and report upon the land of Canaan before invading it. He was a spy before he was a general, and, as a general, he recognized the necessity and value of military espionage. His example would seem to give that otherwise unpopular occupation a certain ancient respectability.

Writers on war make the spy one of the essentials of war. Napoleon used to say that if a general neglected to supply himself with information while operating in a peopled country, it was because he was "ignorant of his trade." He is said himself to have been constantly followed and watched by English and Continental spies. "Without accurate intelligence of an enemy's movements," writes Colonel McDougall, former Superintendent of the Royal Military College of Great Britain, "the greatest military talent is useless. The faculty of organizing a system of intelligence is a prominent quality of a great commander, and one demanding a deep knowledge of human nature." To quote from Jomini also, we find that noted authority laying down these rules, based upon a most extensive experience: "There are four means," he says, "of attaining a judgment as to the operations of a hostile army: the first is that of an espionage well organized and liberally paid; the second is that of reconnoissances made by skilful officers and light corps; the third consists in the information which could be obtained from prisoners of war; the fourth is that of establishing with one's self the hypotheses which may be the most probable from two different bases. Finally there is a fifth mode, that of signals, which, although it is applied rather to indicate the presence of the enemy than to judge of his projects, may be ranged in the category."

But, before either Napoleon could distinguish the smell of gunpowder,

or Jomini had seen the light, it is interesting to note that Washington, the details of whose mode of warfare seem to have been unfamiliar to these two masters of the art in Europe, had already governed himself by the very principles they insist upon, and carried the Revolution through to success in part by their rigid application. The most conspicuous phase of Washington's generalship was his unremitting vigilance. The long months which sometimes intervened between the movements of his army were anything but the measure of inactivity in his own brain, for he watched the enemy—all that it was often possible for him to do—closely and constantly. Perhaps it was his early knowledge of Indian ways, and the experience of that terrible day with Braddock, that had impressed him with the need of always knowing all about the enemy, and thus save himself, at least, from surprises. Spies, light troops, reconnoissances, examination of prisoners, "hypotheses," and signals, which Jomini advises so positively, were quite an old story with the American Chief by the time the war closed. He understood his "trade."

Especially did Washington make full use of the secret service during the Revolution, and he used it strictly within the rules of war. Whether he stopped to consider what some writers on the Law of Nations call the "ethics" of the case does not appear, but it is little likely that he did. Commanding generals seem never to have troubled themselves with this point, their one aim being to obtain necessary intelligence at all hazards. The moral phase of the question turns upon the character of the spies employed, of which there may be said to be two classes—those who are sent out from one camp into that of the enemy, and those who are subjects of the enemy or soldiers or officers in his service who are secretly hired to transmit intelligence to the opposite side. In the latter case the spies are also traitors, and it may be questioned how far a general would be authorized in seeking their services, involving, as they must, the encouragement of gross perfidy and the blackest treachery. But as war goes the employment of even this class of spies is permissible, the learned Vattel expressing himself as follows on the point: "We may lawfully endeavor to weaken the enemy by all possible means, provided they do not affect the common safety of human society, as do poison and assassination. Now in seducing a subject to turn spy, or the governor of a town to deliver it up to us, we do not strike at the foundation of the common safety and welfare of mankind. Subjects acting as spies to an enemy do not cause a fatal and unavoidable evil; it is possible to guard against them to a certain degree, and as to the security of fortresses, it is the sovereign's business to be careful in the choice of the governors to whom he intrusts them. Those meas-

ures, therefore, are not contrary to the external law of nations; nor can the enemy complain of them as odious proceedings. Accordingly they are practised in all wars." This worthy and eminent authority, however, is quick to add that by the standard of individual conscience the corruption of an enemy's subject is highly dishonorable, unless, possibly, in the case of "a very just war, where the immediate object is to save our country when threatened by a lawless conqueror."

Washington both sent out spies from his own camp, and employed spies resident within the enemy's lines. Among the former was young Nathan Hale, whose fate recalls a sad yet fragrant memory of that war. Of the latter class of spies no names, so far as known, have been preserved, nor does it appear from such correspondence as we have that they were "subjects" of the British in the sense that Vattel uses the term. The Tory and Whig element was largely intermixed in the vicinity of the armies, especially in and around New York, and both commanding generals were aware that they had true friends within the opposite lines whose services as informers could be properly sought. There is certainly nothing in Washington's letters respecting this business to show that attempts were ever made to induce any one, Englishman or Tory, to betray his own cause. It was a fair game; Clinton, for example, well understanding that the American chief was doing his best to pry out British movements and intentions, and the latter knowing that Clinton's emissaries furnished him with information from the American camp. How far the espionage was carried on by both parties is indicated on the one hand by the original extracts from Washington's correspondence quoted in this article, and on the other from the titles of two manuscripts which have recently been sold in England from the papers of Sir Henry Clinton, one of which is described as "Private Intelligence," and the other, "Information of Deserters and Others not Included in Private Intelligence." Still another expressive item appears in the Public Accounts of England where, under date of March 2, 1780, a warrant is drawn for £1,800 "To Major John André, for Secret Services to Government."

Of one thing we may be certain, that Washington employed the secret service on the highest public grounds. He felt that he was engaged in "a very just war," that his army was weak as compared with that of the enemy, that its surprise and defeat would be attended with alarming results to the country, and that his surest protection was to be forewarned by prompt and accurate intelligence of every hostile move against him.

What efforts were made by the Chief in this direction, and how far he succeeded in his purpose, may be gathered from numerous references in the

printed and manuscript papers of the time. Thus, from his own private account book, it appears that he had scarcely assumed the command of the army at Cambridge, in July, 1775, when he furnished a certain person, whose name he withholds, with  $\$333\frac{1}{3}$  "to go into the city of Boston to establish a secret correspondence, for the purpose of conveying intelligence of the enemy's movements and designs;" but how useful this arrangement proved to be is not stated. At New York, in the following year, we know that he was hard pressed for information of Howe's movements in time to be thoroughly prepared for them, although in his efforts there and during the retreat through the Jerseys his secret fund was diminished by "1,050 dollars and £284." In addition, there was the sacrifice of Hale's life to be brought against the account. Then, in 1777, considerable sums were paid out in the Pennsylvania Campaign, and while the enemy were at Philadelphia; but it was not until 1778, after the battle of Monmouth, when the British had made New York their headquarters once more, that he was able to establish anything like a systematized secret service. From that date the "underground railroad" was worked with not a little success, especially as Congress supplied the Commander-in-Chief with liberal sums of hard money for the purpose.

It would, indeed, be interesting to have before us to-day the various communications which the secret agents within the British lines began from this time to transmit at intervals to the American headquarters, but, as they were disguised or soon destroyed, we have to content ourselves with letters written mainly *about* the service; and one of the first which Washington wrote upon the subject is dated at White Plains, August 25, 1778, where his army was stationed for some time after Monmouth. It shows his methods and demand for accuracy in whatever information was furnished. "I am very anxious," he says—and he is writing to Major Clough, of Baylor's Dragoons, at a detached post—"to obtain a true account of what is passing in New York, and am endeavoring to send in a variety of persons from different quarters, who have no connection or communication with each other. By comparing their accounts, I shall be able to form a pretty good judgment. I shall be obliged to you to procure some intelligent person to go into the city, and, as it will be unsafe to give him a written paper, I desire you to impress the enclosed upon his memory by repeating them to him. When he returns let me know his answers to each head. If the person that goes in cannot make an excuse of business, he must be allowed to carry a small matter of provisions, and bring something out, by way of pretext." The five hundred guineas which Congress placed at Washington's disposal shortly after was doubtless put to good use here as well as later in the fall,

when we have a special line of communication established through the efforts and under the management of that spirited young officer of the Revolution, Major Benjamin Tallmadge, of the Light Dragoons, whose portrait appears in the present number of the Magazine.

Tallmadge, a graduate of Yale College in 1773, joined the service as adjutant of Chester's regiment of Connecticut State troops in 1776, participated in the battles of Long Island and White Plains, and in the following year raised a fine troop of horsemen, who joined the newly organized Second Regiment of Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Elisha Sheldon, of Connecticut. Thereafter he figures as "Major Tallmadge," and his connection with the arrest of André, his brilliant exploits on Long Island, and his vigilance and activity at the outposts in Westchester County, earned for him, not only a flattering reputation among his comrades, but, what he esteemed far more highly, the particular confidence of his Commander-in-Chief. His "Memoir," published some years since, is one of the works eagerly sought by collectors of Revolutionary lore.

The intimate acquaintance of this officer with Washington grew out of and ripened in connection with this matter of the secret service, beginning in the fall of 1778. Being a native of Long Island, and stationed much of the time on the Connecticut side of the Sound, he enjoyed unusual opportunities for obtaining information from the opposite shore, which he was careful to improve. He came in contact especially with a person who appears in his correspondence as C—— Senior, and occasionally as Culper Senior, which was evidently a fictitious name, in view of the rôle he afterward played as an American spy. In one of his unpublished letters, Tallmadge states that this man originally resided on Long Island, was taken in the Sound by one of our armed sloops, and considered as a prisoner of war, returned to Long Island on parole, and there remained till, by the influence of friends in Connecticut, he obtained an order from Governor Trumbull to return to that State. Tallmadge then proposed to him to engage in the service of procuring intelligence of British movements on Long Island, and, accepting the office, he went back. He was to represent himself there as a loyalist, but it would seem that in reality he was a friend of America, though perhaps of that unpronounced class which escaped harsh treatment within the enemy's territory. It is quite impossible that he could have been a "corrupted" British subject, or Tallmadge could not have reposed such unlimited faith in him as he did. In writing to Washington of C——'s readiness to obtain intelligence, he says: "I dare pawn my honour upon his fidelity." So Culper appears henceforth and proves to be a trusted American spy on Long Island, and some time in November

he furnished his first communication, which Tallmadge forwarded to the Commander-in-Chief. Upon its receipt, the latter returned the following reply to Tallmadge, heretofore unpublished, under date of "Headquarters, Fishkill, November 29, 1778":

"I am favoured with your letter of this date, with one from C—. His account has the appearance of a distinct and good one, and makes me desirous of a continuation of his correspondence.

"At the same time, I am at a loss how it can be conveniently carried on, as he is so scrupulous respecting the channel of conveyance. At the Station to which your regiment is going, it would be too circuitous and dilatory to have his communications pass through you. I wish you could fix upon some officer at Danbury, in whose discretion your correspondent would be willing to confide; or perhaps the matter might be so managed that his communications might be conveyed through that officer without his knowing from whom they came.

"If this can be done, you will make the proper arrangements and give me notice. But any way you can fall upon, in which the end can be answered with expedition, will be agreeable to me.

"If you think you can really depend on C—'s fidelity, I should be glad to have an interview with him myself, in which I would endeavour to put the mode of corresponding upon such a footing, that even if his letters were to fall into the enemy's hands, he would have nothing to fear on that account.

"I am sorry, I cannot send you the money you request, per bearer; all the specie in my possession is with my baggage, from which I shall be for some days separated. But, if I am not mistaken, there is a sum about equal to what is now wanted in the hands of Col. Henly, whom I have directed in the letter accompanying this to pay what he may have to you. You will apply to him accordingly.

"Specie is so scarce an article and so difficult to be procured, that we must use great economy with it. If Continental money can be made to answer the purpose in part, it will be a very desirable circumstance, and facilitate the necessary supplies.

"P.S.—If you cannot arrange the matter at once in some other way, you may remain awhile where you are to carry on the correspondence."

The interview proposed in this letter was not held, on the ground that C— might be exposed by it; and no further correspondence is at hand until March 29, 1779, when the Commander-in-Chief writes again to Tallmadge from Middlebrook, New Jersey, as follows, the letter being transcribed from the original, which is entirely in Washington's handwriting:

"With this Letter you will receive Fifty Guineas for S— C—r, which you will cause to be delivered as soon as possible, with an earnest exhortation to use them with all possible economy, as I find it very difficult to obtain hard money.

"I wish C— could fall upon some more direct channel by which his Letters could be conveyed, as the efficacy of his communications is lost in the circuitous rout.—if he could fall upon a method of conveying his Letters to Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell at Elizabethtown, or to Col<sup>o</sup> Shreive at Newark, they would come to me with more dispatch, & of consequence render his correspondence more valuable.

"As all great movements, and the fountain of all intelligence must originate at, & proceed from the head Quarters of the enemy's army, C— had better reside at New York—mix with—and put on the airs of a Tory to cover his real character and avoid suspicion.

"In all his communications he should be careful in distinguishing matters of fact, from matters of report.—Reports and actions should be compared before conclusions are drawn, to prevent as much as possible, deception.



“Particular attention is to be paid to the arrival, & departure of all Fleets and to the alterations in the cantonments of the Troops and their respective movements with the destination of them, if to be come at, and before it is too late to profit by the knowledge. All reinforcements, whether of whole Corps—detachments—or recruits (for the purpose of filling their regiments) to be carefully marked, and the numbers—descriptions &c—properly designated.—All detachments and the strength and destination of them to be scrutinized with an eye equally attentive.—The temper and expectation of the Tories and refugees is worthy of consideration, as much may be gathered from their expectations and prospects—for this purpose an intimacy with some well informed Refugee may be political and advantageous.—highly so will it be, to contract an acquaintance with a person in the Naval department, who may either be engaged in the business of providing Transports for the embarkation of Troops, or in victualling of them.—Many other things will occur upon reflection without an enumeration of them, I shall therefore only add my wishes that the whole may be placed on such a footing as to answer the end most effectually, and that I am,

“Sir,

“Y<sup>r</sup> very H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>,

“G<sup>o</sup>. WASHINGTON.

“P. S.—I wish merely for curiosity, and that I may be prepared with sufficient knowledge for any future favourable contingency, to know the depth of water through Hellgate?—the largest ship of War that has ever passed it?—and the largest that can pass it?

“G. W—N.”

Some time in 1779, another correspondent in the enemy's lines appears, who is mentioned as C——, Junior, and of whom Tallmadge wrote to Washington briefly: “This much I can observe respecting the man. He is a gentleman of business, of education and honour.” That he was a person of some consequence is also established by the fact that by his own word he was on good terms with some of the staff-officers at British Headquarters.

From the two C——s, Senior and Junior, much valuable information was now secured; and respecting the mode of communicating it, we have a hint from another original letter from the Chief, dated West Point, July 25, 1779, and addressed to Tallmadge:

“All the white Ink I now have, indeed all that there is any prospect of getting soon is sent in Phial No. 1, by Colonel Webb. The liquid in No. 2 is the counterpart which renders the other visible by wetting the paper with a fine brush after the first has been used and is dry. You will send these to C——r Junior, as soon as possible, and I beg that no mention may Ever be made of your having received such liquid from me, or any one else. In all cases and at all times, this prudence and circumspection is necessary, but it is indispensably so now, as I am informed that Governor Tryon has a preparation of the same kind or something similar to it, which may lead to a detection, if it is ever known that a matter of this sort has passed from me. . . .”

But perhaps the most important and interesting of the documents that are preserved on this subject is that marked “Instructions,” found among Major Tallmadge's papers, which was drawn up by Washington as a guide by which the two C——s were to govern themselves. The minuteness of his suggestions and inquiries shows that he already entertained the possibility

of attacking the enemy at New York, a plan for which was matured in 1780 and in 1781. The following is the document in full :

“ INSTRUCTIONS.

“ C—— Jun<sup>r</sup>. to remain in the City, to collect all the useful information he can—to do this he should mix as much as possible among the officers and Refugees, visit the Coffee Houses, and all public places. He is to pay particular attention to the movements by land and water in and about the city especially.

“ How their transports are secured against an attempt to destroy them—whether by armed vessels upon the flanks, or by chains, Booms, or any contrivances to keep off fire Rafts.

“ The number of men destined for the defence of the City and Environs, endeavoring to designate the particular corps, and where each is posted.

“ To be particular in describing the place where the works cross the Island in the Rear of the City—how many Redoubts are upon the line from River to River, how many Cannon in each, and of what weight and whether the Redoubts are closed or open next the city.

“ Whether there are any Works upon the Island of New York between those near the City and the works at Fort Knyphausen or Washington, and if any, whereabouts and of what kind.

“ To be very particular in finding out whether any works are thrown up on Harlem River, near Harlem Town, and whether Horn’s Hook is fortified. If so, how many men are kept at each place, and what number and what sized Cannon are in those works.

“ To enquire whether they have dug Pits within and in front of the lines and Works in general, three or four feet deep, in which sharp pointed stakes are fixed. These are intended to receive and wound men who attempt a surprise at night.

“ The state of the provisions, Forage and Fuel to be attended to, as also the Health and Spirits of the Army, Navy and City.

“ These are the principal matters to be observed within the Island and about the City of New York. Many more may occur to a person of C—— Jun<sup>r</sup>’s penetration which he will note and communicate.

“ C——, Senior’s station to be upon Long Island to receive and transmit the intelligence of C—— junior.

“ As it is imagined that the only post of consequence which the enemy will attempt to hold upon Long Island in case of attack will be at Brooklyn, I would recommend that some inhabitant in the neighborhood of that place, and seemingly in the interest of the enemy, should be procured, who might probably gain daily admission into the Garrison by carrying on marketting, and from him intelligence might be gained every day or two of what was passing within, as the strength of the Garrison, the number and size of the Cannon, &c.

“ Proper persons to be procured at convenient distances along the Sound from Brooklyn to Newtown whose Business it shall be to observe and Report what is passing upon the water, as whether any Vessels or Boats with troops are moving, their number and which way they seem bound.

“ There can be scarce any need of recommending the greatest Caution and secrecy in a Business so critical and dangerous. The following seem to be the best general Rules :

“ To intrust none but the persons fixed upon to transact the Business.

“ To deliver the dispatches to none upon our side but those who shall be pitched upon for the purpose of receiving them and to transmit them and any intelligence that may be obtained to no one but the Commander-in-Chief.”

Unfortunately there seem to be no records to show how far the C——s were able to satisfy the Commander-in-Chief on these points. To C——,

Junior, the Commander-in-Chief sends some more of the liquid already referred to, on February 3, 1780, and writes to Tallmadge that he (C——, Jr.)

“Should avoid making use of the Stain upon a Blank sheet of paper (which is the usual way of its coming to me). This circumstance alone is sufficient to raise suspicions. A much better way is to write a letter in the Tory stile with some mixture of family matters and between the lines and on the remaining part of the sheet communicate with the stain the intended intelligence. Such a letter would pass through the hands of the enemy unsuspected and even if the agents should be unfaithfull or negligent, no discovery would be made to his prejudice, as these people are not to know that there is Concealed writing in the letter and the intelligent part of it would be an evidence in his favor.

“P.S. I have rec<sup>d</sup> no letter from C——, Sen. or Jun<sup>r</sup> since the 27<sup>th</sup> of Dec. last. The stain in the small Phial is more than half I have. I wish C—— would use it carefully. What I have sent for him at different times would have wrote fifty times what I have rec<sup>d</sup> from him.”

To this Tallmadge replied, February 20, 1780 :

“Your Excellency’s favour per Col. Blaine, together with the two Phials and 20 Guineas have been duly rec<sup>d</sup>—for the Guineas a Rec<sup>t</sup> is enclosed. I have respected your Excellency’s instruction to C—— Jun<sup>r</sup> and forwarded to him both the Phials and Money. The severity of the Season (the Sound being froze over) has prevented the Communication with C—— as usual; as soon as the ice breaks up the Boat will cross again.”

Another item from the Major, August 10, 1780, is this :

“Since I last saw your Excellency I have been endeavoring to open communication with New York by crossing over to Cow Neck to the westward of Oyster bay. If this can be effected, Dispatches may be bro’t from N. Y. to the White Plains in 12 hours on contingencies, as the whole land course on both sides would not exceed 34 miles, & the Sound not more than 10 miles over. I am the more induced to this step, as C—— Jun<sup>r</sup> has a near Relation living near Cow Neck, whom if I can also engage, I am sure of C—— Jun<sup>r</sup>’s [continued ?] services.”

It is very evident that the services of these secret agents were worth retaining, as they were employed to the close of the war. Of C—— Junior’s accounts, Washington observes that they were “intelligent, clear, and satisfactory ;” and in one instance, certainly, Tallmadge himself took signal advantage of the information furnished him, as he proposed to do in the following letter to Washington, dated Bedford, November 7, 1780 :

“I hope in a day or two a more accurate account of the situation of the Enemy, & their late Embarkations will be forwarded. I have had no certain accounts from N. York, *via* Kingsbridge since my return from H<sup>d</sup>Q<sup>rs</sup>. I have, however, received a second hand report that the late embarkation has actually sailed, and that it consisted of the Corps mentioned in Col. Jameson’s letter to your Excellency. There are reports from the same authority that another Detachment of Recruits supposed to be about 2000 men with some of the Cork fleet, have arrived within a few Days at N. Y. C——’s next letter will be particular.

“With respect to the information contained in L<sup>t</sup> Brewster’s Letter, I would observe that the place at which the hay is said to be collected is about 9 miles from the Sound, & about southeast from Setauket, *alias* Brookhaven. The Detachm<sup>t</sup> of Refugees, mentioned in C——’s letter to be

posted at Mr. Smith's house, is about 3 miles beyond Corum, the same course. They are about 40 in number. If your Excellency wishes to have the hay destroyed, or the Corps taken, I don't doubt of its practicability, & with about 40 or 50 of our dismounted Dragoons I would undertake it."

Washington granted permission, and the result was Tallmadge's bold and successful dash upon Fort George, the capture of the garrison, and destruction of three hundred tons of hay. On his return he received the cordial thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, which, he says, gave him "the most singular satisfaction."

There is but one communication from C——, Junior, to be found among the Tallmadge papers, and this is of a date (September 19, 1782) which renders its contents of less value than would attach to it had it referred to the more active times of the previous years; but it has its interest, and is given below. On this occasion it appears that C—— visited Tallmadge in person at Ward's House, above Pine's Bridge, on the Croton, and made a statement in writing, which was forwarded to Washington. It runs as follows:

"The last Packet, so far from bringing better news to the Loyalists, has indeed brought the clearest and unequivocal Proofs that the Independence of America is unconditionally to be acknowledged, nor will there be any conditions insisted on for those who have joined the King's Standard.

"It is said that an Expedition is now forming at N. Y. & by many conjectured to be against the French Fleet &c at Boston; a number of British Troops were embarking when I left the City on the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> inst. But I conversed fully with one of Carleton's *Aides* on this subject who told me that I might depend they were bound to the W. Indies or Halifax. For my own part I have no expectation that they think of any offensive movements. The above gentleman, with whom I am most intimately connected, informed me that it is now under consideration to send all the B. Troops to the West Indies & to garrison the City with the Jagers & new raised corps for the present.

"A fleet is now taking in Water at Staten Island & another at White Stone—various conjectures about their Destination. It is a fact that a fleet is going to Charleston to bring off that Garrison.

"A packet is just about sailing to England & another will follow very shortly, & Sir Guy himself says that he thinks it not improbable that the next Packet may bring orders for an evacuation of N. York.

"A fleet is getting ready to sail for the Bay of Fundy about the first of Oct<sup>r</sup> to transport a large number of Refugees to that Quarter. The *Aide* above referred to informs us that he thinks it probable he shall go there himself. Indeed, I never saw such general distress and dissatisfaction in my life as is painted in the countenance of every Tory at N. Y.

"The Beef Contractors had orders a few days past to cease purchasing any more for the Navy & from the appearance of things the whole fleet are getting ready for a movement.

"I am myself uncertain when the Troops will leave N.Y. but I must confess I rather believe if the King's Magazines can be removed, that they will leave us this fall.

"The King's wood Yards are tolerably well supply'd but they have no Magazines of 'Forage.'"

A little later, October 22, 1782, C——, Junior, reported that word had reached New York of the sinking, in the English Channel, of the man-of-

war Royal George, "with Adm<sup>l</sup> Kempenfeldt and more than 600 men on board," which is the last item we have from him.

Further references to this subject of the secret service may be found in the "Washington Writings" by Sparks, and in the private accounts of the Commander-in-Chief, from which it is sufficiently apparent, with what is added in this connection, that he was not to be caught off his guard, as he was not during the entire war. Besides the two C——'s there were other spies in New York, who transmitted intelligence by way of Staten Island and New Jersey; but the line established and managed by Tallmadge was the most important and valuable. So cautiously and admirably had this officer proceeded in the matter that when Arnold's treason threw all the American informers into alarm lest the traitor might ferret them out, he was able to write confidently that Arnold did not have the slightest clue by which to identify the C——s, and that every link in his chain of communication was safe. It also marks his own instinctive consideration and fidelity that at the close of the war he secured his agents against any possible unpleasant position in New York. It is believed that he never disclosed their true names.

This record may tend to confirm our faith in the wisdom of Washington's policy in the Revolutionary struggle. He was not a man of sentiment, but of hard common sense, a man of understanding, who sought every legitimate and accepted means of defeating the purposes of his enemies. He usually succeeded to an eminent degree in probing that enemy's designs and ascertaining his movements before they could work mischief. More than the mere Commander, he was guardian of a cause, and as such he felt himself constrained to search out "even Jericho."

The friendship between Tallmadge and Washington, which their relations in this business could not fail to establish most firmly, was continued after the war, and one of the most precious souvenirs the Major cherished to the close of his days was an original portrait of his chief, which the latter presented him shortly before his death, and which is still preserved with equal veneration by one of his grandsons.

HENRY P. JOHNSTON.

NOTE.—The original letters quoted in the above article are in possession of Major Tallmadge's descendants—F. A. Tallmadge, Esq., Mrs. Richard Stockton Howell, and Mrs. Mary E. Norwood, of New York City, and Rev. John P. Cushman and Mrs. George T. Balch, of Troy, N. Y. The extract dated July 25, 1779, is from the Sparks MS., Harvard College Library.

## THE GREAT COLONIAL GOVERNOR

There are two names in history to which, thus far, we have failed to do justice, James, the Duke of York, and Dongan, the Colonial Governor of the Province of New York. Nevertheless, the people of the United States are deeply indebted to both of these eminent men for the progress and development of their institutions.

It is to James, Duke of York, and his high-minded minister, that this country is indebted for the most striking and salutary of those constitutional principles which underlie our present form of government, as well as those principles of domestic and foreign policy which, making due allowance for the difference between an infant State feeling its way to greatness and the same State in the maturity of its development and power, have been adopted since the separation from Great Britain. Nor has it ever proved to the advantage of this country whenever any one of those principles has been deviated from.

It was Governor Dongan who, opposing himself to the policy of the settlers of New England toward the aborigines of the country, set a true example, endeavoring to treat them, not as conquered peoples, nor even as allies, but as fellow-citizens, owing fealty to the same government and sharing its privileges and protection. His efforts in this direction were rewarded with even greater success than has, as yet, attended ours, because they were not continually balked and thwarted by the agents of political corruption.

It was Governor Dongan who first conceived the grand idea of a vast English federation in the West, whose limits should be the Pacific Ocean on one side, and the Atlantic on the other; with the Canadian lakes on the north, and Spanish America at the south. In pursuit of this object, he would not suffer a French soldier to cross the boundary that he had assigned, and by an ingenious and manly policy he completely won the loyalty and esteem of the natives of the land. To him, also, belongs whatever credit is due for having been the first, with the approval of the Duke of York, to establish representative institutions, in what was obviously destined to become the most powerful and influential of the British possessions in the central portions of North America.

Singular as it may seem, it was a cloistered nun, the venerable Mother Mary, of the Incarnation, who first pointed out the importance of the posi-

tion of the Valley of the Hudson to the power that should hold sway in Northern America. But her advice fell unheeded on the ears of the men who then presided over the destinies of France. On the other hand, James, Duke of York, with the prescience of a true statesman, saw that it would not answer to allow France to secure for Canada a second route to the ocean, thus separating New England from Maryland and Virginia, and hemming in the two isolated groups of English colonies on the seaboard. He therefore secured the Valley of the Hudson to the English crown for all time.

The historian Smith says of Dongan, the Duke's agent: "He was a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners; and, though a professed Papist, may be classed amongst the best of our governors;" adding, "he surpassed all his predecessors in a due attention to our affairs with the Indians, by whom he was highly esteemed." Valentine writes: "He was a Roman Catholic in his religious tenets, which was the occasion of much remark on the part of the Protestant inhabitants of the colony; but," he continues, "his personal character was in other respects not objectionable to the people, and he is described as a man of integrity, moderation, and genteel manners, and as being among the best of the governors who had been placed in charge of this province." Booth also writes of him: "He was of the Roman Catholic faith, a fact which rendered him, at first, obnoxious to many; but his firm and judicious policy, his steadfast integrity, and his pleasing and courteous address, soon won the affections of the people, and made him one of the most popular of the royal governors." Colden, in his "History of the Five Nations," calls him an "honest gentleman," and an "active and prudent Governor."

This eminent man was descended from an ancient Irish family, distinguished for energy of character and a spirit of enterprise which he did not allow to expire with his ancestors. His father was Sir John Dongan, Baronet, of Castletown, in the County Kildare, Ireland. His uncle was Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, who was a conspicuous figure in the reign of Charles II., as well as in that of his brother and successor, James II. This Earl of Tyrconnel was one of those against whom Titus Oates informed. He was made Lieutenant-Governor of Ireland, and afterward Lord Deputy, on the recall of Clarendon by James II. His nephew, Thomas Dongan, was born in 1634. After passing through the usual course of a polite education, he embraced the profession of arms. Through the influence of his brothers and uncles, he gained advancement at the English Court, and was quickly promoted to a colonelcy. Subsequently entering the military service of France, he served as colonel of a regiment under

Louis XIV. In 1678, after the English Parliament had forced Charles II. to break with Louis XIV., an order was issued commanding all British subjects in the service of France to return home. Colonel Dongan obeyed the orders of his sovereign at great personal sacrifice. He informs us that he left "that honorable and advantageous post and resisted the temptations of greater preferment then offered him if he would remain there; for which reason the French king commanded him to quit France in forty-eight hours, and refused to pay him a debt of sixty-five thousand livres then due to him for remits and arrears upon an assessment rendered him by the intendant of Nancy. He never afterward succeeded in appeasing the French king's resentment, or in securing the payment of his claims."

Dongan finally succeeded to the high and responsible office of Governor of New York in difficult times. The capture of New Netherlands from the Dutch in 1664, its recapture in 1670, and its restitution to Great Britain six months afterward, had brought considerable confusion into the question both of boundary and jurisdiction, as well as the questions of administration. It is mentioned, to his honor, by the same historians who are so unsparing in their condemnation of his religion, that he did not permit the identity of his faith with that of the Catholic missionaries of France to prevent him from opposing their residence among the Indian tribes in his province, as their influence was calculated to promote the interests and policy of France and weaken the authority of the English. But it was loyalty to his own Government and a just regard for the interests confided to him, and not indifference to the pious work of Christianizing the Indians, that induced Governor Dongan to oppose the mission of the French.

Governor Dongan's policy in regard to the Indians was sound. He wished them to be instructed and converted to Christianity, as he evinced by replacing the French Jesuits with English members of the same society.

The French king, who was bent upon reducing the Five Nations, had frequently remonstrated with James II. against Dongan's interference, but notwithstanding instructions to the contrary, he was far too honorable to see his allies murdered in cold blood, in obedience to the will of his superiors. By his masterly policy, Dongan controlled the Five Nations, broke up the French influence, and used the confederacy as the great bulwark of New York, making it, with English support, a terror to Canada and the Western tribes.

If, however, Governor Dongan laid the foundation of that more extended system of popular representation, adopted by the whole nation since its



separation from the mother country, the entire Union owes him a debt of gratitude for having stamped deep in the heart of the people that sacred principle of freedom of conscience which the doctrines of the Catholic Church pronounce to be the inalienable right of every individual, and which this country has cherished and maintained with a consistency and devotion that distinguished it above every other nation on the earth.

In 1686, Dongan received a royal commission, which appointed him "the King's Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief over the Province of New York, and the territories depending thereon in North America."

Governor Dongan, in the same year, signalized his administration by granting, in the name and by the authority of the king, the celebrated charter known as the "Dongan Charter," bearing date the 27th of April of that year. This charter constitutes, to this day, the basis of the municipal laws, rights, privileges, public property, and franchises of the city.

The rapidity and thoroughness with which Governor Dongan acquainted himself with the condition, wants, and probable prospects of the colony, as well as the domestic and external policy demanded for its prosperous development, and for the interest of the King of England, evidence the single-mindedness that he brought to his responsible task. His report on the condition of the Colony is a masterly production. His defence, when charges were preferred against him to the home Government by Mr. Santen, deserves to be quoted. "Concerning my covetousness, as he is pleased to term it (if Mr. Santen speaks true, in saying I have been covetous), it was, in the management of the small revenue, to the best advantage, and had Mr. Santen been as just as I have been careful, the king had not been in debt, and I had more in my pocket than I now have."

One of the measures proposed by Dongan to resist French influence was to bring over colonists from Ireland. He adjusted the disputes about boundaries and jurisdictions arising from the wording of the patents, without leaving a trace of ill-will behind him. Thus, when the Connecticut authorities urged a claim on a large slice of New York, he maintained the rights of the colony with such firmness, but at the same time with such courtesy, that the Connecticut commissioners, on their return, though baffled, when notifying the Rye magistrates that they would have to give up the town, said that "Dongan was a noble gentleman, and would do for their welfare whatever they should desire in a regular manner."

The charter granted by James empowering the convocation of a legislative assembly was of the most liberal character, being framed by Colonel Dongan with the closest attention to popular rights. This constitutional legislative body, consisting of the Governor, the counsellors, and seventeen

representatives elected by the people, assembled in the city of New York, October 17, 1683, and it may be safely asserted that this, the first representative legislative assembly of New York, was not inferior to any of the subsequent ones up to the present time, either in administrative capacity or patriotism of motive.

In one of his reports, Governor Dongan shows how he was to secure the beaver and other Indian trade for the province. It is full of valuable suggestions, and contains valuable statistics relating to the courts of justice, public revenue, trade, population, and commerce. But while the interests of New York were developing and taking form under the able administration of the Governor, his statesmanlike views stretched far beyond the limits of New York. It was not enough for him to see his royal master hold and control the Atlantic coast from Acadia to Florida, he would extend his power into the interior, and as England was to have no rival where the waves of the ocean broke upon her western shore, so she was to brook none in the great valley beyond the Appalachian range. The boundary which he then established was afterward recognized by solemn treaty, and in our day the visitor to the great Lakes and the Falls of Niagara sees the American flag proudly floating where Dongan had planted its English predecessor.

Under Dongan's administration, New York traders sought trade with the Indians at Detroit, and made their way along Lake Erie, years before New Englanders had contrived to reach Lake Champlain, or Virginia grew ecstatic over the immense achievement of her Governor in crossing the Alleghanies and riding down into the lovely valley of the Shenandoah.

Dongan so persistently thwarted the plans of the French Governor of Canada, that De la Barré declared that affairs in Europe alone prevented him from marching against "Dongan, who fain would assume to be sovereign lord of the whole of North America south of the St. Lawrence."

The energetic and far-sighted policy of Dongan gave to New York the commercial ascendancy in North America. The policy of Governor Dongan, however, did not always meet the views of his royal master, and in April, 1668, he resigned his office and became a private citizen, living in New York and on Staten Island.

The illustrious subject of this sketch, after the passage of the "Bill of Rights" in 1691, returned to England. In 1698, on the death of his brother, William, Earl of Limerick, he was advanced to the earldom by right of succession. His efforts to recover the confiscated estates of his deceased brother resulted in his obtaining the passage of an act of Parliament for his relief on May 25, 1702. He died in London on the 14th of

December following, and was interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras, Middlesex. The highest eulogy that can be pronounced upon him is, that it was he, beyond even and above his able predecessors, who, by his magnanimous statesmanship, moderation of temperament, and unaffected respect for the rights and liberties of others, prepared the way for all that is most admirable in the constitution and policy of our great Republic, which arose from out the ruins of a neglected and ill-governed colony to be glorious in the future with the brilliant records of conquest in the domains of peace, liberty, and religious freedom.

P. F. DEALY, S.J.

NOTE.

GOVERNOR DONGAN TO M. DE LA BARRE.

S<sup>r</sup>

I received your other letter and do believe that you have bin misinformed as to the Irequois they haveing traded with this Government above forty years and nowhere else, unlesse they did it by stealth: I am sure they are nearer to this place then yours, and all to the South and South West of the lake of Canada; Wee have pretences too, and it seemes a cleare demonstration that those lands belong to the King of England, haveing all his Colonies close upon them, those Indians who have pipes through their noses, would fain come to trade at Yorke, did not other Indians hinder them, haveing from hence such trade as they want which is in no other Governm<sup>t</sup> and that you have none but what you have from us. As for any dispute about them I suppose Your people and ours may trade amongst them without any difference—I give you thanks for the passes you sent and assure you nobody hath a greater desire to have a strict union with you and good correspondence then myself who served long time in France and was much obliged by the King and Gentry of that Country; and I am sure no man hath a greater respect for them then myself and would never do anything that may cause a misunderstanding, but I am a servant in this place and therefore need say no more but that I am

Your humble servant

1684

THO. DONGAN

New York Col. MSS. III. 447.

## VALLEY FORGE

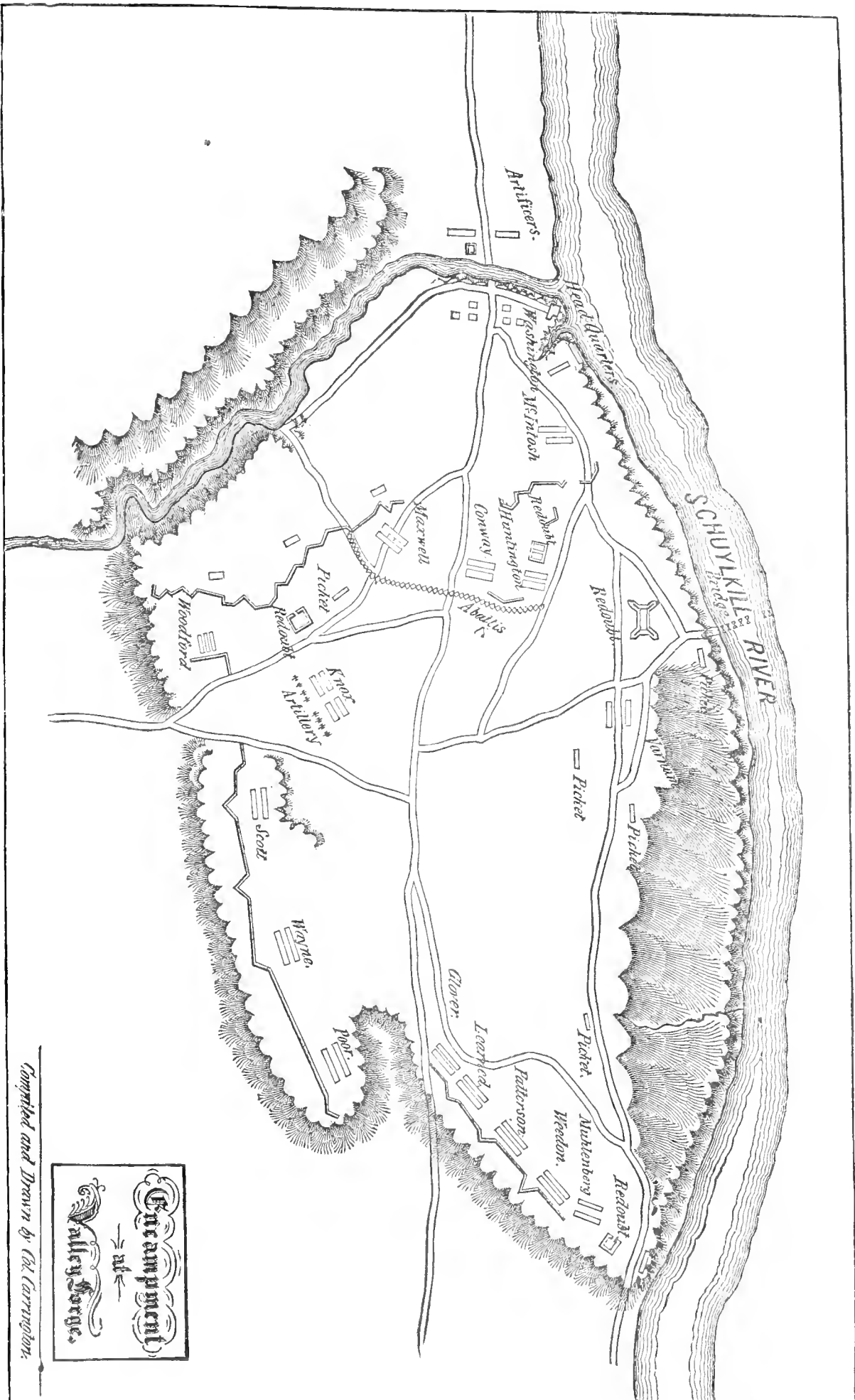
The winter of 1777-78 was doubly memorable in the American struggle for national independence.

That struggle was based upon issues which were alike of civil and military significance. The civil issue was one of right. The military issue was one of force. Policy and strategy were to battle for a conclusion of the war. The ordeal was a fearful one for the colonies, and their peril was nearly desperate; but the slothful indulgence of the British army at Philadelphia was fatal to its efficiency, while affording the American army that essential repose which was required for its discipline and reorganization.

Great Britain had to isolate New England by control of Long Island Sound and the Hudson River; and was equally compelled to isolate the South, through control of the Chesapeake and Delaware, and then strike the centre with vigor, if she would reduce the colonies to a subjective allegiance. From the campaign of 1776, Washington had maintained, within responsible control, the true centre of military action, in the strongholds of New Jersey. His radiating lines of activity affected all operations out of New York, and that alone embarrassed all British movements until his consummate strategy, emanating from the same general base, smote Cornwallis at Yorktown and achieved independence for America.

Valley Forge furnishes the exception to Washington's general plan. Lieut.-General Howe advanced his immediate base of active war to Philadelphia. The resistance which involved the Battle of Brandywine was succeeded by the bold offer of battle at White Horse Tavern, above Winchester, and that more wonderful demonstration at Germantown, which astounded the world, assured French support, locked the British within the city, and placed the Continental army in winter quarters, on the right bank of the Schuylkill River.

The only well-organized army of the new Republic was on trial. On December 19, 1777, it took position, and the camp was formally established by Washington within twenty-six miles of Philadelphia, as indicated by the map. Howe ravaged the suburbs of the city for fuel, food, and support. The theatre, the dance-house, and indiscriminate indulgence, marked the experiences of his command. Washington toiled, hungered, and suffered, while sternly resolved to wring from the winter's discipline a solid preparation for the expulsion of the British army.



**Campment**  
 — at —  
**Valley Forge.**

Compiled and Drawn by Col. Carrington.



With a pre-eminence in personal supervision of details which was not surpassed by that of Frederick, Marlborough, or Napoleon, he planned the minutest organization of that winter cantonment. With his personal Headquarters at the "Isaac Potts" Mansion, he dictated the location, shape, and specific accommodations of each log cabin, whether for officers or men. He established a bridge across the Schuylkill, and so well disposed all subordinate commands, that every approach from Philadelphia was watched; while his own scouting parties had free scope for operations, even to the picket lines about the Capital.

In an official apology for not attacking Washington during that winter, Lieut.-General Howe says, that "he did not attack the entrenched situation at Valley Forge, a strong point, during the severe season, although everything was prepared with that intention; judging it imprudent until the season should afford a prospect of reaping the advantages that ought to have resulted from success in that measure; but having good information in the spring that the enemy had strengthened his camp by additional works, and being certain of moving him from thence when the campaign should open, he dropped thoughts of attack."

Washington, however, kept his campaign open, and never dropped thoughts of attack. From Brooklyn Heights to Howe's recall to England, these soldiers widely differed; for the one rarely lost an opportunity, while the other never improved one.

In so brief a notice of Valley Forge it is not required to state the gallant conduct of Lafayette at Barren Hill, the failure of the British army to involve Washington in a critical issue at Chestnut Hill, nor to detail that series of wise movements which prepared Europe to accept the surrender of Burgoyne as the assurance of ultimate American success.

Valley Forge was the supplement of field-work well done, Valley Forge was the ordeal from which the Republic emerged, when Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, and through which the Battle of Monmouth was made emphatic, in the deliverance of the North from farther campaigns of serious import. But Valley Forge with its well-ordered huts, its redoubts, and entrenchments, had experiences of far greater moment than those of merely military outline and protection. A winter's severity, hardly surpassed by that of 1780, at Morristown, exacted all possible human endurance.

Intense cold, drifting snow, and a bleak exposure, were the conditions, under which the only organized army of the Republic was maturing for a prolonged conflict with Great Britain. More than three thousand men had no shoes, and bloody imprints marked their daily round of duty. A single blanket covered two or three at night, and fragments of blankets cut for

the arms, supplied the place of overcoats. Rations were often less than half allowance, and the country had to be scoured for flour, even as if among a hostile people. Sickness came on, and neither surgeons nor medicines were equal to the emergency. In the agony of a desperate yearning over his suffering troops, as if they came from his own loins, Washington appealed to Congress in terms of awful dignity and reproach.

It seemed as if heaven was as brass above, and earth could give no solace. In the midst of this appalling scene of desolation, want, and woe, Washington did not weaken nor lose faith. The "Conway cabal" attacked his fame and conduct. It attempted to place Gates in his place as Commander-in-Chief, but spent its force, and its pliant tool took refuge in France.

Washington was so persistent, while confident and magnanimous, that in January, 1778, a Committee of Congress visited Valley Forge, saw for themselves, honored his motives and his actions, and pledged him full support. On February 27, 1778, Baron Frederick William Augustus Steuben, born in 1730 (and who lived until 1794), arrived, under appointment as Major-General and Inspector-General, and entered upon his work with a creative, executive, and personal ability and force, which converted the half-starving, worn, and weary men, into self-reliant, fearless, and earnest soldiers. His instructions, then issued, were formulated into regulations, which for many years had the official sanction of Congress, and were in force long after the Republic became truly independent. On April 4, 1778, Congress authorized Washington to call upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia for 5,000 militia.

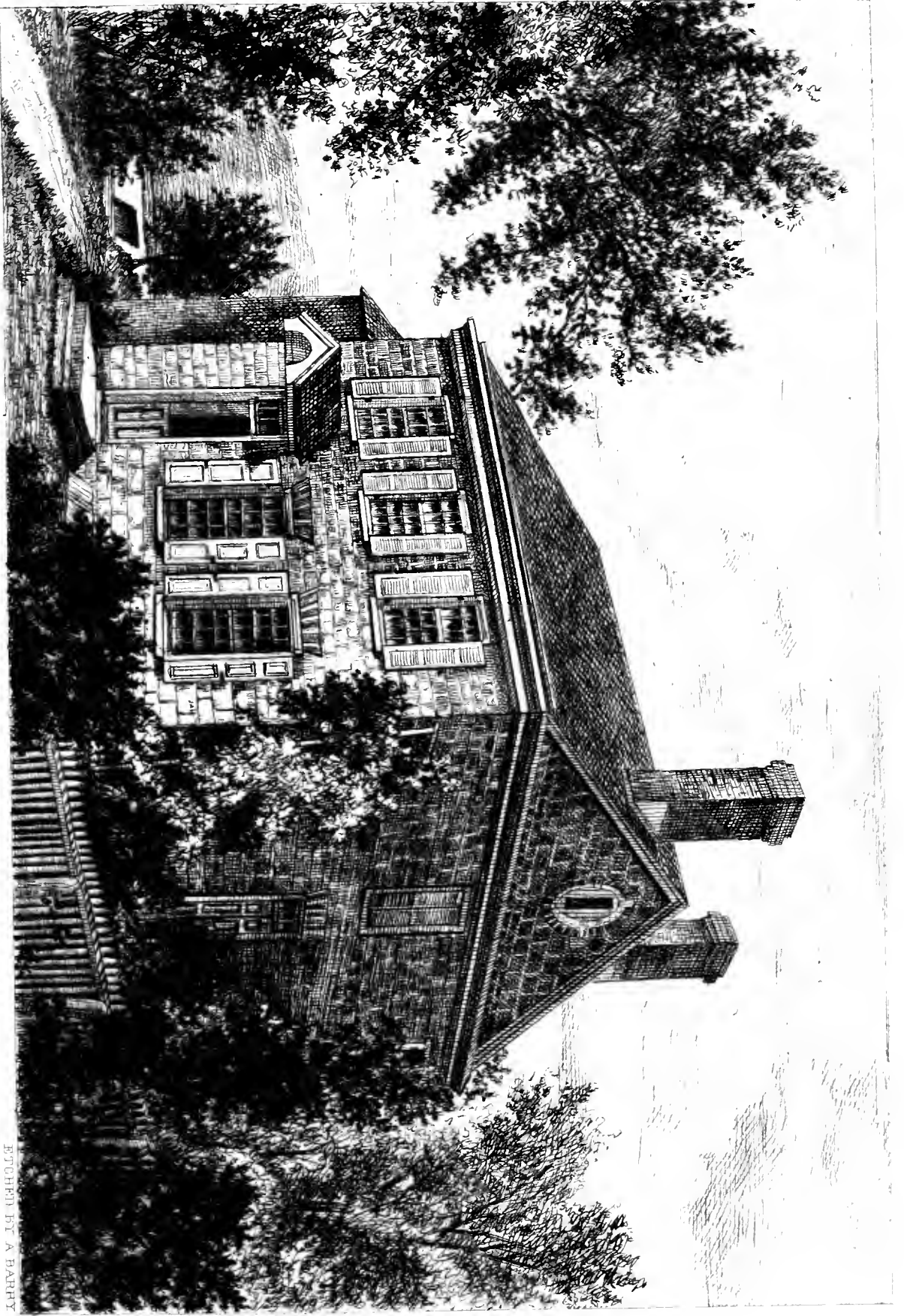
On the 9th of April, Howe was recalled to England. On the 10th of April, Lafayette rejoined the army after a short visit to France, and became at once a significant factor in the struggle. His appeals at the Court of that power had not been in vain. On the 9th of May formal tidings of a French alliance was borne to America by the frigate "La Sensible." A herald landed at Portland, Maine, and hurried, by relays of horses, to unfold the burden of his mission. It was as if the heavens had opened and revealed the assurance of Divine sympathy and support.

Few days in human experience have been laden with such solemn lessons and such profound gladness as that day expressed. The General-in-Chief of that army—and such an army!—had shared their sorrows and their cares, had implored and almost imprecated the American Congress for their relief. He had inspected their rude hovels, had divided with them the headquarters' supplies, had besought Almighty God to inspire relief; had brought his wife to camp to share the fearful discomforts and animate the



THRUZZI BY THE 15th

*Historical and Architectural Society of the City of New York*



ETCHED BY A BARRY



languishing soldiers by her charming presence ; and, in that very hour of most thrilling anxiety and distress, there was announced, by unmistakable assurance, the friendship and support of France. Swift as an electric pulsation the news thrilled the camp. Every able-bodied man responded.

At 9 o'clock A.M. the whole camp was under arms. The treaty of alliance, by which France pledged her army and her navy to the support of American independence, was read before the assembled troops. On bended knees that mass of rudely equipped soldiers gave ear to the chaplain's invocation of Almighty aid in favor of their cause and this startling alliance, and with jubilant refrain they joined in that grand chorus, never to be lost by man—

“ Praise God, from whom all blessings flow ! ”

Huzzas for “ Louis XVI., King of France,” for Washington and the Republic, with hats high tossed in air, and a rattling fire of musketry throughout the line, completed the humble pageant.

What did it matter that such a winter had come and passed ? The recompense was equal to the faith of the commander and the trust of his comrade soldiers. A medal was struck in honor of the event. Louisville, Kentucky, received its name in honor of this friend of America.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE UNITED STATES.

The horrors and privations, the discipline and the preparation which inspired the army to force Clinton to the issue at Monmouth are matters of record. They made the crisis of the revolutionary struggle ; they vindicate the strategy of the American Commander-in-Chief ; they bind the early and later campaigns of that great war into one grand system of national activity for national life, and give to Valley Forge a key-position in the struggle, which makes the old mansion, the old mill with its little blacksmith's forge and the surrounding hills and amphitheatre, full of thronging memories to the glory of Washington and the men of his command.

In the memory of that ordeal and its transcendent climax, which involves the final deliverance at Yorktown, the Americans must not forget to do

honor to that royal woman who supported Lafayette in his appeals, and fell with her husband under the axe of the guillotine in 1793.

Surely, the *Fleur de lis* of France and the memory of Louis and Marie Antoinette will ever have honor from Americans, while we tender our glad congratulations that the French Republic of our own times has achieved a place among the nations which neither royalty nor empire had before secured. Surely, in the fresh remembrance of her fraternity at the Yorktown celebration of 1881, we can renew our obligations for her services of a century ago. Thus does Valley Forge bring forth, as its brightest relief to all its tragedies and its sorrows, the keenest expression of our credit to France for her sympathy and aid.

HENRY B. CARRINGTON.



LOUIS XVI., MARIE ANTOINETTE, AND THE DAUPHIN.

## THE WESTCHESTER FARMER

Time was when the subject indicated by the above title stirred the patriot's blood, while even to-day the bibliographer turns with no little interest to the volume entitled :

“Free Thoughts, the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774: Wherein their Errors are exhibited, their Reasonings Confuted, and the fatal Tendency of their Non-Importation, Non-Exportation, and Non-Consumption Measures, are laid open to the plainest Understanding; and the Only Means pointed out For Preserving and Securing Our present Happy Constitution: in A Letter to the Farmers, and other inhabitants of North America In General, And to those of the Province of *New-York* in Particular, By a Farmer. *Hear me, for I will speak.* Printed in the year M.DCC.LXXIV.”

Upon the publication of this pamphlet of thirty-seven pages, signed “A. W. Farmer,” with the date, “December 24, 1774,” its authorship was attributed to the Rev. Samuel Seabury, Rector of St. Peter's, Westchester. This suspicion caused that respectable Tory clergyman's arrest by a party of people from New Haven, who showed him and his family great indignity, and carried him to New Haven, where he was held a prisoner, until released by an order from the Continental Congress. When apprehended, he was accused, among other things, of writing pamphlets “against the Liberties of America.” To this charge he plead “not guilty,” a plea which he was entitled to make. Still, under the guise of a plain Westchester farmer, he had attacked the Americans in bold terms. December 29th, 1776, writing to the Propagation Society, he says: “If I would have disavowed these publications, I should have been set at liberty in a few days; but as I refused to declare whether I were, or were not, the author, they kept me.” Finally, it being impossible to prove the authorship, he was set at liberty, and soon after he found it convenient to go inside the British lines, becoming a chaplain in the British service. The pamphlets were ably replied to in anonymous publications, supposed to emanate from John Jay or William Livingstone, while it eventually came to be believed that “A. W. Farmer” was none other than Isaac Wilkins. It has been so stated in such carefully prepared catalogues as that of the Library of the New York Historical Society. On the title-page of that Society's copy, written in with red ink, we find “I. Wilkins.” How this notion came into existence the catalogues

do not state. The authorship has also been attributed to Dr. Chandler and Dr. Inglis. As early, however, as 1797, the error was pointed out by the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, in a note on page 556 of his "Thirteen Discourses" on "the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution," where he says, "See 'A View of the Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies, p. 25, by A. W. Farmer,' that is, by the late Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut." Boucher adds, "The fate of the excellent author of this well-written piece, and several others of not inferior merit under the same signature, might well discourage any man who attempts to serve the public, if animated only by hopes of temporal rewards. When a missionary in the service of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whilst the revolt was still in its infancy, he wrote several seasonable pieces, adapted to the capacities of the people, under the assumed character of a farmer. They were generally acknowledged to have done much good. But being attributed to another gentleman, he alone derived any advantage from them, for to him the British Government granted a handsome pension, whilst the real Author never received a farthing."

Who the person was thus reaping the benefit Boucher does not say, and possibly he may have been in error respecting the ground upon which the pension was granted, though it is clear that Seabury's action before the Connecticut authorities opened the way for another claimant, while Wilkins has generally been pointed to by those who may have been unacquainted with Boucher's testimony.

In "The Historical Magazine" (vol. x., 1866, p. 189) there are queries on the subject, and it is said by "L." that "Free Thoughts," etc., is attributed by Stevens, in his "American Nuggets," to Bishop Seabury; while the New York State Catalogue, with a query, gives Seabury the credit of the authorship of the pamphlet which follows "Free Thoughts," called "A View of the Controversy," etc., "by A. W. Farmer," in the catalogue (1856, p. 806), giving the authorship of *both*, with a third, to the Rev. Isaac Wilkins. The Catalogue of the Athenæum Library, Boston, leaves the authorship between Wilkins and Seabury. The Carter Brown Catalogue makes the work the joint production of Seabury and Wilkins. In "The Historical Magazine" (1868, p. 9), Mr. Trumbull says that "the odium of authorship rested, in popular apprehension, on Dr. Myles Cooper, Isaac Wilkins, and Samuel Seabury," adding: "Mr. Dawson, whose judgment in a question of authorship is nearly infallible, ascribes the A. W. Farmer Pamphlets to Isaac Wilkins; and in this I follow him as my sufficient authority, though my earlier impression was that Seabury had a principal part in their composition." Later, Judge Shea, in his "Life of Hamilton" (p. 293), has pointed

out that Seabury was the author, and has been followed by Dr. Beardsley in his "Life of Seabury" (p. 34) in the same view. In a paper before the New York Historical Society, in 1881, Prof. Moses Coit Tyler assigned the authorship to Seabury. We desire, therefore, to present in full the testimony upon which the claims of Seabury rest. The testimony is found in one of Seabury's own manuscripts, in the possession of his grandson, and it seems to settle the whole question. It appears that when the Revolutionary struggle approached, Mr. Seabury, in connection with his friends, Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey, and Dr. Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, agreed together to do all in their power, by means of the press, to prop up the failing cause of the King. In accordance with this arrangement, various publications were sent out, Seabury himself writing under the *nom de plume* of "A. W. Farmer," or a Westchester Farmer. The document in which he tells his story takes the form of a petition, this evidently being the first draft :

To D. P. COKE ESQ<sup>R</sup>., J. WILMOT ESQ<sup>R</sup>., COL: *Commissioners &c.*

The memorial of Samuel Seabury, Doctor of Divinity, late Rector of West Chester in New York, and Missionary, &c : most respectfully sheweth,

That your Memorialist was born in Connecticut, in the year 1729, and was the son of a Clergyman of the first reputation in that country : That in 1753 your memorialist was ordained in England, admitted into the Service of the Society, & sent to reside at New Brunswick in New Jersey : That about this time periodical papers & essays began to be published in New York, tending to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to government, & to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this Country both in Church & State. That a paper of this nature making its appearance, stiled the *Watchtower*, supposed to be written by Mr. Livingston, the present Governor of New Jersey, & others, your memorialist did in conjunction with a number of his Brethren and friends write several essays & papers in answer to the Watchtower with a view to prevent the ill effects it might have on the minds of the people.

That some years after when it was evident from continual publications in Newspapers, & from the uniting of all the jarring interests of the Independents & Presbyterians from Massachusetts bay to Georgia ; under Grand committees & Synods that some mischievous scheme was meditated against the Church of England & the British government in America your memorialist did enter into an agreement with the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr. T. B. Ch—— then of Eliz. Town New Jersey & with the Rev<sup>d</sup> Dr. Inglis the present Rector of Trinity Church in the City of New York, to watch all publications either in Newspapers or pamphlets, & to obviate the evil influence of such as appeared to have a bad tendency by the speediest answers : That your

Memorialist faithfully and steadily acted in conjunction with the above named gentlemen to the time of his leaving New York : That he and his two associates bore the whole weight of the controversy with the *American Whig*, which continued near 2 years : That this paper was the immediate forerunner of the late Rebellion ; and pointed out to the Americans a separation from G—— B—— the rise of an Ame<sup>r</sup> Empire and the fall of the British Empire & government. That none of these mischievous papers went unanswered : and your memorialist & his friends had the satisfaction of seeing & knowing that their antagonists were silenced, &, in the estimation of the public, written down :

That when the late commotions in America began, your Memorialist lived at Westchester in the then Province of New York & was, though not in wealthy, yet in easy circumstances, & supported a large family, viz. : a wife & six children comfortably and decently : That his income was at least 200 £ Sterl p<sup>r</sup> ann. arising from his Parish, Glebe & from a grammar School in which he had more than 20 young Gentlemen, when the rebellion began.

That perceiving matters were taking a most serious & alarming turn, your Memorialist thought it his duty to exert his utmost abilities & influence in support of that government under which he lived, to which he had sworn obedience & which he loved and revered. That He therefore from the beginning opposed the election of all committees & Congresses—in pursuance of which object he rode many days in the county of Westchester, that he assembled the friends of government and at their head opposed the lawless meetings & measures of the disaffected. That at one time in conjunction with his friend Isaac Wilkins Esq<sup>r</sup>. he assembled near 400 friends of Government at the Whiteplains, who openly opposed & protested against any Congress, Convention or Committee, & who were determined if possible to support the legal government of their country : That their proceeding, & protest were published in M<sup>r</sup> Rivington's Gazette, & there was no way of getting rid of such an opposition, but for the disaffected in New York to send for an armed force from Connecticut into the County of Westchester, which they did & under its power carried all their points—That in confirmation of these facts, your Memorialist begs leave to refer in particular to Col. Ja<sup>s</sup> De Lancey (No. 5 Edw<sup>d</sup> Street) who was present at several of these meetings, & to whom your Memorialist's conduct & situation at Westchester are well known.

That while your Memorialist was thus employing his personal influence in his own county, he was not inattentive to the engagement he had entered into with Dr<sup>r</sup> C. & I., nor to the obligations of duty which he owed to his King & Country—but published a pamphlet entitled *Free thoughts on the proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia* very soon after the first Congress broke up, & had shown by their adopting the Suffolk resolves that they had entered into a deep scheme of rebellion which pamphlet he addressed to the *Farmers & landholders*, intending to point out in a way accomodated to their comprehension, the destructive influence that the measures of the Congress if pursued, would have on the farmers & the labouring part of



the Community. That as no pamphlet at that period seems to have given the republicans more uneasiness than this, several answers to it were published; which obliged your memorialist to write another pamphlet in support of it called the *Congress Canvassed*, previous to which he had published *an Address to the Merchants of New York*, in which he endeavored to convince *them* of the evil tendency of the non-importation & non-exportation agreements & that their happiness & true interests depended on their connection with & subordination to G. B.—That at the Meeting of the next assembly he published *an alarm to the Legislature* of New York—in which he endeavored to show that by adapting & establishing the proceedings of the Congress as most other assemblies had done, they would betray the rights & liberties of their constituents, set up a new sovereign power in the Province & plunge it into the horrors of rebellion & civil war.

That your Memorialist had also personal interviews of at least one third of the members of that house, with whom he was well acquainted, just before their meeting. How far his writings or conversations had any influence he presumes not to say. The assembly, however, rejected the proceedings of the Congress, & applied to the King & Parliament by Petition & Memorial. These several pamphlets were published under the signature of A. W. Farmer, & that they were written by your Memorialist, he refers to the certificates of Dr. M. Cooper, hereunto annexed, & to the testimony of Dr. Chandler & I. That your Memorialist soon became suspected of writing in support of legal government, & on that account & on account of his having acted openly in its support in the County of Westchester, he became one of the first objects of revenge; & so early as April, 1775, a friend sending his son to acquaint him that a body of New England troops, then at Rye, 15 miles from his house, intended to sieze him & Isaac Wilkins Esq. member for Westchester, that very night they were obliged to retire for some time. Mr. Wilkins did not return home but soon embarked for England.

That after some time your memorialist hearing no further threat ventured home, & continued unmolested though occasionally reviled by particular people for not paying obedience to the order of Congress enjoying fast days &c untill the 19<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>m</sup> 1775, when an armed force of 100 horsemen came from Connecticut to his House & not finding him at home they beat his children to oblige them to tell where their father was—which not succeeding they searched the neighborhood & took him from his school, & with much abusive language carried him in great triumph to New Haven, 70 miles distant, where he was paraded through most of the Streets, & their success celebrated by firing cannon &c. That at New Haven he was confined under a military guard & keepers for six weeks, during which time they endeavored to fix the publication of A. W. *Farmers* pamphlets on him which failing, & some of the principal people in that country disapproving their conduct your memorialist was permitted to return home, where he remained in tolerable quiet till the next spring; That he suffered much both from insult & the loss of property by the parties of recruits who were almost daily passing through his parish to New York.

This document, bearing every evidence of truthfulness, may properly set at rest the long-disputed question of the identity of "A. W. Farmer." The "Free Thoughts" of Seabury, as indicated, excited the bitterest feeling. It was reprinted in London, 1775, "for Richardson & Urquhart, at the Royal Exchange."

Mr. Trumbull says, that "when copies of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the Whigs, they were disposed of in such a manner as most emphatically to express detestation of the anonymous authors and their sentiments. Sometimes they were publicly burned with imposing formality; sometimes decorated with tar and feathers [from the Turkey-buzzard, as 'the fittest emblem of the author's odiousness'] and nailed to the whipping-post." Rivington, the publisher of "Free Thoughts," gives, in his *Gazette* of January 12, 1775, an account of the burning of a copy of the book by the "Sons of Liberty," who, as his paragraph intimates, were often little better than the Sons of Belial, however full they may have been of patriotism. The account runs: "We can assure the public that at a late meeting of exotics, stiled the sons of liberty, in this city, the pamphlet entitled Farmer A. W.'s View of the Controversy between Great Britain and the Colonies, &c, published last week by Mr. Rivington, was introduced by one of the mushrooms, and after a few pages had been read to the company, they agreed, nem. con. to commit to the flames, without the benefit of clergy, tho' many, very many indeed, could neither read nor write; however their common executioner immediately threw it into the fire, where it was consumed, and its spiritual part ascended in vapour, to the upper regions; whither not one of the company durst aspire, even in idea."

Such were the happy opinions which, in those days, men of political parties entertained of one another. When, however, the unpleasantness with the mother country was over, many an individual found that he did not hate his opponent half so much as he supposed, and as often he felt piously bound to do, and hence Seabury finally returned to the land where he had suffered so much for (political) conscience sake, becoming a cherished citizen, a warm friend of our institutions, and a shining light in a Church which has ever since proved one of the strongest bulwarks of the Republic.

D. WILLIAMS

## NEW LIGHT ON THE VERRAZANO VOYAGE OF 1524

A most unexpected document has turned up to confirm the originality of the large Mapamundi in Rome, made by Hieronimus de Verrazano, and of which photographs were obtained for the American Geographical Society in 1871. This map-maker, from documents preserved in Rouen, France, proves to be the brother of Janus, whose name, thus latinized, appears at the foot of the French document of 1526, and also with the Carli copy of the letter of 1524 in the Strozzi Collection in Florence. This fact alone went far to prove the letter genuine. But M. Desimoni, who has written an able essay on the Cabots and two on the subject of Verrazano, now comes out with a third one on the much-disputed voyage along our coasts in 1524. On his return from the recent Geographical Congress in Venice, he re-examined some old maps in the Ambrosian Library in Milan, when the Prefetto, the Abbé Circani, showed him that a large Mapamundi composed by Vesconte de Maiollo, of Genoa, was dated 1527, and not 1587, as he had before read it. Vesconte's maps, of which fourteen are now known, are dated 1504 to 1549. Three sons and a grandson, with other Christian names, carried on the map business until 1644. There can be no doubt as to the date of this map, and a rough tracing of it was taken by M. Desimoni, and the coast names were carefully copied as far as the soiled old parchment would allow. These names are given in the new essay, with those of the map by Hieronimus, and the globe by Vlpus, preserved in the New York Historical Society collections. Those on the map by Maiollo correspond so nearly with the ones on the map in Rome, that they conclusively point to an original model not now known to exist. We have not the space here to devote to the minute comparison made by M. Desimoni, but the interesting fact that a map made in 1527 from other than Spanish authority is enough to confute the elaborate theory advanced in 1875 by Mr. Murphy. Mr. R. H. Major pointed out in 1876 the fallacy of many of Mr. Murphy's arguments and conclusions, but these are now radically overthrown by the early existence of the map in Milan. We shall return to this subject again.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

BUNKER HILL AND THE SIEGE OF  
BOSTON, 1775-76

*Extracts from the Diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Experience Storrs, of General Putnam's Regiment, Connecticut Troops. Original in possession of Charles Storrs, Esq., Brooklyn, L. I.*

[Colonel Storrs was a native of Mansfield Centre, Conn.; received a liberal education, and often represented his town in the General Assembly. Soon after the Lexington alarm he marched for Boston with a company of ninety-three men, enlisted from Mansfield alone. It will be noticed that he states very positively that Putnam had the general command on Bunker Hill. The discussion on this point seems to have established the fact that he was not at Prescott's redoubt during the attack, but was in the vicinity or actively engaged in hurrying on reinforcements. The diary shows that he was busy during the following night as well.]

June 13<sup>th</sup> [1775]. Set our men to making cartridges.

16<sup>th</sup> Expecting an Engagement soon.—P. M. Orders came for drafting 31 men from my company, and y<sup>e</sup> same from all y<sup>e</sup> companies belonging to Connecticut. Sent off Lieut. Dana, Serg<sup>t</sup>. Fuller, Corporal Webb and 28 Privates, who at 8 o'clock went down to Bunker's Hill, together with a large detachment of y<sup>e</sup> Troops of this Province—where they flung up an entrenchment.

17<sup>th</sup>. At sunrise this morning a fire began from y<sup>e</sup> ships, but moderate. About 10 went down to y<sup>e</sup> Hill to Gen<sup>l</sup>

Putnam's Post, who has y<sup>e</sup> command. Some shot whistled around us. Tarried there a spell and Returned to have my company in readiness to relieve them—One killed & 1 wounded, when I came away. About 2 o'clock there was a brisk cannonade from y<sup>e</sup> ships on y<sup>e</sup> Battery or Entrenchment. At — orders came to turn out immediately, and that the Regulars were landing at sundry places. Went to Head Quarters for our Regimental —. Received orders to repair with our Regiment to No. 1, and defend it. No enemy appearing—orders soon came that our People at the Intrenchment were retreating and for us to secure y<sup>e</sup> retreat. Immediately marched for their relief. The Regulars did not come off from Bunker's Hill but have taken possession of the Intrenchments and our People make a Stand on Winter Hill and we immediately went to entrenching. Flung up by morning an entrenchment about 100 feet square. Done principally by our Regiment under Putnam's direction. Had but little sleep the night.

19<sup>th</sup>. Have lost in y<sup>e</sup> fight 2 men—Math<sup>w</sup> Cummings and Philip Johnston killed at the breastwork—7 wounded—none I hope mortally. The action was rather precipitate—the entrenchment exposed to the fire of all y<sup>e</sup> ships and in a place where the enemy landed their men under y<sup>e</sup> cover of the cannon from the ships, and the Post not sufficiently guarded. They forced the entrenchment without much difficulty

26<sup>th</sup>. We hear a Chief Officer is appointed—a Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington of Virginia to supercede in the command of y<sup>e</sup> Troops here.

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*Extracts from Private Letters of Captain John Chester, Spencer's Connecticut Regiment. Original in possession of Rev. John Chester, D. D., Washington, D. C.*

[Captain Chester went to the war with a full company from Wethersfield, Conn., distinguished himself at Bunker Hill, was promoted Major, and in 1776 appeared as Colonel of a Connecticut State Regiment in the campaign around New York. He was at the Battle of Long Island and White Plains and in the Jersey retreat.]

Camp at Roxbury, Aug. 28, 1775

. . . Last Saturday night a Large Party of 1000 working men and 3000 more as a Covering party, under the Command of Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Lee, advanced from Prospect Hill, or Plowed Hill (as they call it) full Half way to Bunker Hill. They work<sup>d</sup> most notably by all acc<sup>t</sup>, and got under cover before morning. When the enemy discovered them, they began a Cannonade, which lasted all Day long. I suppose above three hundred shots and Bombs were sent. I have not been able to Learn that they Killed more than two of our people—one an adjutant in Col. Vernon's [Varnum's, R. I.] Reg<sup>t</sup>, the other I do not know, an Indian. Two or three wounded, among whom is a Gen<sup>t</sup> Volunteer from Virginia. A Ball hit him on the heel and ancle & so shattered his Bones that the Surgeon cut off his Leg about four Inches below his Knee.—Aug. 30<sup>th</sup>. The poor fellow is since dead, the others not dangerously wounded.

Every Day since we have had more or less cannonading. The matter did not disturb us at Roxbury, so but that we went to Church, &c., as usual, and yet not a canon was fired or Bomb Broke, but what we Could see from our encamp-

ment. We expected every moment when the King's troops would have advanced on us, but they durst not. Their Light Horse were Paraded, with a Great Show, but nothing done as to coming out. We at Roxbury have been advancing this same time. When you was here we had a slight Gabion Battery across the Road, 100 Rods on this side the George tavern. That was our most advanced work then, & where the main Guard used to be & is still posted, & is out of sight of the enemy. Since that we have intrenched in their sight about 100 Rods South East of that, but Lately have advanced North East, and begun a Long intrenchment Just by the Burying Yard, & continued it along to the North Eastward, on a Rising Ground just out of the marsh, till it comes to the east end of Lamb's Dam, which is further advanced (I believe) than the George tavern. We have frequently rec<sup>d</sup> shots while at work but not till we got under cover (for we always begin in the night) & so they have killed none of us. We keep a large piquet guard by Lambs Damm every Night not less usually than 400, and the main Guard hard by.

Two Connecticut Masters of Vessels have lately come out of Boston. They were taken by the Rascally Royal Pirates. They say that Gen<sup>l</sup> Howe, who commands on Bunker Hill, swears he will not be popt at forever (Rifles) for nothing, but that he will come out & have Prospect & Winter Hills in his possession, if it Costs him his Life, and  $\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>ths</sup> of his men. A poor Blackguard—he durst not attempt it! unless he is reinforced strongly. These Captains say they are not more than 4,000 strong, but I suspect they are mistaken. . . .

Sept. 20.

Yesterday and Day before We had plenty of Cannon Shot from the enemy. They have Kill<sup>d</sup> nobody on our side. They have however done what they never could do before & what we thought they never could do, viz.—sent a Ball Both days thro: the room where the Officers of the Main Guard lie. Monday 8 Clock just after relief of Guard as the Cap<sup>t</sup> was reading his Orders to his Subalterns a ball came within 18 inches of his head drove the Lime into his eyes nose mouth & Ears—The poor fellow is almost blind and tho he did not conceive himself much hurt & refused to be relieved yet he grew delirious in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, but I hear he is now much better again. Every Night for this 4 Nights past more or less have escaped from Boston or from the Ships 4, 5, and 6 in a Night, mostly men that have been pressed from vessels lately taken of which are a Great number I'm told from Connecticut.—I have got into my new mess. But it costs Money 10 shillings per week will hardly clear us.

. . . I expect a bluster from our enemy next Fryday the King's Coronation.

Sat. Sept. 23<sup>d</sup> 1775

. . . The cannonading yesterday was with powder only. They fired from the Commons 25, from Cops Hill & Bunker Hill I could not count, nor from the ships, but they remained peaceable all Day. This morning they sent 2 Balls at our nearest fort which our people returned soon after at the relief y<sup>t</sup> was coming out from their Works. This so enraged them y<sup>t</sup> they have given us the heaviest Cannonade since Bunker Hill fight.

They sent 108 Shotts in an hour & an half. You'll be surprised to hear that not a man is Killed & but one slightly hurt by a piece of wood the ball hit and sent at him. What is still more surprising they began just as our main Guard were mustering on the Grand parade near y<sup>e</sup> Church (where they sent 3 of their Balls) & continued firing at or near the Guard house & fort continually while they were relieving. Both old & new Guards consisted of 400 men Besides Officers.

Camp in Roxbury Oct 2<sup>nd</sup> 1775

I was disappointed to hear of your selection of officers in the manner you relate, tho I expected to hear — would fret. But these things do not last long. Now is a time for every one to be above these little nice punctilios in military preferment & shew to the world that we are all Glad to serve our Countray in any capacity they shall place us in. . . .

Dec. 3<sup>rd</sup>

You've heard of our fine prize lately taken. Gen<sup>l</sup> Gates says he could not have made out a better invoice if he had tried than we have taken. Our Privateers catch them often. You'll want a list of the Articles taken. I cannot remember them all but there is 31 Tons of Musquet Ball, 25 Tons of Buck Shott, 10 Tons Shells fill<sup>d</sup> with powder 20 Tons of Cannon Shott from 24 to 1 2200 Stands of the finest Arms the Barrels rather shorter than the present King's arms and y<sup>e</sup> Bayonetts 2½ feet long in Shape of a Long Sword, 18 Cannon Carriages from 24 to 12 pounders—3 Brass Mortars—one of 15 Inch and a variety of other apparatus even down to thread to make catridges with. The largest mortar is fixed at

Cambridge in its bed. Gen. Putnam has Christened it the *Congress*.—They have Scratched out the Last Letter of G. R., and put G. W. for G. Washington.

Cambridge, Feb. 13—1776.

Yesterday the Generals went on to Dorchester Hill & point to view & plan out the works to be done there, Knox and Gridley were with them.—Their plan I cannot as yet find out.—Gen. Putnam says Gridley laid out works enough for our whole army for two years if the frost was to continue in that time & in short thinks we cannot do much to purpose there while the frost is in y<sup>e</sup> ground. Something droll Happen'd as they were on the Point & within call of the Enemy. They observed two officers on full speed on Horses from the Old to the New lines & concluded they were about to order the Artillery levelled at them. Just that instant they observed a fellow Deserting from us to them. This set em all a running & Scampering for life except the lame Col. Gridley & Putnam who never runs & tarried to wait on Gridley. They had left their Horses  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile back & feard the Enemy might attempt to encompass them.

Sunday night as Putnam was passing by Colledge and on the west side the street, a Centry hail<sup>d</sup> from the far part of the Colledge Yard. He could not think he called to him as he had y<sup>t</sup> moment pass<sup>d</sup> one & given y<sup>e</sup> Co<sup>r</sup> Sign & was just that minute hailed by another. However the Centry in y<sup>e</sup> Yard not finding an answer up & fired as direct as he could at the Gen<sup>l</sup> which providentially escaped him tho' he heard the ball whistle.

Great complaints are here made by y<sup>e</sup>

Gen<sup>ls</sup> of the want of Powder, which impedes everything—they think y<sup>t</sup> even the town stocks ought to be delivered up to the army, for if we can do nothing here this season, forty times the quantity in the Country will be of no Service when the reinforcements arrive from England. If we can rout this Hornest Nest now we have everything to hope, if not we've everything to fear. The cause is General & Common. Why should Distant Colonies & towns carry on a Distinct War & lay out for a distinct defence? You need not fear to Drive on the Salt Petre works vigorously. Pray how go on the Powder Mills—We shall want their most vigorous exertions soon. They'll do us no good comparatively Six months hence.

Roxbury Camp, Feb. 27—1776.

. . . You may prepare yourself to hear news of some kind or other from this quarter—God send it to be good news—Night before last a number of heavy cannon &c. were carried on to Lechmore point. A bomb Battery is erecting there as well as on the East of Lamb's Dam. We have 3 thirteen inch Mortars & 8 or 10 of a Lesser size, as well as a number of Hoitzers. Unhappy for us we are aback with regard to bombs.

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*Diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Fisher Gay. Original in possession of Mr. Julius Gay, Farmington, Conn.*

[Colonel Gay went to Boston from Connecticut with reinforcements, under Colonel Erastus Wolcott, toward the close of the siege. In 1776 he commanded a State regiment, was taken sick in camp, at New York, and died on the day of the Battle of Long Island.]

Feb. 2. 1776—Set off for headquarters to join the army under command of General Washington before Boston and arrived at Roxbury 6<sup>th</sup> of said month. Stationed at Roxbury with the regiment I belonged to and quartered at Mr. Wyman's with Colonel Wolcot and Mr. Perry. Was sent for by General Washington to wait on his Excellency 13<sup>th</sup> of said month and was ordered by the General to go to Connecticut to purchase all the gunpowder I could.

Went to Providence and from thence to Lebanon to Governor Trumbull where I obtained 2 tun of the Governor and then to New London to Mr. Imamford and obtained of him an order on Messrs. Clark & Nightingill in Providence and returned to camp the 19<sup>th</sup> and made report to the General to his great satisfaction.

20<sup>th</sup>. Took Rhubarb and worked well.

21<sup>st</sup>. Sergeant Maggot died in Captain Hart's Company.

24<sup>th</sup>. Went to Cambridge and Watertown.

26<sup>th</sup>. Unwell by a bad cold and sore throat. Was Officer of the day and very much fatigued going the rounds at night. Returned and got to bed about 3 o'clock in the morning.

27<sup>th</sup>. Returned at 9 o'clock and made report to General Ward—being so unwell Major Brewer carried it for me. hard sick with the pleurisy and got to bed sweating and came on an alarm and reported that the regulars had got on Dorchester. I turned out and on with my boots to join the regiment although advised not by Mr. Perry and others. It happened to be a false alarm. The doctor came in and blooded me and sweat at night and phisicked the next

day. Nothing material more. Our people began cannonading the town of Boston the 2<sup>nd</sup> day of March at evening 11 o'clock. Continued Sabbath and Monday evening nights. Monday evening I went on to Dorchester Hill with the regiment as a covering party. 2500 men sent on and were relieved on the morning of the 5<sup>th</sup> by 3000 men. That night we throwed up 2 forts on 2 advantageous hills. The enemy made an attempt on the 6<sup>th</sup> at evening to come out to dispossess us of our forts and drive us off the hill. The wind proved contrary and we continued fortifying until Saturday evening—that is 10<sup>th</sup> we went to go on Nook point to fortify. The enemy prevented by firing about 1200 cannon. They killed 4 men for us with one cannon ball. I had the command of 400 men at Castle Point. Providence so ordered that I was out of the way of danger from any other quarter only from the Castle.

Sabbath morning had orders from General Thomas to return to head quarters. There saw the 4 dead men. Came off the hill at evening. I commanded a party of 400 men at the Castle.

11<sup>th</sup>.—Colonel Wolcott on the Hill—An alarm in the morning. I ordered the regiment to meet before the Colonel's door after Prayers. I marched them off with Major Chester. Near the alarm post found instead of going to action the enemy had abandoned Boston. 500 troops ordered immediately. Ordered to march into and take possession of the fortifications in Boston. Colonel Learnard, my self, Majors Sprout and Chester with a number of other officers and troops marched in and took possession and tarried there till the 19<sup>th</sup> at night: then re-



turned to Camp at Roxbury. Never people more glad at the departure of an enemy and to see friends.

*The following Warrant copied from the original MS. relates to the enemy's employment of civilians during the siege.*

By His Excellency The Honorable William Howe, Major General, and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces within the Colonies laying on the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida inclusive &c &c &c.

You are hereby directed and required out of such Monies as are, or shall come to your Hands, for the Contingent or Extraordinary Expenses of His Majesty's Forces under my Command, to Pay, or cause to be Paid, to Lieutenant Robert Lindsey of His Majesty's 22<sup>d</sup> Regiment of Foot, or his assigns, without Deduction the sum of *Two Hundred and Four Pounds, Sixteen Shillings and Six Pence Sterling*, Being for Pay of a Company of Labourers and Negroes under the direction of Lieutenant Lindsey, by order of the Commander in Chief, between the 16th September and 30th December, 1775, as p<sup>r</sup> the annexed Accompt; the Vouchers for which are Lodged with Lieutenant Robert Lindsey of His Majesty's 22<sup>d</sup> Regiment of Foot, And for so doing, this, with the acquittance of the said Lieutenant Robert Lindsey or his Assigns, shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

To JNO. GARNIER Esq<sup>r</sup> } Given under my  
Deputy Paymaster } Hand at Head-  
General of His Maj- } Quarters in Bos-  
esty's Forces in } ton this 31<sup>st</sup> Day  
Boston. } of Dec. 1775.

W. HOWE.

By His Excellency's Command,  
ROBERT MACKENZIE.

[The account of pay is for "a Company of Labourers & Negroes under the direction of Lieutenant Lindsay, by Order of the Commander in Chief. Commencing 16<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> & Ending 30<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1775." The company was composed of 1 officer, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 27 men, 6 women and 35 negroes—the three latter classes receiving pay alike, or 9 pence each person, per day.]

#### BENEDICT ARNOLD'S DECLARATION.

The following from manuscript is communicated by J. Carson Brevoort, LL. D. It is of interest, as showing the active character of Benedict Arnold, who was always foremost in word and deed, though the declaration can hardly take rank as a preliminary Declaration of Independence, using the terms in their generally accepted political sense. Independence was not the particular thing aimed at at the outset, and hence the people of New York contemplated holding the cannon captured at Ticonderoga, May 10th, as a precaution, until such a time as the difficulties with the mother country might be adjusted. This declaration by Arnold doubtless shows the average sentiment of the country, which asked only for those rights guaranteed by the British Constitution. Two days after this declaration was signed, the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought, but even then the hope of reconciliation with the mother country was not abandoned. Though one of those, who, in this Declaration, resolve "never to become slaves," Arnold at last became a mere chattel, and sacrificed himself for a price. Arnold was extremely popular with the people in the neighborhood, who, on the third of the July following, to the

number of nearly five hundred, presented him with an address of thanks for his services. William Gilliland, one of the signers of the following declaration, in a petition which he presented to Congress, claimed to have been the first person to suggest the capture of Ticonderoga.

Crown Point, 15 June 1775

A General Association, agreed to, Subscribed by the Freeholders, FREEMEN, and Inhabitants of the Province of New York.

PERSUADED that the Salvation of the Rights and Liberties of America, depends under GOD, on the firm Union of its Inhabitants in a Vigorous Prosecution of the measures necessary for its Safety, and Convinced of the Necessity of preventing the Anarchy and Confusion which attend a Dissolution of the Powers of Government

We, the Freeman Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Province of New York, being greatly alarmed at the avowed Design of the Ministry to raise a Revenue in America; and Shocked by the bloody Scene now acting in the Massachusetts Bay, Do in the most solemn Manner Resolve, never to become Slaves; and do Associate under all the Ties of Religion, Honour, and Love to our Country, to Adopt and endeavour to carry into Execution whatever Measures may be Recommended by the Continental Congress; or Resolved Upon by our Provincial Convention, for the purpose of preserving our Constitution, and opposing the Execution of the Several Arbitrary and oppressive Acts of the British Parliament; Untill a Reconciliation Between Great Britain and America on Constitutional Principles which we most Ardently

Desire can be obtained; and that we will in all things follow the Advice of our General Committee Respecting the purposes aforesaid. The Preservation of Peace and Good Order and the Safety of Individuals and private property

Benedict Arnold	Josh Franklin
Ebenr Marvin	David McIntosh,
Jonathan Brown	+ his mark
George Palmer	Ebenezer Hyde
Dirck Swart	Samuel Wright
Robt Lewis	Ezra Buell
Thos Heywood	James Noble
Hugh Whyte	John Watson jr
John Cobham	Thos Sparham
Martin Marvin	Chas. Graham junr
— Wells	Will: Gilliland
John Grant	Zadok Everest
Moses Martin	Benj. Kellogg
Wm <sup>m</sup> . Satterlee	David Vallance
Saml Keep	Elisha Painter
Francis Moor	Isaac Hitchcock

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#### TRANSLATION

#### THE COSMOGRAPHY OF THE FRAUDULENT THEVET.

The first volume of the second series of the Maine Historical Society's publications contains much in relation to the *Cosmographie Universelle*, a ponderous and somewhat scarce work, in two great folio volumes, the production of the mendacious monk, Andre Thevet. Dr. Kohl, the author of the Society's volume, had little faith in Thevet, but, in his desire to lend interest to the history of Maine, he employed the narrative, the matter being rendered worse by his editors, who made him responsible for serious blunders, which were commented upon in "The Northmen in Maine," published in 1870, when ex-

tracts from Thevet's work appeared. The reader, however, may be interested by a complete translation of what the monk wrote concerning New England and part of Canada. In some things Thevet is quite correct, as he clearly obtained more or less information from navigators who had visited the region in question. Ignorant of the fact that the aboriginal language of New England was not the language of the Canadian tribes, Thevet helped himself to the vocabulary of Cartier, and put strange words in the mouths of the savages of Maine. The general discussion of Thevet's pretensions as an explorer of New England are discussed in "The Northmen in Maine," where this subject is concluded (p. 79) with the remark, "In connection with the period referred to, Dr. Kohl has not yet shown *one authentic paragraph* to shed light upon that romantic coast." At the end of twelve years this statement stands true. Thevet professes that he sailed from Rio Janeiro to France by the way of Florida, coasting North America far up into the frozen regions, sailing thence to the Azores, which certainly was a slightly circuitous route for a navigator to take. Our translation commences at the close of his description of Florida, the narrative being of value, as illustrating the then current knowledge of France respecting New England, to which region, in his first account, we are transported with a stroke of the pen. Without making the slightest account of Cape Cod, the ancient *Cabo de Baxos*, he sails into Penobscot Bay, and shows us the Camden Hills, the *Montana Verde*, or Green Mountains, of the old maps, which he could consult anywhere in France. Thevet goes over the

subject twice, having more general information to give in his second account.

[Cosmographie Universelle, 1575, ii. folio, 1008.]

Having left La Florida on the left hand, with all its islands, gulfs, and capes, a river presents itself, which is one of the finest rivers in the world, which we call "Norumbegue," and the aborigines "Aggoncy," and which is marked on some marine charts as the Grand River. Several other beautiful rivers enter into it, and upon its banks the French formerly erected a little fort about ten or twelve leagues from its mouth, which was surrounded by fresh water, and this place was named the Fort of Norumbegue. Some pilots would make believe that this Norombeguien country is the proper country of Canada; but I told them that this was far from the truth, since this country lies in 43° N., and that of Canada in 50 or 52°. Before you enter the said river, appears an island surrounded by eight very small islets, which are near the country of the green mountains and to the cape of the islets. Hence you sail all along unto the mouth of the river, which is dangerous from the great number of thick and high rocks; and its entrance is wonderfully large. About three leagues into the river an island presents itself to you, that may have four leagues in circumference, inhabited only by some fishermen and birds of different sorts, which island they call "Aiayascon," because it has the form of a man's arm, which they call so. Its greatest length is from north to south. It would be very easy to plant on this island, and build a fortress on it to keep in check the whole surrounding country. Having landed and

put our feet on the adjacent country, we perceived a great mass of people coming down upon us from all sides in such numbers that you might have supposed them to have been a flight of starlings. Those which marched first were the men, which they call "Aquehuns ;" after them came the women, which they call "Peragruastas ;" then the "Adegestas," being the children ; and the last were the girls, called "Aniasgestas." And all this people was clothed in skins of wild animals, which they call "Rabatatz." Now considering their aspect and manner of proceeding, we mistrusted them, and went on board our vessel. But they, perceiving our fear, lifted their hands into the air, making signs that we should not mistrust them ; and for making us still more sure, they sent to our vessel some of their principal men, which brought us provisions. In recompense of this, we gave them a few trinkets of a low price, by which they were highly pleased. The next morning I, with some others, was commissioned to meet them, and to know whether they would be inclined to furnish us with more victuals, of which we were very much in need. But having entered into the house, which they call Canoque, of a certain little king of theirs, which called himself "Peramich," we saw several dead animals hanging on the beams of the said house, which he had prepared (as he assured us) to send to us. This chief gave us a very hearty welcome, and to show us his affection, he ordered a fire to be kindled, which they call "Azista," on which the meat was to be put and fish to be roasted. Upon this some rogues came in to bring to the king the heads of six men which they had

taken in war and massacred, which terrified us, fearing that they might treat us in the same way. But toward evening we secretly retired to our ship without bidding good-by to our host. At this he was very much irritated, and came to us the next morning accompanied by three of his children, showing a mournful countenance, because he thought that we had been dissatisfied with him ; and he said in his language : "Cazigno, Cazigno Casnoüy danga addagrin" (that is, let us go, let us go on land, my friend and brother) ; "Coaquoca Ame Couascon Kazaconny" (come to drink and to eat what we have) ; "Arca somioppach Quenchia dangua ysmay assomaha" (we assure you upon oath by heaven, earth, moon, and stars, that you shall fare not worse than our own persons). Seeing the good affection and will of this old man, some twenty of us went again on land, every one of us with his arms ; and then we went to his lodgings, where we treated, and presented with what he possessed. Meanwhile great numbers of people arrived, caressing us and offering themselves to give us pleasure, saying that they were our friends. Late in the evening, when we were willing to retire and to take leave of the company with actions of gratitude, they would not give us leave. Men, women, children, all entreated us zealously to stay with them, crying out these words : "*Cazigno agnyda hoa*" (my friends, do not start from here ; you shall sleep this night with us). But they could not harangue so well as to persuade us to sleep with them. So we retired to our vessel ; and having remained in this place five full days, we weighed anchor, parting from

them with a marvellous contentment of both sides, and went out to the open sea, on account of the sands and shoals. We had not proceeded more than fifteen leagues before there came a contrary east wind, and the sea was so rough that we were near perishing; and finally the gale drove us some fifty leagues from that place to the mouth of the river *Arnodie*,\* situated between *Juvdi* and the cape on the right, where we were compelled to enter half a league and drop anchor to escape the storm and the fury of the sea.

The people of this country gave us a welcome no less cordial than the former; although it does not equally abound in water-fowl as this; but in fish, both fresh water and salt, it surpasses its rival, especially in salmon, which they call *Ondacon*, and in lampreys, which they call *Zistoz*. They brought us once a whole barque-load; which barque we hired for about a fortnight, and it did us good service in finishing our voyage. Leaving this river [*Arnodie*] and coasting straight along *Baccalaos*,† we journeyed and ploughed the sea, as far as the *Isle Thevet* and thence to the *Isles of St. Croix*, of the Bretons and the savages, to height of *Cape Breton*, so called because the Bretons discovered the country in 1504.

Having thus given you the course towards the North, from the point of *Florida* to that of *Baccaleos*, which is in 48° 30' latitude, and 327° longitude, no minutes, there is only to speak of the main land, after a word or two concerning

\* "*Arnodie*" and "*Juvide*" are obscure names.

† "*Baccaleos*," properly *New Foundland*, but like "*Norumbega*," formerly applied to large tracts of country.

some islands, the approach to which is dangerous. Here we entered, being driven thereto by the wind; we experienced the most intense cold, tormenting us for more than twenty days, during which time I found leisure enough to go about and examine all that was rare and singular pertaining to the country. Running some two hundred leagues out into the sea, on the Northern coast, the islands lying round about are very numerous and very large; whether in the gulf lying between *Arcadie* and the Promontory which I christened *Angoulesme*, in honor of my native place;\* or those which lie near *Flora* and *Paradis*, or those enclosed within the Port of Refuge, or those, in fine, which extend along the Ocean, lying more towards the North, near those called *Bonne Veüë*, near the *Island* which bears the name from the country of *Baccaleos*.

Some have thought that these Islands are continents, and connected with the main land, on account of their great extent. As for myself, upon a closer examination, I am satisfied that there is a considerable region of the sea between these islands and terra firma. This island bears its name from a large species of fish called *Baccaleos*. *Canada* is the country which the South is bounded by the mountains of *Floride*,—on the East by the Ocean—and on the South by the extreme point of *Floride* and the *Islands*

\* "*Angoulesme*." This illustrates the impertinence of the writer, who never saw the place, while *Angouleme* was a name placed by *Verrazano* on his map in 1529, or earlier, in honor of the Birthplace of *Francis I*. *Thevet* could have seen it on *Ramusio's Verrazano* map, together with "*Paradise*," "*Flora*," the Port of Refuge.

*de Cuba*; the point of *Baccaleos* extending as far as Port Refuge.

I am assured that the country there is still better than that of *Canada*; there are some very beautiful rivers there running hundreds of miles through the level country, and which are navigable, as e.g. the *Barad*, which name in the Indian tongue signifies the land. And according to my judgment I should esteem it good to dwell in this land of *Baccaleos* as well on the main land as on the islands lying about it; since the country is not so cold as *Canada*; and besides, the people are more accessible, and the sea is more abundant in fish. Not that I want to tell a falsehood here, such as a venerable Spaniard\* has perpetrated, in a little History of the Peruvian Indias, gravely telling us that this sea abounds in fish in such tremendous numbers as really to impede the progress of large ships. Such stories, however, deserve as much credit as that told by Thomas Porcachi, *Aretin*, an Italian, who in a certain little book about Islands, tells us, that what we call the new world, and which properly speaking is this Coast as far as Peru, is the Antarctic country. This is a very ill advised assertion, considering that it is more than six hundred leagues from one coast to the other. Nor is the country of *Canada* the same as that called *Nurumberg*, containing a considerable extent of country on the main land, which many have tried to discover; but none has met with such good success therein as Jaques Cartier, Breton, one of my best friends, from whom I have had sundry pieces of information, as from one who has explored

\* The reference appears to be to Sebastian Cabot.

the country from one end to the other.' Before passing further on, I cannot help speaking of those who act as contractors (*trepeneurs*), and promise great mountains of gold to Princes and great lords, sending them to advance the subjection of the Barbarians (which would be well enough) and the great wealth that is found in those regions. But even though all this were true, it would be well to remember what I have said to many of them, that if they were not cunning, shrewd and tricky in their dealings, they would find as little profit in them as many others who have lost both their lives and their fortunes there. Though the Kings of Spain and Portugal are friends and allies of our Sovereign prince whether on sea or land so distant—so it is, the Pilots, Sailors and Captains do not trouble themselves about such alliances, nor do they stop to ask whether peace or war reigns on shore, and when you pass Europe and get either into Africa, or into any other part of the country of Guinee, all natural recognition between Sailors is at an end, so that the Spaniard remorselessly makes a slave of the Portuguese, although their Kings may be neighbors, relatives and good friends; Frenchmen, Scotchmen and Englishmen show but little indulgence towards one another in these distant regions. Nor should the fault be laid at the door of the princes or princesses, for it happens in spite of them.

I have seen instances of this in Africa, especially about Cape Verde, and on the *Manicongra* River, and beyond that or across the Equator, under the tropics,—even in Florida,—on this Northern coast. As for the stories which our Princes have received, that on this continent there is

an infinite abundance of gold, silver and precious stones—that is false. The greatest wealth of *Floride*, *Canada*, and *Baccaleos* is the peltry and the fishery of the cods and whales. I think it is very likely that gold and silver mines may be found there, just as they are found in France; but of what sort? Coarse and more full of sulphur than pure gold, and which would cost twice as much to refine it as the whole profit would amount to. The same may be said of the precious stones, as I know from experience. Our people discovered this region in the time of the great King Francis I., of which I will give a brief summary, as short as possible, though I know there are few who have written about it besides me. This country runs pretty well up North and adjoins the regions lying under the Arctic Circle, which we call one of the poles, or pivots supporting the sphere; hence you may infer what a cold country it must be, and yet not uninhabitable. “Canada” signifies as much as land; the name came from the first people who settled there; when some one asked them what they were after in those regions, that they were *Segnada Canada*, men in quest of land; which name they have retained, as one given at random, just as it happens, to most newly discovered islands and provinces. Northward it runs up toward the Arctic Sea and *Hyperboree*. Hence all this region, *Baccaleos* as well as *Labrador*, is included under the name of Canada. On the other side there is a main land called *Campestra de Berge*,\* which runs south-west. In this province, towards the east, lies Cape Lorraine, so

\* “Campestra de Berge” is from the map of Ruysch, 1508.

called by us, and by others called Cape Breton, because here the Bretons, Basques and Normands coast, going to *terre neuve* to fish for the cod. Near this cape there is an island called *Heuree*, to the north-east four or five leagues in circumference, pretty near the main land; and the other, triangular in form, is called Carbassa by the country people, and by us named the Virgins (Vierges). This country begins at the said cape on the south where it ranges to east-north-east and west-south-west; the larger portion, looking towards Florida runs in the form of a semi-circle as if looking at the Kingdom of *Themistitan*.

From Cape *Lorraine*, the coast of *Canada* turning southward runs into the Sea, just as Italy does between the Adriatic and Ligurian Seas, making a peninsula. In the country nearer to *Floride* (which some call *Françoise*, but the inhabitants *Norombegue*) the country is pretty fruitful in various kinds of fruit, as e. g. *Mandourles*—a fruit somewhat like a pumpkin, the juice of which is very good, and the meat quite delicate. The people are amiable, easy to manage, and agreeable in their conversation; their chief abode is towards the west, on the great River *Hochgelaga*, pretty close to the Promontory called *Angoulesme*. There their king whom in their jargon they call *Agouhanna*, ordinarily makes his abode. He is quite kind and affable to strangers who come to visit him. Those who dwell farther on before the main land towards *Baccaleos* are different. They are bad, artful and cruel, and masque their faces, not with masques or veils, but paint the face with divers colors, especially with blue and red, in order to appear most

hideous to those who approach them. These men are large and strong and are clothed in skins.

[Folio 1024 to end]

From Palmares to this place the coast is sandy, and begins to run out into the ocean as far as Cape Florida, sloping from N.E.  $\frac{1}{4}$  N., and immediately towards the S.E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  S. After traversing this region in a couple of hours, you will see the Marquise Bay and that of Honde, next Port Repaire, the River of Pearls. Low Haven, in the same latitude with the said cape, *i.e.*,  $290^{\circ}$  longitude by  $26^{\circ}$  of latitude. Still following the coast, you come to Cape Canave, and then to Cape Corinth; thence to the River Jourdain, which is in  $301^{\circ}$  of longitude,  $32^{\circ} 30'$  latitude, distant from the Florida coast, shaped into a peninsula, and one of the tongues along the coast come 143 leagues or thereabouts. After doubling many islets, the approaches to which are very dangerous, particularly to large vessels, because the sounding lead is of no use here, you draw on into the sea; but if you have contrary east winds, you can let go your anchor in Port Malabritt, or rather at Cape Traverse, which lies in  $303^{\circ} 15'$  longitude and  $33^{\circ} 4'$  latitude; and distant from each other some 26 leagues. As for Bay *Sainte Marie* and the capes which on sea Charts are marked *Saint Jean*, *Double*, and that of the Sands (*Arenes*) and Cape Sable, they are in  $307^{\circ}$  of longitude, and  $38^{\circ}$  of latitude, as are also the Great *Goulfe*, the Green Mountains (so-called because at the point of a cape which runs some eight leagues into the sea there appears in the distance a lofty mountain, which is clad in perpetual verdure) the rivers *bonne mere* and *bonne veue*, which

are thirty-five leagues apart.\* Sailing out of said river, and steering towards Spain or France, you leave the Cape of the Isles, which you see some eight leagues out into the sea; then, if a rough sea or storm should overtake you, you can anchor in the River of Norombegue, at the mouth of which you will find an Island of which I have spoken elsewhere, and described the dangers which surround it. It lies in  $301^{\circ} 50'$  of longitude, and  $42^{\circ} 14'$  latitude, and is separated from *bonne veue* thirty-seven leagues. Further on three rivers appear, one called *Plage*, the second *Juvide*, and the third *Anordie*, which lie in the same height, *i.e.*,  $314^{\circ}$  and  $15'$  of longitude, and  $42^{\circ} 11'$  of latitude. After doubling the coast and changing the point of the compass if you thus steer East and look in the opposite direction, you will notice a lofty mountain, which serves Pilots to know where they are without taking the height of the Sun. Still ploughing the Sea, as if designing to sail to the East, as soon as the coast begins to curve you leave Baye aux Comtes and that of *Pallée* behind and come to the river of the *Baye*, all of them in  $340^{\circ}$  of longitude, and  $44^{\circ} 30'$  of latitude. Thence you double the point, and bear directly North if you want to make Cape Breton, near which the sea is much rougher than at any other spot, because it lies at the mouth of the great river of Canada, said cape (which from time immemorial has been known to the French as a good fishing station for whale oil, brought from thence) lies in  $327^{\circ}$  longitude and  $46^{\circ} 42'$  latitude. Having got clear of this peril, you keep along the north

\* Thevet begins his second account on leaving the West Indies, and now employs a map of different authorship and later date.



coast, in order to avoid the numerous shoals, and if you wish to take in water, you come to Cape *Raze*, which is in the district of *Baccalos*; then to that of *Bonne venë*, and next to that of Saint Francis; all of which lie some  $334^{\circ}$  of longitude and  $48^{\circ}$  of latitude. In the same latitude is Bird Island, so called because it is exclusively inhabited by birds; sometimes, indeed, some animals come here from the main land, as *e.g.*, bears; Jacques Cartier found one of them, white as snow, which was killed while attempting to escape from one island to another, of which islands the one called Sainte (so named by a pilot, Xaintongeois) is some twenty-two leagues or so away. In the same longitude is Cape *Blanc*, Chateau, *Belle Isle*, and the Isles of *Scutel* (of which there are several—they are uninhabited, except by a few fishermen); Cape *Mare* and that of the main land, which is the farthest cape known to our sailors, both on account of the Barbarism of the people, as also because Navigation beyond this point is not much sought after, except in the direction of *Groenlant* and *Grotlant*.

Having thus spoken in detail of the provinces, cities, rivers, gulfs, promontories lying along and extending out from the fourth quarter of the globe, as also of the manners, laws, customs and manner of living usual among the different tribes inhabiting these parts, it only remains to say how it is bounded, and how separated from the other three parts. First, on the Southern coast, Nature herself has divided it by the Austral Strait, from the unknown land, which has as yet remained unexplored, both on account of the immense distance and of the extreme rigor

of the cold, which in my opinion is more severe than any of the other countries I have described, judging from the reports brought me by some Portuguese who boasted of having passed through those regions. On the North coast it is joined to Asia, and here separated from it by the mountains and rivers of the land of Grotlant, so called from the Islands of Grotlant and Groenlant, which lie adjoining, and are inhabited by wild tribes, no more civilized than those living near the South Pole. It would be an ill-advised thing for me to separate them by a mere Strait, as some Geographers have done, sufficiently betraying their ignorance by the Charts they have drawn; as *e.g.* *Genma Phrigius*, who says that it was here that the Portuguese passed through in order to discover the Islands of the Moluccas; that is all a mistake; for if it were true, the said Portuguese, nay, even the English and Scotch, would have gone through this Strait in search of treasures found in the Islands of the Pacific, without choosing such a circuitous way as that of *Fernand Magellan*, who was nearly two and one-half years sailing the Sea, entering numberless Ports, Gulfs, and rivers, before he succeeded in finding a passage, which he did at last by this Austral Strait, in the year 1522. Of course I can pardon him as well, as many of our own day obstinately adhere to this opinion, and others who believe that the regions lying under the torrid zone are uninhabited; but I think that, convinced of the contrary by my own and other people's testimony, they will in the end acknowledge their mistake for the reasons assigned by me, and derived from my Geographical and Astronomical tables, which I hope

to publish before I die. But to return— On the Eastern coast this country is separated from Africa by the Ocean; and on the West there is another unknown land with an Archipelago of Islands and uninhabited. And so you see that both on account of its length and breadth, it justly deserves to be called the fourth part of the world, extending, as I have elsewhere told you, from pole to pole. I should have spoken of it more in detail, had I been willing to glean among the harvests of others. I am well aware that Christofle Coulon, Amerigo Vespuce, Pierre Martir of Milan, Gonzale de Ovidio, Fernand Cortez, Pierre Davarre, Diego Goday, Alvare Nunez, Nuane de Gusman, Francoys Ulloa, Fernand Alarcone, and Francoys Vasques—most of them Spanish Captains—have described it. Their narrating has been printed at Paris, Lion, Venise, and have been compiled by the ordinary gloseur, and inserted in the new Cosmography of Sebastian Munster.

As for myself, having in the same methodical order which you will have noticed in this history, arranged and presented what preceding authors failed either to notice or record and publish, without thinking it worth while to amuse myself by old fables and tragic falsehoods. I can assure you that I have desired to publish nothing but what I have seen and heard with my own eyes and ears, which, in the regions severally spoken of, without making much account of prettynesses of style, which, if you are fond of, you will have to seek for in the works of authors who do that sort of thing professionally. I have pursued this course both in order that my industry might be the more

approved and apparent, as well as to save myself the honor of being enrolled among those who steal the labors of others, and of being likened to thieves, who, after stealing some gold or silver vessels, remove the owner's mark for fear of recognition.

Wherefore, in conclusion, I would render thanks to the good God of all power, humbly acknowledging the numberless favors He has shown me in preserving me amidst so many perils to which I was exposed while exploring the four quarters of the globe, ever begging the reader to look with a kindly eye upon this, my trifling effort and my rude style of diction.

THE END.

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#### NOTES.

It has been said that the maxim of Captain Cuttle, "When found, make a note of it," is a rule that should shine in gilt letters on the gingerbread of youth and the spectacle-case of age. Certainly there is no stage of life, after the note-making period is reached, when the practice of jotting down facts in the form of paragraphs may not become of great interest and use. Often, indeed, the most acceptable portion of a newspaper, magazine, or other periodical, is the department sacred to paragraphs. This is a point that emphasizes itself. The brief sayings are those that have the fairest prospect of being heard and remembered in the long run; yet, if not remembered, they can be recorded on the imperishable, printed page, which is something that the stacks of bulky manuscripts which lumber up editorial sanctums in this land can

never hope for. Still the most interesting and the most promising of all the forms of literature, as attested by "notes" that have come down in the guise of proverb and aphorism, overpassing the ages, and maintaining the freshness and vigor of perpetual youth, is at the same time the most difficult, so that the author of a noble treatise often finds it a serious task to construct a simple "note." Perhaps the paragraphist, like the poet, is born, not made. Nevertheless, we invite our friends to join us in the department of "Notes and Queries," as well as in the hunt for "Replies," pursuing the quest systematically, remembering the definition of the Prince of Definers, who says that a note is a "brief writing," and seeking to be constantly in the field; thus, to accommodate a Shakespearian quotation, rendering it needless to

"Give orders to our *readers* that they take  
No note at all of our being absent hence."

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LA SALLE BI-CENTENARY—The honor of a celebration falls this year upon the "Father of Waters," it being two centuries, April 9th next, since the mouths of the Mississippi were discovered by La Salle. The occasion is to be celebrated at New Orleans with becoming festivities. Francis Parkman, the historian, Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, Thomas J. Semmes, Esq., and Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar, have been invited to make addresses, or take part in the exercises at the Opera House. Congress will not be officially represented, as appears from the following report adopted in the Senate, March 4th:

"The Committee on the Library, to whom were referred the petitions of the Wisconsin Geographical Society, and of

the Chicago Historical Society, asking the appointment of a committee to attend the celebration on April 9, 1882, at New Orleans, of the discovery, by Robert Cavalier de la Salle, of the mouth of the Mississippi, have considered the same, and respectfully report:

"The event to be commemorated is of great national and historical interest, and, as the petitioners well say, eminently worthy of national recognition. But the committee think that the two Houses of Congress ought not to require of any of their members to absent themselves from the session at a time when the public business is likely urgently to demand their presence at the seat of Government. We therefore recommend that the prayer of the petitioners be not granted."

The House had the matter up on the 8th, and tabled a resolution similar to the foregoing, although some elaborate and happy speeches in favor of taking part in the celebration were made by Representatives Robeson, of New Jersey, Cox, of New York, Washburn, of Minnesota, and Gibson, of Louisiana. The invitation to the House is stated in the Preamble to have come from "the chambers of commerce, cotton and produce exchanges, and other commercial associations, the historical and literary and scientific societies and municipal governments in the Valley of the Mississippi."

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GREEK vs. BRITISH COLONIES—In his lecture upon the "English Folk," which Mr. Freeman, the English historian, has been delivering in this country, he contrasts the ancient Hellenic colonies with those of Great Britain, past and present. The former were politically independent

of their mother State, though retaining a proper love and reverence for her. "So might it have been with us," says Freeman, speaking from his own English standpoint, "if we had had the wisdom of the men of those old cities, if we had not so long carried about with us that strange superstition that Englishmen who settle in distant lands, instead of forming free English communities from the beginning, must needs anywhere remain subjects of the sovereign of that part of the English people which has gone as far as the Isle of Britain, and no farther. The thirteen, at least the twelve homes of Englishmen along this eastern shore of your great Continent might have been free and independent States in the seventeenth century, instead of the eighteenth." It would be interesting to know, after this kind reference to ourselves, whether Mr. Freeman feels that Canada and Australia are bound by the same "strange superstition" to Great Britain, and whether, in case they should incline to assert their complete independence, he would advise letting them go, after the Greek plan.

HISTORICAL RECORDS — LIBRARY OF CONGRESS — The bill to authorize the compilation and printing of all documents relating to the naval history of the civil war was discussed and passed in the Senate on March 4th. Senator Hawley put the matter in a nutshell, in his brief speech, saying, "It is indispensable to the future historian and political student that these records, these documents, these reports, an infinite variety of them now in manuscript and more or less scattered and liable to be destroyed, should be

brought together and should be printed." Col. Scott, it is well known, has been at work for some years in arranging and printing the records relating to the army operations on both sides. If Congress could go a step farther, and print the valuable material relating to the Revolutionary period now at Washington, it would be doing the present, as well as the coming historian, a good service.

The bill to construct a separate edifice in Washington for the growing library of Congress unfortunately hangs fire. Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, strenuously opposes an independent building, and urges the enlargement of the Capitol for the purpose. Senator Voorhees, of Indiana, is equally determined the other way, and made an eloquent speech on March 2d in favor of speedily attending to the library's wants. The site proposed by a majority of the committee lies a short distance east of the Capitol.

"OLD IRONSIDES"—It appears that to her other claims to distinction, the famous old frigate "Constitution," whose career is now closed, is to add that of having her history written. Cooper and some other writers have given to the public brief sketches of "Old Ironsides," but now the complete story of her career is being written by General Wilson, of this city, who will be happy to receive any interesting incidents connected with her history from those who have served on board of her, and also any of the old ballads celebrating her victories during the war of 1812-15.

THE CITY GAZETTE AND DAILY ADVERTISER, CHARLESTON, S. C.—In issue of

Saturday, August 24th, 1799, Vol II., we find this funeral notice: "Died, yesterday morning, Miss Amelie D'Grasse, eldest daughter of the late Count D'Grasse."

In the same paper, Friday, September 20th, 1799, another notice runs thus:

"Died, yesterday morning in this city, Miss Melania D'Grasse, third daughter of the late Count D'Grasse, Lieutenant General of His Most Christian Majesty, the late King of France, and Commander of the Royal Order of St. Louis. Her death is most sincerely regretted by her family, and those to whom she was particularly known."

The bodies of these ladies are entombed in St. Mary's Churchyard, Hasel Street.

AN INDUSTRIOUS GARDNER—*Newport, April 18.* Last Monday died, at North Kingstown, in the 81st year of his age, Ephraim Gardner, Esq., of that town, who had been 61 years married, and left 7 children, 36 grandchildren, and 12 great-grandchildren living. He had sustained a number of public offices, all of which he discharged with honor. He was an affectionate husband, a tender parent, and kind master, a good neighbor and an honest man.—*Newport Mercury, Monday, April 18, 1774.*

PETERSFIELD.

A KINSWOMAN of the Sieur de la Salle, the explorer, now lives in New Orleans in the person of Mrs. Blanchard, in her maidenhood Mlle. Hermione de la Salle, and now the wife of Gen. A. G. Blanchard, of the United States Army. She is the great-great-great-niece of the discoverer.—*Balto. Sun, Feb. 3, 1882.*

M. W. H.

GENERAL ST. CLAIR—The two following paragraphs were extensively circulated by the press in the months of September and October, 1818:

"Died, at Laurel Hill, on the 31st ult., General Arthur St. Clair, a worthy war-worn veteran, who went down to the grave with his grey hairs in 'penury and want.'"

"Died, on the 8th inst., at Chestnut Ridge, near Greensburg, Penn., Mrs. St. Clair, relict of the late Major-General Arthur St. Clair."

PETERSFIELD.

FATHER OF THE ARTIST—To be sold, a quantity of screwed hay, inquire of Gilbert Stewart. — *Newport Mercury, Dec. 20, 1773.*

PETERSFIELD.

## QUERIES.

THE HAVANA EXPEDITION—Can any one refer us to manuscript accounts, besides those of Graham, or any records of the expedition against Havana in 1762, which resulted disastrously to the Colonial troops engaged? T.

COLONEL SCAMMELL—Does a portrait exist of Colonel Alexander Scammell, of New Hampshire, who was mortally wounded at Yorktown in 1781? T.

A WASHINGTON LETTER—Has the following letter been published before?

P. B. F.

"Head Quarters New Windsor  
10 Jan. 1781.

"SIR—I am pleased to find by your favor of the 4th inst., that you are willing

to accept of the agency for prisoners provided Sir Henry Clinton makes no objection to your returning to New York. I shall immediately propose you to him, and will acquaint you with his answer as soon as I receive it.

“I am sir

“Your most obt. Serv<sup>t</sup>

“G. WASHINGTON.

“To JOHN FRANKLIN, Esqr.

“Philadelphia.”

MAJOR WYLLYS—This officer, Major John Palsgrave Wyllys, of Hartford, Conn., who had served through the Revolution with distinction, fell in Harmar's Indian defeat on the Miami in 1790. He had been stationed for some time on the Muskingum River, in command of a detachment of regulars, and was familiar with the Ohio country. Have his papers been preserved? He must have had a considerable correspondence with Harmar, St. Clair, the Secretary of War, etc.

SELDEN.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL—The United States Senate passed a bill, March 4, providing for a joint committee of three from each House to contract for and erect a statue to the memory of Chief Justice John Marshall, to be placed “in a suitable public reservation,” selected by the committee. The sum appropriated is \$20,000. The bill was originally introduced by Senator Johnston, of Virginia, and favorably reported by the Library Committee through Senator Sherman, of Ohio. Did Marshall leave any collection of papers which he used in preparing his Life of Washington, other than Washing-

ton's own writings? If so, where are they, and can they be consulted?

COLONEL GEORGE CROGHAN'S RELATIONS—Col. Wm. Crawford, in a letter to Washington dated Spring Garden, December 29, 1773, writes: “Sir:—Some people, ten or twelve in number, have gone on your Chartier's land within these few days; and there is no getting them off, except by force of arms. They are encouraged by *Major Ward, brother to Colonel Croghan*, who claims the land, and says he has a grant of it from the Crown.” *Col. Croghan and Captain William Trent were brothers-in-law.* Washington, in his Journal of a Tour to the Ohio in 1770, under date of November 22d, says: “Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple's, among whom was *Dr. Connolly, nephew to Colonel Croghan*, a very sensible, intelligent man, who had travelled over a good deal of this western country, both by land and water.”

Major Ward was the same man who, as Ensign Edward Ward, on the 17th of April, 1754, surrendered the unfinished fort in the forks of the Ohio to Contre-Cœur; and in 1760 opened the first coal-pit in Western Pennsylvania, opposite Fort Pitt. Can any reader of the Magazine explain the particulars of the relationship?

ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

COAL MINE IN MUSKINGUM VALLEY IN 1748?—In Captain Thomas Hutchins' *Topographical Description of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, comprehending the Rivers Ohio,*

*Kenhawa, Sioto, Cherokee, Wabash, Illinois, Mississippi &c. &c.*, published in London in 1778, on page 21, describing the Muskingum he says: "In 1748 a Coal mine opposite to Lamenshicola mouth took fire, and continued burning above twelve months, but great quantities of coal still remain in it." Is not the date, 1748, a typographical error? What is the present name of the Lamenshicola?

ISAAC CRAIG.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

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BATTLE OF THE KEGS—Does any record exist in regard to the attempt to blow up the British ships below Philadelphia, in December, 1777, when Captain David Bushnell is said to have floated kegs of powder down the river? What was the exact date, and under whose authority was Bushnell acting? Also, what was the keg contrivance? Surgeon Thacher refers to the incident. Is there any British mention of it?

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GLOBES IN AMERICA—The following was received from a gentleman at Nuremberg, who had been engaged in examining the globe of Martin Behaim:

"James Willson was the maker of the first pair of terrestrial and celestial globes ever constructed in America, was for many years a citizen of Orange county. He was born in 1763 at Londonderry, N. H., removing to Bradford with his family in 1796, where he located on a farm about a mile north of the principal village. At an early age he exhibited a remarkable love of knowledge, and had not circumstances prevented, he would

have doubtless chosen some other profession than that of a farmer, which he followed the larger portion of his life. Three years after locating in Bradford he had the exquisite pleasure of viewing a pair of English globes, and determined to imitate them. His first globe—a wooden ball covered with paper—was improved upon from time to time until brought to wonderful perfection. Mr. Willson went to Boston in 1814, and introduced his globes, which were enthusiastically received. For a time he continued their manufacture in Bradford and Londonderry, but in 1815 removed to Albany, N. Y., where he continued his vocation on a large scale. These globes consisted of three different sizes, and were handsomely and scientifically constructed. He spent his later years in Bradford, where he died in 1855 at the ripe age of 92 years."

Can any of our readers give any further information on the subject?

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MANUSCRIPT NARRATIVE OF ROCHAMBEAU'S CAMPAIGN—"Journal ou description du voyage de M \*\* , sur la frégate l'Astrée, commandée par M. de La Pérouse, pour aller en Amérique, rejoindre l'armée française sous les ordres du comte de Rochambeau, avec une relation des opérations militaires des forces unies française et américaine, en 1781. 1 vol. in fol."

The above title is from the Catalogue des Cartes Géographiques . . . du Prince Labanoff. . . Paris, 1823, page 487. Has this ever been translated and printed, or is the present owner of it known?

J. C. B.

## REPLIES.

JAPANESE AMERICANA—With respect to the query [VI. 221] relating to the Life of Washington, published by the Japanese in forty-five volumes, I cannot speak; yet I have recently inspected the Life of General Grant, in seven volumes, printed in that language. The volumes form thin pamphlets, and when laid on their sides, edge to edge, the ornamental covers show a spirited design, representing some Japanese damsels draped in American flags, and executing a lively dance in the presence of the distinguished American. The volumes are profusely illustrated, and one sketch shows the General in the act of attempting a performance, which, it is safe to say, he was not taught when a Cadet in the Riding School at West Point, standing as he does on the “off” side of his fiery charger, with his left foot in the stirrup, trying to vault into the saddle; a position, however, not a bit more awkward than many another in which political generals often find themselves placed. These volumes have already become rare in Japan. \*

Historical Magazine, 1873, p. 104, has a note on the subject.

THE FIVE ZONES — The question is asked [VI. 299] whether or not, the following extract from a letter by Columbus—“In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule”—comes from what Humboldt calls the “*Tratado de las cinco Zonas Habitables*.” If not, the querist infers that Irving never saw the work. The conclusion is a safe one, especially as Humboldt himself never saw it, no such work being known to the bibliographer. Humboldt

made a slight slip in saying that it had become “extremely rare.” \*

LATROBE'S WASHINGTON—On this point a correspondent writes to correct a statement [VII. 107] that Latrobe's sketch of Washington was made about the year 1790, as Latrobe did not come to America until 1796. See “Original Portraits of Washington,” 1882, p. 136, which contain a *fac-simile* of the original rough draft.

JAMES SMITHSON [VII. 372]—In the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1879 there was published an elaborate memoir of James Smithson by William J. Rhees, prepared at the request of the board of regents of the institution. See page 143. It there appears that he was the natural son of Hugh Smithson, Duke of Northumberland, and Mrs. Elizabeth Macie, and was born about 1754, the exact date and circumstances of his birth being unknown. WM. NELSON.

MATCH-COATS [VI. 60, 325, 382; VII. 374]—John Richardson, a Quaker missionary, writing from Pennsylvania about 1700, says: “Match-coats is what they [the Indians] use instead of clothes to cover them withal, being of one piece, in the form of a blanket or bed-covering.”—*Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends toward the Indian Tribes, etc., London, 1844, page 62.*

WM. NELSON.

THE CAPTORS OF ANDRÉ—A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post* calls the attention of the “Association of



Specialists," "formed to re-write American history with a view to accuracy and impartiality," to several letters supposed to contain fresh information concerning the character of the captors of André. Unfortunately, the letters in question given in the *Post* contain nothing new. It is safe, however, to say that any one of the writers alluded to would be glad to have new facts bearing on the subject.

SPECIALIST.

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THE MOON CURSER [v. 140, 383; vi. 61]—When I was a boy, visiting at Cape Cod, the custom, on the part of some of the people, of walking along the shore during and after storms to find whatever might be thrown up on the beach by the surf, was called "Moon cursing," or, shorter, "Moon cussin." I always supposed that the "Moon curser" was, originally at least, a "wrecker," some of which class, on the South Atlantic Coast and neighboring islands, have had a bad name, and have even set false lights to bring ships ashore. Such men belong to the class who love the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds are evil; and who would be ready to curse the gentle moon, or any other source of illumination that would reveal their nefarious plans. Here, I apprehend, we have the origin of the "Moon curser," though, on the Cape, I never found the slightest reason to suspect any of the people of inhumanity. B.

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ANDRÉ BIBLIOGRAPHY—To Mr. Campbell's exhaustive references in the January number may be added what Lafayette says in his "Memoirs," Am. Edition, vol. i., pp. 253-257, and his letter to

Luzerne, dated "Robinson House," Sept. 26, 1780, p. 349; also, Draper's "King's Mountain," pp. 37-39, showing that André had acted as a spy in Charleston, S. C.; Halleck's "International Law," pp. 407-409, giving military judgment on the case; brief references in Kapp's "Steuben," and lately published "St. Clair Papers;" letters to André in "Pattison" Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Pub., 1875; Whiting's "Revolutionary Orders," pp. 109 and 112, giving Greene's General Order, Hd. Qrs., Orangetown, Sept. 26, 1780, announcing "Treason of the Blackest Dye," etc., and the capture of "Mr. André," and Washington's order directing his execution; also Major Harry Lee's interesting letter to Gov. Lee, of Maryland, describing André's capture, in Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., vol. iv., p. 61. J.

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ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF TEXAS [vi. 223; vii. 67, 149]—The name Teias or Tejas can be traced to the first contact of the Spaniards with the tribe of that name living on the head waters of the Sabine and Trinity Rivers and on the lower portion of the Red River. The four survivors of the ill-fated expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez who wandered for eight years across the continent from Florida to the Pacific, from 1532 to 1537, first mention the Atayos, who doubtless were the Adayes or Teijas.

They are next mentioned in the anonymous *Relacion* of the expedition of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, of 1542, as published in 1857, by Buckingham Smith in his *Coleccion*, and in the American Series of the *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xiii., 1870, p. 261. The Teias were

found to the east of the *Querechos*, at a distance of two hundred leagues eastwardly from the Rio de Tignex, or Rio Grande del Norte, which places them in Northeastern Texas.

Possibly, also, the tribe or the river Daycas spoken of in Hernando de Soto's narrative in chapters 35 and 44, and said to be one hundred and fifty leagues west of his Rio Grande or Mississippi, was the same as the Atayos.

J. C. B.

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THE NEW YORK CONTINENTAL LINE IN THE REVOLUTION [VII. 411]—In the December number of the Magazine for 1881, under this caption, it is stated that Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton's Light Infantry Battalion, which marched to Yorktown, contained two companies of New York Levies. This was according to General Washington's orders of July 31, 1781, but on August 17th, at Dobb's Ferry, he substituted two companies of the regular Connecticut Continental Line for the Levies, each consisting of a captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, and fifty rank and file.

These companies were commanded respectively by Captains Lemuel Clift and Thaddeus Weed, of the First and Second Connecticut regiments.

A. B. G.

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DISPOSITION AND ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES [VII. 267 ; VIII. 59]—In the January number of the Magazine, Dr. William H. Egle, the co-laborer of the Hon. John Blair Linn in the preparation of that highly creditable work, "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," takes exception to my designation of Brigadier-General Muhlenberg as from Pennsylvania, and mentions one or two

other alleged inaccuracies. Although the "disposition and order of battle" of the army in September, 1781, was a rough and hasty draft for another purpose, and never intended for publication in the Magazine, and therefore not prepared with that degree of critical attention which would otherwise have been given to it, nevertheless I cannot but think that General Muhlenberg was properly credited to Pennsylvania. His family were all Pennsylvanians.

He was a native of that State, and finally died there. As a minister of the Lutheran Church, his temporary home happened to be in Woodstock, Va., when the Revolution began; and his regiment, the Eighth Virginia, was largely composed of Lutheran Germans. On February 21, 1777, he became a brigadier-general of the regular Continental Line, and when the war ended, made his home in Pennsylvania, where he became successively a member of the Executive Council, Vice-President of the State, representative and then senator in Congress, United States Supervisor of Revenue for the District of Pennsylvania, and finally Collector of the Port of Philadelphia.

I can appreciate Dr. Egle's feelings over any representative selections from Pennsylvania, for the supposed (?) Temple of Fame in the Capitol at Washington, which would omit a statue of the gallant Anthony Wayne, the hero of "Stony Point" and "Jamestown Ford." So many mediocre characters from civil life have, however, been selected for reproduction in monumental marble for that collection, that it can never be as interesting as it might have been. As to Brigadier-General Wayne, although com-

manding for considerable periods the Pennsylvania Continental Line, he never, during the Revolution, attained a full major-general's rank, despite his extraordinary merit. Had his State kept her Continental quota full, so that the Pennsylvania Line would have had its proper strength and influence in military affairs, Congress would hardly have been able to resist the just demand for the promotion of that meritorious officer.

Dr. Egle places Colonel Walter Stewart, instead of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, in command of the Consolidated First and Second Pennsylvania regiments at Yorktown, but the reason for this does not appear. The former ranked as colonel from June 17, 1777, and belonged to the Second Regiment, while the latter, who was the Senior and late Commander of the Western Military Department, ranked from March 12, 1777, and belonged to the First Regiment. Previously Colonel Stewart, while retaining his regimental rank, had acted for a long time as Division Inspector in the main Continental Army, under General Washington, and certainly was at Yorktown. Colonel Richard Humpton's name is incorrectly printed as Hampton. He was an excellent officer, and brevetted to brigadier-general on September 30, 1783. In Baron de Steuben's congratulatory Division Orders for October 20, 1781, there is no mention of either Colonel Humpton or Lieutenant-Colonels Robinson and Harmar, nor of Majors Alexander and Moore, who are stated to have served with the Pennsylvania Line at the capture of Lord Cornwallis.

Dr. Egle asserts that it was Major James Parr, of the Seventh Pennsylvania

Continental Infantry, and not Major William Parr, who commanded the Volunteer Riflemen at Yorktown. There was no Seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Line then in the army, and Major James Parr had been honorably discharged the service on the previous January 1, 1781. The Pennsylvania Archives (General Index, p. 576; vol. ix., p. 371) gives the name of the officer who recruited the Riflemen as Major William Parr. This, however, may be an error.

A. B. G.

PENNSYLVANIA TROOPS AT YORKTOWN [VIII. 59]—The Pennsylvania Infantry was represented at the siege of Yorktown in two battalions commanded as follows:

1st Bat.	{	Colonel Walter Stewart,
	{	Major James Hamilton,
	{	Major William Alexander.
2nd Bat.	{	Colonel Richard Butler,
	{	Lieut.-Colonel Josiah Harmar,
	{	Major Evan Edwards.

Three battalions went with Wayne into Virginia in May, 1781, and joined Lafayette, the third one being under Colonel Humpton. Sickness and casualties reduced the force to about 600, and it was consolidated into two battalions July 14. (Feltman's Journal, and Wayne to Reed, July 16, 1781. Penn. Archives.) Of the field officers who returned to Pennsylvania in consequence of this arrangement, one certainly was Colonel Humpton, as he wrote to Irvine from Philadelphia August 14, and was there September 29, as stated in St. Clair Papers, vol. i., p. 650. Another, without much doubt, was Lieut.-Colonel Robinson, who is mentioned by Feltman as being in Virginia in the early

part of the campaign, but whose name does not appear later.

When the combined army was nearly ready to move upon Yorktown from Williamsburg, Va., Washington organized it into brigades, giving Wayne a Virginia Continental regiment and "the *two* battalions of Pennsylvania." Upon the investment of the enemy the field officers of the army took their turns as officers of the day, and the Orderly Book of the Siege gives their names and rotation. From Pennsylvania the only names that appear are those of Colonels Stewart and Butler, Lieut.-Col. Harmar, and Majors Alexander, Edwards and Hamilton. These six would just suffice for the two battalions, and from other references it is ascertained that they were arranged as given at the beginning of the Note. All these officers had been with Lafayette in the early part of the campaign, and four of them—Stewart, Harmar, Hamilton and Edwards—as well as Humpton, were in the Green Spring affair. Major Moore, named by Dr. Egle, is not mentioned in the Order Book, nor in any of the letters and journals, as far as known, until after the Pennsylvania troops moved southward, when Major *James* Moore is referred to by Feltman. He may have joined Wayne with the detachment under Colonel Craig and Lieut.-Col. Mentges, which reached Yorktown just as the siege closed. I find no mention anywhere of Major *Thomas* Moore.

As to Major Parr, it is quite safe to say that neither he nor his riflemen were at Yorktown. The riflemen who formed a part of the advanced guard on the march to that place, September 28, were a corps of Virginians under Col. Wm. I.

Lewis. (Order Book.) Major Parr—James Parr, it must have been—had volunteered to raise a body of 300 riflemen for Washington's army in July and August, but did not succeed. On September 1 the Pennsylvania Executive Council, considering "the little probability" that the corps could be completed, thanked the Major for his services and attention and requested him to return what funds remained in his hands. (Penn. Col. Rec.) Enough men were recruited to form about a company, and they were in barracks at York, Pa., October 1, under Capt. Livergood.

Finally, Major Reid, of Hazen's, mentioned as of the rear guard, was acting as Major of Barber's Light Infantry Battalion, in which the Pennsylvania Line was not represented. This guard was mainly of New England and Jersey Infantry, and for that day only. The writer ventured to give a full roster of the armies at the siege in "The Yorktown Campaign," etc., 1881. J.

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THE FIRST ALMANAC MAKER IN AMERICA (VII., 372).—John Tully was by no means the first almanac maker in America by over fifty years. According to Isaiah Thomas, in his "History of Printing in America" (vol. i., 43, 46), Stephen Day was the printer of the first almanac, published in America in 1639. It was titled, "An Almanac Calculated for New England. By Mr. Pierce, Mariner," doubtless the one referred to by President Elliot. Day also printed an almanac, for 1640 and 1641, under which latter date Thomas says, "One or more almanacs were printed every year at the Cambridge press. In all of them the year begins in

March." In 1646 Day issued an almanac, by Samuel Danforth. In 1647 the Danforth Almanac bears the imprint of *Matthew* Day, son of Stephen. In 1648, Day (Saml.) printed "Oake's Astrononical Calculations," and "Danforth's Almanac." In 1649, he printed the latter; and Samuel Green, who began printing 1630, also issued an almanac. Day died in 1649, and Green's Almanac appeared also in 1650. Then Johnson Green, Foster, Usher, and others came before Tully made his appearance in the field. Thomas' History of Printing, and Brinley's Catalogue, part I., p. 88 et seq., will give "W. H." all the information he can desire. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANDRÉ (VIII., 61)—

The following are omitted from the paper on the above subject, in the January number:

André's Capture and Execution. "History of the Life and Services of Captain Samuel Dewees, a native of Pennsylvania, and soldier of the Revolutionary War. 12mo, Baltimore, Md., 1844," pp. 208-224. Dewees was one of the fifers who played the Dead March at André's execution, and states that he was hung from a *ladder*, instead of a cart. In *The Gleaner*, a paper published at Wilkes Barre, Pa., issue of February 21, 1817, occurs the editorial of which Mr. Benson gives only a part—(page 22 of his vindication of André—reprint of 1865). In the *Gleaner* of February 29, 1817, occurs a second editorial, both written by Hon. Charles Miner, on the authority of Captain Samuel Bowman. *The Daily Union Leader* of Wilkes Barre, Pa., June 16, 1880, contains a reprint of a letter

which appeared in the same paper, June 21, 1870, written by Captain Samuel Bowman, who conducted André to the place of execution, describing the last hours of the spy. This letter has never been published elsewhere.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

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COL. FRANCIS BARBER—(VI. 301)—  
There is some mistake in the statement in the Magazine that this officer was buried in the yard of the Presbyterian Church at New Windsor—there being no grave-yard attached to the church.

In the new cemetery on the hill, a little distance west of the church, lie the remains of the Clintons, removed from the family burial-place at Little Britain in 1876. C. A. C.

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EAR-RINGS WORN BY AMERICAN SAILORS (I. 574)—John Minshull's comedy of "The Sprightly Widow," printed at New York in 1803, has the following foot-note: "The American sailors wear ear rings to prevent their being pressed in England. Also to distinguish them from the English sailors when in France."

The dramatist's explanation, it is to be regretted, is about as obscure as his comedy. Perhaps Admiral Preble may be able to explain this singular custom. W. K.

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VALLEY FORGE—The old "Isaac Pott's mansion," near the Reading Rail Road, about twenty-four feet by thirty-three feet in size, has a handsome front of dressed stone, is well preserved, and bids fair to last for centuries. The present wing takes the place of one occupied by Mrs. Washington. The log cabin, which was the dining-room, long ago disappeared. The two rooms on the ground floor are sacred by Washington's use, and a plain box in the sill of the east window is still indicated as the receptacle of his official papers.

## SOCIETIES

At the annual meeting of the New York Historical Society, held in its hall in this city, Tuesday, January 3, the President, Frederic de Peyster, in the chair, a bust, executed in marble by Frederick Dunbar, of the late William Beach Lawrence, formerly Vice-President of the society, was presented by Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson in behalf of his oldest son, Isaac Lawrence. General Wilson also presented to the society, in behalf of the family, the manuscript of an address on the life and character of the distinguished statesman and former President of the society, Albert Gallatin, which was in course of preparation by Governor Lawrence at the time of his death. These presentations were followed by an address, in the course of which General Wilson paid a high tribute to the character of Governor Lawrence as a scholar, and writer on international law. His *magnum opus* in six volumes, published at Leipsic, 1868-1880, and entitled "*Commentaire sur les Elements du Droit International, et sur L'Histoire des Progrès du Droit du Gens*," was written and issued in French. The thanks of the society were returned to the family of Governor Lawrence, and to General Wilson.

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The very valuable posthumous paper prepared for the New York Historical Society by the late William Beach Lawrence of Newport, Rhode Island, entitled "The Life, Character and Public Services of Albert Gallatin," was read at the February meeting of the society by Edward F. De Lancey, the audience evincing much interest in the address, which will shortly be printed by the society.

At the last regular monthly meeting of the New York Historical Society, the Rev. P. F. Dealy, S. J., read a paper on Dongan, the great Colonial Governor, a portion of which paper appears in the present issue of the Magazine. Considerable useful material was presented in connection with this theme, and the subject was invested with fresh interest. Ample justice was done to the character of Governor Dongan, and the paper was enjoyed by an appreciative audience. Chief-Justice Daly, while applauding the effort in the main, took exception to the position maintained by the speaker, that James the Duke of York entertained large and comprehensive views in connection with English empire in America, saying that as soon as Dongan moved to carry out such views he was suppressed by his master. He also objected to the view that the capture of New York by the British was desirable, averring that the English had no claim based on discovery; while the Dutch were in actual possession and doing well. The Dutch, however, it should be observed, were in an anomalous situation, sandwiched in between two English colonies, where, in any event in the long run, they would have found it undesirable to compete, their position being illogical. Neither discovery nor occupancy, in certain cases, can establish national claims; while in the case of New York, the English conceded to the Dutch every personal right which they had acquired. The action of the English in dispossessing the Dutch, was simply an application of the Monroe Doctrine in advance, a doctrine whose fitness is conceded by most Americans at the present time.

At the New York Biographical and Genealogical Society, Mott Memorial Hall, Mr. Henry T. Drowne in the chair, Dr. Hague read an instructive and charming paper on "Old Pelham and New Rochelle," taking the listener with him into one of the most beautiful portions of Westchester, and discoursing, in a retrospective manner, on subjects connected with the old Huguenot families, which abound with interesting themes. In closing, he showed how the gift of the Pelham Huguenot, Peter Faneuil, to Boston, which consisted of the well-known Faneuil Hall, or "Cradle of Liberty," was offset by the gift of the Boston merchants, who gave a hundred thousand dollars to the widow of Daniel Webster, Caroline Le Roy, also a Pelham Huguenot, who was residing in the old Le Roy mansion at the time of her decease. He was followed by Mr. Ed. F. De Lancey, who gave some deeply interesting reminiscences of Pelham and the people, and thus added much to the interest of this extremely enjoyable occasion.

The Maine Historical Society met in its reception hall, Portland, on the evening of the birthday of Longfellow, and did due honor to the poet. After a congratulatory telegram, Mr. James P. Baxter read a poem written for the occasion. The Rev. H. S. Burrage gave a genealogical account of Longfellow's family and of his birth in Portland. The Hon. William Gould read a paper on General Peleg Wadsworth, the grandfather of the poet, and showed that the latter inherited the blood of five of the Mayflower pilgrims, including Elder Brewster and John Alden. Edward H.

Elwell, editor of the Portland Transcript, described the Portland of Longfellow's youth. Dr. Alpheus Packard, of Bowdoin College, gave reminiscences of his college life, and the Hon. Geo. F. Talbot delivered an address upon the Genius of the Poet. The hall was overcrowded, and many literary people, with some of Longfellow's relatives, were present.

At a recent stated meeting of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a letter was read from Mr. Benjamin Cushing, of Dorchester, and accompanying it was the original muster-roll of the company raised in 1756 by Major Samuel Thaxter, of Hingham, for the Crown Point expedition. This company was a part of the garrison surrendered at Fort William Henry to Montcalm. In the subsequent massacre Major Thaxter was stripped by the Indians of all save his leather breeches, and tied to a tree, but two French officers liberated him. When he arrived home he found his death had been reported and that his funeral sermon was preached the Sunday before. The manuscript muster-roll is given to the society by Mrs. Samuel Willard, of Hingham, a great-grand-daughter of Major Thaxter. The Rev. Anson Titus, of Weymouth, read an able paper on "Certain Elements in the Development of American Character," and the Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, D.D., the historiographer of the society, reported memorial sketches of the late Hon. Ezra Wilkinson, of Dedham, and Samuel W. Philips, of Syracuse, N. Y., deceased members of the society. Additions to the library were acknowledged by the Librarian, Mr. Dean.

## LITERARY NOTICES

ORIGINAL PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON, INCLUDING STATUES, MONUMENTS, AND MEDALS. By ELIZABETH BRYANT JOHNSTON. pp. 245. Boston: JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., 1882.

This sumptuous volume, a large quarto, forms another proof of the imperishable interest attached to the name of Washington. The title of the book indicates its wealth of illustration, which is supplemented by a copious letterpress, marked by a fair degree of judgment and good taste, besides autographs of artists. The artists number more than fifty, while there are thirty-two pages of illustrations. The list of portraits begins with Copley's beautiful miniature of Washington at the age of twenty-five, and ends with the delineations found on the medals. With the exception of Wertmuller's noble representation, which is on steel, the pictures are heliographs. They, however, show this process at its best. Two of these pictures have already been given as rarities in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*—Mr. Brevoort's St. Memin picture, and Latrobe's sketch, in the possession of President Ewing. The author of this volume gives an account of each artist and whatever may be known respecting the history of his work. The volume forms an illustrated catalogue, projected on a most satisfactory and luxurious scale, and no collector of Washingtoniana can well do without it on his shelves. By the aid of this collection, the individual may make up the ideal Washington according to his own fancy, for nothing less than the ideal can give any satisfaction, the noblest delineation falling short of what most admirers of Washington picture to the mind's eye. In this work we have, in permanent photography, reproductions of Copley, Peale, Stuart, and Trumbull, direct from the canvas, in many cases wanting nothing but the color, and conveying peculiarities of the artists' work to a degree that would be impossible by any other process.

THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS. THE LIFE and Public Services of ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, Soldier of the Revolutionary War, President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of the North-western Territory. With his Correspondence and other Papers, arranged and annotated by WM. HENRY SMITH. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 609-649.

Arthur St. Clair was of Scotch descent, being born in the town of Thurso, Caithness, in the year 1734. He passed some time at the University of Edinburgh, and then undertook the study of medicine in London. At the age of twenty-three, however, he entered the army, and in 1758

he was with Amherst before Louisburg. He also served with Wolfe at Quebec; but in 1762 he left the army, being at that time in the possession of a respectable fortune, eventually finding a home in Western Pennsylvania.

When the Revolution dawned, he took the field for the Colonies, and went to Canada with his regiment, afterward being appointed a brigadier under Washington in the Department of the South, rendering great service there until he took command of the Department of the North. Later he became a member of Washington's military family, and served with distinction to the end of the war. He was President of the last Continental Congress, and, in 1787, was elected Governor of the Northwest Territory. In civil as in military life he rendered invaluable service, and did much to lay the foundations of Western society. Of necessity, he was prominent in the party issues of his times, and became a conspicuous mark for his enemies, who sought to obscure the lustre of his brilliant and upright career, which illustrated statesmanlike qualities. In 1802, however, he was removed from the office of Governor by Madison. In 1810 he found himself a bankrupt, owing to the advances made during the war to carry on the struggle for freedom. Then, surrendering his mansion to satisfy creditors, he took up his abode in a log house, in which he ended his days, selling supplies to wagoners who passed by. He died in his eighty-fourth year, offering a conspicuous illustration of the ingratitude of the Republic, which doomed him to suffering and want. Yet even poverty could not deprive the trusted friend of Washington of his dignity and self-respect. St. Clair makes a picturesque though sad figure in the history of his times, which is so amply delineated in the volumes before us, packed as they are with valuable material. More than two hundred and fifty pages of the first volume are devoted to the biographical sketch, written in a free, admiring style, inspired by the spirit of a somewhat heroic subject. The editor of this work claims that it affords new evidence concerning events hitherto misrepresented, and notably concerning St. Clair's operations on the Delaware and his course at Ticonderoga. With regard, however, to his services in saving the army after the attack upon Trenton, and his evacuation of Ticonderoga, there is nothing that adds essentially to the record. Indeed, the Revolutionary correspondence is not quite so rich as we had hoped to find it, though embracing hitherto unpublished letters from leading generals and civilians. The second volume is made up very largely of material giving new and valuable information, including letters by General Harmer and documents illustrating the intrigues of the French and Spaniards on the Ohio. The State of Ohio has rendered an important service to the country in securing and rendering so much valuable material accessible to the general reader, who will find



the work one of very great interest. The volumes are handsomely printed, and contain two portraits of St. Clair, representing him at his prime and in his old age. We hope to treat the subject hereafter more at length.

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**STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.** The Anglican Reform, The Puritan Innovations, The Elizabethan Reaction, The Caroline Settlement. With Appendices. By H. M. LUCBOCK, D.D., Canon of Ely. pp. 247. New York: THOMAS WHITTAKER, 1882.

After the Bible, no book perhaps has done so much to mould and shape the sentiment and language of English-speaking people everywhere as the Book of Common Prayer, "those beautiful Collects," which, according to Macaulay, "had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians." The history and literature of such a book must be of universal interest, whatever may be thought of it doctrinally. Such a history Canon Lucbock has given us. To make it more interesting, he presents us, as it were, with "counterfeit presentments" of the men who were concerned in bringing the Prayer-Book into its present form, that knowing the men we may better be able to judge of their work. His studies in History, not his history, are divided into the four great stages through which the Prayer-Book passed, and the whole subject is treated with intelligence and candor, and with freedom from bigotry and intolerance, most creditable to the author. We have found its chapters full of interest, and not the least so were those portions of the work which related to the liturgy of Baxter and to the Presbyterian Directory of Worship. It is not Canon Lucbock's first venture into the field of authorship, and he deserves to be welcomed into the domain of history.

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**CHANCELLORSVILLE AND GETTYSBURG.** By ABNER DOUBLEDAY, Brevet Major-General U. S. A., and late Major-General U. S. V., commanding First Corps at Gettysburg. pp. 243. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1882.

The sixth volume of the campaigns of the civil war extends from the appointment of General Hooker to the retreat of General Lee after the decisive battle of Gettysburg, and is as full of interest as any of its predecessors. General Doubleday, by his acquaintance with the principal officers on both sides and with the statesmen of the day, and by his participation in the battle of Gettysburg, was especially qualified for the task

assigned him, and he has made the most of his advantage. He has given a vivid description of the utter rout of the Eleventh Corps at Chancellorsville, and if censure falls heavily upon its commander, General Howard, it is more than justified by the facts and the proof. We fear we cannot say so much of the purpose of General Meade to retreat at Gettysburg after the first day, or at any time, and it looks a little as if General Doubleday was writing his book to fit his testimony on the conduct of the war and to defend a theory. The volume is well furnished with maps and will be widely read.

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**THE ANTIETAM AND FREDERICKSBURG.** By FRANCIS WINTHROP PALFREY, Brevet Brigadier-General U. S. V., and formerly Colonel Twentieth Massachusetts Infantry, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts. pp. 228. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. 1882.

It was a happy conception of the Messrs. Scribner to publish a history of our civil war in a series of monographs, in nearly every instance written by those who were participants in the scenes they describe, and who have a special aptitude for the work assigned them. It is to be completed in twelve volumes, and we do not hazard much in saying that it will be not only the latest, but the best of the histories of the war which have thus far been written. "The Antietam and Fredericksburg," by General Palfrey, is the fifth of the series, and is by no means the least interesting, though it is the history, in the one case, but of a partial success, and in the other of a serious disaster to the Union arms. General Palfrey holds the pen of a ready writer, and his descriptions of the two battles are picturesque and vivid: he makes his readers eye-witnesses of the dread conflict, they see the fierce onset of armed men and hear the clash of arms. His work is mainly narrative, and, as such, is full of interest, but it also abounds with criticisms, some of them sharp to severity upon the acts and the actors. It should be borne in mind that twenty years have elapsed since the two battles were fought, and the critic looks upon them not from the viewpoint of Generals McClellan and Burnside. He has the benefit of all the light that has been thrown upon the subject by subsequent research, and it is easier now to tell how the battles should have been fought, with our knowledge of the situation on both sides, than it was in 1862, when much of our light was only darkness to the Army of the Potomac. General Palfrey writes fearlessly and with candor, and much of his criticism will be accepted without demur, but to much of it ex-

ception will be taken by military men. There is little doubt that McClellan's Fabian policy was carried to extreme. He was McClellan cunctator; McClellan the unready; and many of the sharpest of General Palfrey's censures will find willing ears, while more, perhaps, will be deaf to his words of praise, where he says, "that there are strong grounds for believing that he was the best commander the Army of the Potomac ever had." Fredericksburg was fought by the lamented General Burnside. No one can rise from the perusal of General Palfrey's history of the battle without a thorough conviction that it was a dreadful mistake. It should never have been fought; there was no possibility of success. Whatever may have been General Burnside's other qualities, he had not those which characterize great generals, and his rashness was more to be deplored than General McClellan's hesitation.

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SKETCHES OF DEBATE IN THE FIRST SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN 1789-90-91. By WILLIAM MACLAY, a Senator from Pennsylvania. Edited by Geo. W. Harris, of Harrisburg, Pa., compiler of Harris' Reports of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. pp. 357. Harrisburg: LANE S. HART, Printer and Binder.

One-half of the members of the first Senate of the United States were members of the convention that formed our Constitution, and of the other half many were men of distinguished fame. The subjects upon which they were called to act were of the greatest importance to the infant government and to its future prosperity. They included the titles which were to be borne by the President and other functionaries, the location of the permanent seat of government, the establishment of the judiciary, the funding of the public debt, and the enactment of the first tariff. Unfortunately, the Senate sat with closed doors, and we have no report of its debates and but little knowledge of their proceedings, except such as may be found in the scant allusions to them in the writings of the elder Adams, Madison, Jefferson, and others. The work of Mr. Maclay, a Senator from Pennsylvania, is not only a work of great interest, but one of historical value. It is a continuous diary of the proceedings of the Senate during its first two years, and, so far as is known, it is the only work of the kind in existence. We have the results of the Senate's actions in the laws that were passed, and Mr. Maclay gives us the processes and the considerations which moved the fathers of the Republic; and it will be a source of surprise to some to find in the first Senate the self-seeking, not to say corruption, which has characterized the politics of later days.

The fathers of the Republic had axes to grind. Mr. Maclay was a man of strict integrity, and while in his judgment of persons—even of Washington, John Adams, and Robert Morris—there are strong traces of the partisan, and they are to be cautiously received, yet, as a record of facts, his diary is a valuable authority—it supplies a missing link in our early history. Much of it will be new to this generation; all of it will be of interest. It is a contribution to our historical literature which we gladly welcome, and we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise that it is now for the first time given to the world.

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THE NATION'S HERO. IN MEMORIAM. THE LIFE OF JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD, TWENTIETH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. By J. M. BUNDY. With an Account of the President's Death and Funeral Obsequies. pp. 300. New York: A. S. BARNES & Co. 1881.

Of the many lives of President Garfield, we have seen none that will compare with that by Major Bundy. He had every possible facility for getting at the facts, much of his work being written at Mentor, as it were under General Garfield's own eye, and he was a practised writer. He understood the art of condensation, and we have in this work a complete *résumé* of the life of its distinguished subject from his birth in a log cabin to his burial at Cleveland, mourned by a nation's tears. It makes a handsome volume, and it is illustrated with portraits of General Garfield, as a boy, soldier, and statesman, with portraits of his mother, wife, and children, and with pictures of the houses in which he had lived, beginning with the log cabin and ending with the White House and Elberon. The volume is worthy of a place in the library, and will become a part of our permanent biographical literature.

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THE HERO OF COWPENS. A CENTEN- NIAL SKETCH. pp. 295. New York and Chicago: A. S. BARNES & Co.

We have here what may almost be called a life of Morgan, one of the most distinguished of the generals of the Revolution, and written by a lady. For her substantial facts she relies upon Botta, Graham, Greene, Bancroft, and other authorities; but, if she writes somewhat in the spirit of Parson Weems, it is fair to say that she owns that she has set her hero in a poetic light. Morgan has no faults, and seems to be the only general who is so fortunate. Arnold represents total depravity, and the authoress would hardly bury his leg, which was wounded in the American

service, with the honors of war. Lee, of course, is a traitor, and Gates also. Greene is jealous and overrated, and Washington hardly escapes censure. But Morgan is the Bayard of the war, *sans peur et sans reproche*. He is followed through his whole career with words of praise. Cowpens is the battle of the seven years' struggle. The sketch is full of interest and is timely; it is illustrated with portraits of the chief generals and with plans of the war, and it does not detract from its merits that it is the work of an advocate and not of a judge.

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ATLANTIS: THE ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD. By IGNATIUS DONNELLY. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 480. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS. 1882.

This book forms a piece of intrepid but by no means useless speculation. It will at least serve to draw attention anew to a subject every way worthy of the consideration of scientific minds. The story of Atlantis, which scholars have generally inclined to regard as a fable of Plato, has, indeed, received serious attention from time to time, and some attempts have been made to prove that the narrative of the old Greek, which tells of a great continent once existing in the Atlantic, is not altogether the offspring of a warm imagination, but that the narrative, substantially, conveys historic truth. The author of the above work, however, has treated the subject as no one ever treated it before—unconsciously, perhaps, showing the worthlessness as well as the worth of certain lines of discussion. The weakness in some parts of the work is so apparent that one might almost suspect the author of deliberate design; yet the argument is nevertheless presented with a seriousness which does not favor the theory that his main object was to make an attractive book. That a continent once existed in the central portion of the Atlantic, as taught by Plato, is by no means unreasonable; but if this ever comes to be an article of historic belief—as, indeed, is likely to prove the case—it will be established by a more scientific process than that which our author employs. That great changes have taken place in the Atlantic within comparatively recent times, is perfectly well understood; and the fact that man was once able to walk on foot from Egypt to Greenland, passing through pleasant forests, viewing on the way tropical animals sporting on the bank of the Thames, is quite as certain as that the overland route to the Pacific was trodden before the emigrant went to the Golden Gate on the iron rail. But whether men, in the olden times, with a few portages only, could travel from Spain or Africa to South America and the West Indies, remains to be demonstrated. Our author thinks that this was the case. It is certainly probable, but

the Atlantic surveys and soundings warrant no such conclusions as he has drawn respecting the former existence of the continent of Atlantis; nor does his treatment of the Deluge Legends seem to be in harmony with those philosophical principles which must guide the historical investigator in seeking to test the value of tradition. Plato tells us that the country called Atlantis sank in the sea, and this alleged event, our author infers, is the foundation of the deluge literature found all over the world, even as Atlantis was the seat of the human race and the home of whatever has made the history of man glorious and great. In this book, therefore, which really contains a great amount of useful knowledge, the author seeks to prove too much. More moderate claims would answer every purpose, though he has, perhaps, done a good work in showing what an enthusiastic writer can really find to say on the subject. This, however, is by no means the end of the matter. A rigid science may yet be applied to the investigation, though before much progress is made the mind must be disabused of that still stubborn prejudice which stands opposed to the serious prosecution of studies of this kind, and even to the bulk of pre-Columbian investigation. To point out errors in detail is not the object of this notice, while the extravagance characterizing this production will defeat and thus take care of itself. Nevertheless, we are glad that the book has been written, and that publishers have been found to bring it out in an attractive style. The author is a diligent inquirer, and has produced an exceedingly interesting work—one, indeed, well deserving the examination of the general reader, who may find his curiosity quickened and his mind prepared for more severe investigation.

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ÉTUDE SUR UNE CARTE INCONNUE, LA PREMIÈRE DRESSÉE PAR LOUIS JOLIET en 1674. Après son exploration du Mississippi avec le P. JACQUES MARQUETTE en 1673, par Gabriel Gravier. Paris: MAISONNEUVE ET CIE, Libraires-Éditeurs, quai Voltaire 25; pp. 49. 1880.

As the people are just now showing unusual interest in the subject of La Salle's so-called "Discovery" of the Mississippi, it may not prove amiss to call attention to M. Gravier's monograph, printed in advance from the proceedings of the *Americanistes*; for if the word "discover" is used in its true sense, simply meaning to uncover what previously was understood to exist, there can be no objection to the term. That La Salle made no "discovery," in the too generally accepted sense of the word, deserves to be more generally known. That he explored the Mississippi and advertised the special value of that stream to the world at large, cannot be denied.

In the same sense Henry Hudson "discovered" the river that now bears his name, though the river was known by Europeans early in the 16th century, Hudson having been recommended to explore the river by his friend, Captain John Smith. The proof that La Salle was not the first to make known the course of the Mississippi, is found in the map which accompanies the monograph of M. Gravier—a map drawn by the explorer, Louis Joliet, in 1674, which date it bears; its existence in that year being attested by Frontenac, the Governor of Canada. Joliet, in his Letter to Frontenac, contained in an escutcheon on the map, says that the discovery of this river, which was called "Buade," took place in "1673 and 1674," or about ten years before La Salle made his voyage down the Father of Waters. This was the achievement of some Jesuit Missionaries, who did the work, sketched the outline of their journey for Joliet, and said no more about it, not caring who might get the credit of the performance. The map in question, which M. Gravier discusses with the fullest knowledge of the whole question of La Salle, to which previously he had devoted a volume, is preserved in the Library of the Depot of Marine Charts at Paris. The chart is imperfect, and contains much that is conjectural; yet, nevertheless, this is the earliest known chart that lays down the great lakes, and the Mississippi running to the sea; for the author or authors had actually seen the Ottawa, the Wisconsin, the Illinois, the Ohio, and the Arkansas, which, with the great river to which they are tributary, are distinctly laid down. The "Buade" appears as the mighty stream to-day called the Mississippi; and, though our author's sympathies are with La Salle, he discusses all the related questions with discrimination and fairness, even as Joliet claimed nothing for himself; in all his maps, generously recognizing what La Salle had accomplished in the upper waters, and addressing Frontenac with joy in making known the fact that a magnificent highway existed from the lakes to the Mexican gulf. La Salle knew this fact when he began its descent, as well as Henry Hudson knew of the existence of the North River, the ancient Rio San Antonio of the Spanish maps, when, in 1609, he ascended that stream. Maps may yet be found to reveal the names of the now unknown Jesuits, who, in 1673, all unconscious of the value of their work, were borne along the swift flowing tide, upon which, the sad companions of Cabeza de Vaca had gazed, not comprehending, so far as we know, its value to mankind, nor even, perhaps, in their misery staying to ask whether the turbid flood that they crossed was a river or an inlet of the sea. M. Gravier, in this monograph, has made a rare addition to our Americana, the large map being produced in the brilliant colors of the original, and the entire work being characterized by judgment and good taste.

HARPER'S POPULAR CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNITED STATES HISTORY, from the Aboriginal Period to 1876, containing brief sketches of important events and conspicuous actors. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated by over one thousand engravings. In two volumes, pp. 1605. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS. 1881.

In undertaking this work the publishers projected an enterprise that promised great benefit to students of history, and they are entitled to much credit for what they have actually achieved, even though the result, in the first edition, may not appear altogether so satisfactory as desired. An admirable general plan has been laid out, and in future editions, for the work is one that will always be in demand, the conception of author and publishers may be realized with advantage to themselves and the reader. Happily the history of our country has not yet become so unwieldy as to render it impossible to throw into a convenient encyclopedic form nearly, if not quite, all the subjects that claim the attention of readers at large. In a work of this kind, however, which seeks a broad constituency, one should not expect any exhaustive compilation. It is not to be supposed that every specialist is going to find in such a work the fullest information on obscure topics that do not interest half a dozen souls. Hence, some of the criticisms on this work are not well grounded. Still, though the general plan is good, it has faults; and we have to call attention to the fact, that a work of this kind cannot exactly hope to become an authority, at least unless it distinctly shows some of those qualities which result from the work of specialists, acting on the co-operative plan. Even then the highest value of such a work would consist, not so much in seeking to be an authority, as in pointing out authorities and sources of information, a department of usefulness that the present volume ignores. Again, while topics that certainly ought to be mentioned are left out, others do not show the results of recent investigations, and ignore important discoveries well known to the most of those who are at all familiar with the recent publications of historical, literary, and other learned societies. The failure with respect to many prominent New England subjects is very noticeable, while errors in the statement of facts are altogether too abundant. Under the circumstances this, perhaps, was inevitable, and these matters are referred to, not for the purpose of discouraging those concerned, but rather with reference to that improvement in future editions which the accomplished editor, who has rendered so many valuable services to American history, very well understands how to effect. It is to be hoped that a new edition may be brought out soon.





Benjamin  
Mason: Guy H. Hall

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## THE COLONIZATION OF TEXAS

THE above title refers, not to the original Spanish colonization of Texas, but to its later Anglo-American colonization, which had much more important results. It is a singularity in the formation or growth of our Union, not often called to mind by the rising generation, that one of our States, only thirty-five years ago, was politically speaking a nation, which, though it had had a career of but ten years, and a population which barely amounted to myriads, had undergone the vicissitudes of war, diplomatic complications, party strife, and local insurrection, and was recognized as independent by three of the leading governments of the world, as well as by others less potent. It claimed and brought into this Union an area equal to half of the inhabited portion of the original thirteen States when their independence was accomplished; yet its numbers and resources were so meagre in proportion to the stand it took, that its brief existence as a nation seems like a farce on the stage of history. Such, however, it was not, viewing it as a whole; for, though its history abounds in farcical episodes, which I have no desire to suppress, the importance of what it achieved, and of what resulted therefrom, forbids any sweeping application of contemptuous terms. As I have endeavored to show in a former article (*MAG. OF AM. HIST.*, iv. 5), San Jacinto was the first link in that historic chain which ended with Gettysburg.

In earlier articles I have given a synopsis of the revolt of Texas against Mexico, with some of its minor episodes, and, in my last, an outline of the campaign of 1836. I had contemplated making in this article a compendious sketch of the history of the short-lived Republic, but I find it advisable first to devote a separate paper to what went before that history, and ushered in the national embryo.

Texas, after its conquest from the aborigines, was never out of the possession of Spain till Mexico became independent. La Salle, the French explorer, claimed the merit of discovery some time after the section was occupied by Spain, and planted a small settlement on the coast of Texas,

near La Vaca Bay, an intrusion which the actual possessors of the province soon punished, in the Spanish mode, by extermination. It was a rather informal but very effective way of extinguishing a squatter title, and the claim which France for a time set up to the boundary of the Rio Grande for Louisiana, in consequence of La Salle's brief intrusion two hundred miles east of that river, was the most impudent of false pretences, so much so that it was dropped long before Louisiana was acquired by the United States, and the very shadow of it was renounced by that Government when it acquired Florida. That piece of old Bourbon assumption, however, was surpassed by President Tyler when he sought to revive it by coining the word *re-annexation*.

The word Texas, or Tejas, has a meaning in Spanish,<sup>1</sup> yet, in its geographical sense, it was probably derived from the name of an Indian tribe. Though it is no longer found in that connection, there are faint traces of such an origin on record. The tract of country known by that name, with a much smaller area than it now has, was, under the Spanish Government, a province of the Vice Royalty of Mexico. When the independence of Mexico was established, and a Federal Constitution, modelled after our own, was adopted, the province of Texas, not having sufficient population by itself, was included with the province of Coahuila for the formation of a State, which was called the State of Coahuila and Texas. This duality of name was preserved to indicate the intention of erecting the section called Texas into a separate State when its growth of population and resources should justify such a measure. At this time the western boundary of Texas was the Nueces, the country between that river and the Rio Grande, then almost uninhabited, belonging partly to Coahuila and partly to the State of Tamaulipas. This formation of States occurred in 1824. At that time only a fraction of Texas was peopled, and, setting aside the Indians, who were not numerous, the section had only a Spanish-American population, occupying the little towns of San Antonio, Goliad, and Nacogdoches, with the farms and grazing ranchos around each. These three settlements, whose topographical bearing to each other may be represented by the points of a long triangle, were from a hundred to three hundred miles apart. This Mexican population of Texas did not then, I think, exceed seven or eight thousand souls.

Under the Spanish Government all immigration from foreign countries had been prohibited; but, shortly after independence was achieved, the door, under certain restrictions, was opened. Conditional grants of land for colonization were made to Stephen F. Austin and others, who were authorized to introduce settlers, and put them in possession of ample tracts,



the title of each to be perfected by the colonist by making it available for tillage or grazing. The allowance of land was liberal, being a square league to each head of a family, and one-quarter as much to each unmarried settler; and the "empresario," or colonizing manager, received premium leagues according to the number of settlers he secured. In connection with these grants certain conditions were required of alien settlers, more rigid in form than in execution. The principal one was that each colonist and his family should conform to the Roman Catholic Church, but hardly a nominal enforcement of this was ever carried out.

Of those "empresarios" of Texas, the only one who claims historical importance was Stephen F. Austin, who ought to rank high among the obscure great men who have worked out vast results from small beginnings, by dint of foresight, perseverance, and fortitude. Few men ever possessed the quality of energetic equanimity in a higher degree. His life in full has never been written, but an admirable sketch of it has lately appeared from the pen of his nephew, the Hon. Guy M. Bryan, a former member of Congress from Texas. It was written for the "Encyclopedia of the New West," and appeared in the *Galveston News* of June 17, 1880.

There are errors of construction, as well as of reconstruction, of which latter we have had experience. The mistake of Mexico in this measure was not in seeking to colonize some parts of her domain with a more enlightened and energetic race than her own, but in planting such colonies in a frontier province adjoining the country whence the immigrants had come. She overlooked the attraction of like to like, aided by proximity, and the tendency of such new population to break off its new connection and reattach to the old one.

In consequence of the contracts and grants just mentioned, and the admission of foreigners to naturalization in the ordinary way, and the facility for squatting, Texas in a few years acquired an Anglo-American population much larger than that of native origin. Thriving settlements grew up on each of the rivers, from the Sabine to the Nueces. With the exception of two Irish villages, one on and the other some miles east of the latter stream, this alien population was almost wholly Anglo-American. In it were found refugees from criminal justice, and more refugees from the creditors' duns; but the former class, at least, was not so numerous as the rumor of that day asserted. The objectionable population was less numerous in the West than the East, for, in the former, immigration came in mainly under the colonizing contracts, and the empresarios were cautious in regard to the character of any man to whom they granted land. If he had merely fled to avoid the

payment of a ruinous security debt, his catechism was not rigid ; but only in exceptional cases could a jail-bird pass. I never heard of but one instance in which Stephen F. Austin admitted to his colony a man known to have led a criminal life, and that man made an appeal which the empresario could not resist. "I own," said the refugee, "that I have been a felon, but my family never shared my guilt, and ought not to suffer for it. I am weary of evil deeds and their penalties. Here is the only asylum where I can hope to mend my ways and lead an honest life. If you reject me, you make me a criminal for the rest of my days, and I am lost." Austin yielded. The man received his land, and, though his mere personal habits and manners did not much improve, he never fell back into criminal courses. Though the proportion of such refugees was not large enough to tell seriously on the coloring of the mass, it was sufficient to offer an interesting subject of study. There were some cases in which the opportunity for a new life seemed to work thorough regeneration in the depraved ; others, where a single and almost accidental error, which otherwise would have been ruinous, was nobly retrieved ; and some also where a self-sacrificing family sought exile to hide the disgrace of one.

The position of that colonized population was anomalous. They had become citizens of a country whose language they did not understand, whose laws were to them mainly a sealed book. They had joined a people from whose masses, and in a measure from whose authorities, they were isolated. They elected, as permitted by the laws of Mexico, their own alcaldes ; but those magistrates had in a great measure to dispense with written law, and equity not uninjuriously took its place. In cases where rules of law seemed indispensable, it was not unusual for the two parties to agree for the trial of their question according to the laws of some State of our Union, it mattered little what State, and it was generally the only State whose printed laws were within reach of those concerned. The difficulty of litigation, I think, tended to make it less frequent, and to create a preference for the kind of arbitration which Spanish law wisely sanctions. There was little call for criminal law, except for acts of violence, for larceny and other petty crimes, which are the pest of cities, are not usually rife among men of the woods and prairies. Assaults in such communities are apt to take the shape of private affairs. Some homicides are substitutes for executions, and are allowed to pass as such ; but when of an atrocious character, demanding blood for blood, public indignation often simplifies and shortens the process of law. But in that era of Texas, I think, no case of individual punishment of crime ever led to a vendetta. In a new country, peopled as that was, clanship and hereditary resentment have no root for

starting a succession of homicides ; each one begetting another like those which have long prevailed in Corsica.

Slavery was prohibited in Mexico about five years after the Constitution was adopted ; but there was then no negro slavery for the decree to act on, except a very limited amount of it in the extreme South, and the colonies of Texas ; for some of the American settlers, already established there, had brought slaves with them. On an urgent representation of their case by Stephen F. Austin, however, an exception to the operation of the decree of abolition in Texas was made by the Government, with the proviso that no more slaves should be introduced. The exception continued effective ; but the proviso was never observed, nor was its neglect ever rigidly inquired into. Slavery was a thing which occupied but little of the public attention in Mexico, and in the United States it had not yet become a divine institution at the South, or a " covenant with hell " in the North.

The number of slaves introduced before the Texan war of independence was not large, and the interest of their owners was not among the originators of that struggle ; for the largest slave-holders of the country shrank from the risk of the movement, and opposed it till it became too strong to be withstood. Soon after that struggle, and also for some years later, rumors prevailed in the North that large importations of Africans had been almost openly made into Texas, though the Constitution of the Republic forbade the introduction of slaves, except from the United States. The report was not wholly without foundation, but was greatly exaggerated. The few smugglings of Africans really made came by way of Cuba, and consisted of slaves just landed on that island. One of the first piracies of this kind was conducted by the notorious Monroe Edwards, who afterward died in one of the penitentiaries of this State ; and two other enterprises of similar character were about the same time carried out by men who acquired less notoriety. Of these affairs, one, I think, took place before the revolt, the others during its incipient stage, when the country was virtually in a state of anarchy. A few years after the Republic was established, but while its means of vigilance were weak, two or three other importations were made. These, I think, were the only introductions of Africans or of slaves from any other country than the United States ever made into Texas. None were made with the connivance of authority, and the whole number of negroes thus introduced probably did not exceed six hundred, less than had been at an earlier day smuggled into Florida. The people of Texas generally, though not zealous against such acts, were not in favor of them. There never was a time, since the divine institution existed, when some Yankee skippers could not have been found to smuggle in, and some South-

ern planters to buy, kidnapped Africans, if it could be done with as much safety as profit; for our national god, the almighty dollar, never took so demoralizing a shape as when embodied in the "nigger." But in the time I speak of, the extreme worshippers of the black idol formed a minority. The repugnance felt by the North for the infamous traffic was then largely shared by the South; but the feeling died rapidly away under the irrepressible conflict, and I fear it was nearly dead when our civil war commenced.

The treatment of the Anglo-American population of Texas by the Mexican Government, up to the time of Santa Anna's usurpation, was on the whole kind and indulgent. The feeling of that people toward that government was not hostile, but was restive and distrustful. There could be little faith in administrations known to be corrupt in all financial matters, and subject to periodical subversion. This unsettled feeling, quickened perhaps by designing men, drew the people of Texas, in 1832, into taking part in a civil conflict of Mexico so effectively that they captured from their garrisons three military posts, those of Velasco, Anahuac, and Nacogdoches, the former after a gallant fight on both sides; but in this movement the Texans happened to be on the winning side, and it passed off without doing them injury.

The frequent assertion that the colonizers of Texas went to that country with a deliberate design to steal it from the nation which gave them the use of it, may apply with some truth to a few far-seeing leaders and many idle adventurers, but not to the industrious masses. Most of the American settlers no doubt indulged vague visions of eventual annexation, but they felt willing to make the best of their union with Mexico, in the hope that a separate State Government would ere long afford them all reasonable facilities for home rule and local law.

That body of people during their colonial era would compare well in character, and still better as to intelligence and manners, with most of our frontier populations. They formed a community where door-locks were viewed as superfluities, whether bowie-knives were or not, and where every man's cattle were safe, whether the owner were or not. The lazy loafer and genteel sponge were not unknown, but had not degenerated into the latter-day tramp. In the colonial era, and in that of the Republic, duels now and then occurred, but were not so rife as they then were in some of our States. Since annexation created a State Constitution, however, a stringent oath, required of all who accept office, has put an end to old-fashioned duelling in Texas, and nothing worse than street fights and assassination has taken its place. If accurate statistics could be obtained, I believe it would be found that, in proportion to population, murder was far less frequent, and

was committed with less impunity in Texas during the early periods than it is now, and it is certain that highway robbery, now so rife, was then unknown. The state of society then was of a kind to be found only in a new country where climate, fertility, and general conditions made life easy and the habitual temper genial. I have heard old settlers, when in candid mood, own that colonial times were happier than those of the Republic. The frequent clouds of apprehension during the former weighed more lightly than the burdens and trials of the latter.

In 1835, Santa Anna, then President of Mexico, made use of the military power his position gave him to subvert the Federal Constitution of 1824, and convert his country into a Central Republic, he still retaining the Presidency, with dictatorial powers added to the office, ostensibly for the time being, but meant by him to be permanent. After distributing his garrisons skilfully, he initiated his design by drawing forth, from every locality and section he could overawe, what purported to be popular declarations in favor of the change he contemplated, all ending with supplications that he would adopt and lead the movement, and give effect to its object. None of those calls were spontaneous or sincere; yet only one State, Zacatecas, took any stand against the change which amounted to resistance. He moved promptly with a strong force against that State, defeated its troops, and captured its capital.

Santa Anna, not long before his movement began, gave to Stephen F. Austin an inkling of what he intended, by observing that Mexico must have a stronger and a cheaper government. Mexico, indeed, had committed a fearful blunder in seeking to imitate the United States. The latter adopted the federative principle to unite what was divided, while the former took it up to divide what was united. Santa Anna saw through the blunder, but the people did not. Could he have made the change he sought with their real consent, it would have been a wise one, but the way in which it was effected made it a barefaced usurpation. It was a death-blow to the dearest hope of Texas, that of having an autonomy of her own. Lack of numbers had up to this time kept her out of the rank of States, and now the rank itself was abolished. It gives a half comic aspect to the case that, although too weak for a State, self-preservation soon compelled her to swell up into a nation.

Texas was now filled with agitation, which did not yet amount to insurrection, a peril which the sober-minded majority still hoped to avoid. She had given in no formal submission to the change of government, nor did she yet resist it; and she had no organization through which protest or resistance could take action. Being a mere geographical section of a State,

she had no representative body, and Don Lorenzo Zavala, the Mexican refugee patriot, whose history I have already sketched, suggested that such an assemblage should be improvised, in the best way it might be, as a substitute for the suppressed legislature of the State whereof Texas was an un-submissive portion. Action on this suggestion, which created the body called the Consultation, was the nearest approach that was made to a movement of State sovereignty, to which ignorant politicians were wont to liken the revolution of Texas. Of the action of the Consultation I have spoken in former articles. The revolt of Texas was the rising of a feeble frontier province against a governmental change to which an extensive country had submitted, with no other than local resistance, and generally without strong local protest; and very plausible argument might be urged against the right of Texas to make a movement so presumptuous; but I have already endeavored to show that the insurgents, from their own point of view, were fully justified in the action they took by the situation in which they were placed. The Consultation, as I have related, provided for a convention, which met, declared independence, framed a constitution, and then, before its ink was dry, fled for their lives. The declaration was a weak document, because it used many words when but few were needed; but the organic law was better than many which have been framed under less distracting circumstances. It did not provide for a powerless executive or an elective judiciary, but in the legislative branch it followed the error of all of our States in creating two Houses of Representatives, instead of making one of them a true Senate. When both branches of the legislative body are elected by the same constituency to represent precisely the same element, it would be cheaper to have but one. Simplicity merits the preference when nothing is gained by complexity, as would be done by giving a separate voice to the reflective and to the impulsive element of the community.

My earlier articles have given an outline of the revolt of Texas, its early successes, later disasters, and final triumph. I have in my last related in some detail the campaign of 1836, whose shifting scenes ended with a fullness of dramatic catastrophe seldom equalled by fiction on the mimic stage. Stepping over those events, I take up the narrative at the time of Houston's departure for New Orleans, when he left Texas free of invaders and Santa Anna still a prisoner.

The Government of Texas, after the victory of San Jacinto, had emerged from its insular place of refuge, and, after a brief sojourn in Houston's camp, repaired to Velasco, a hamlet at the mouth of the Brazos, where it went into feeble operation. This was the sixth place of its encampment since the revolution broke out. A few months later it removed to

Columbia, a place some twenty miles up the river, and thence, early the next year, to the new town of Houston. Two years later its location was changed to the newer city of Austin, where, with one interruption, it has remained ever since.

David G. Burnet, the Provisional and First President of Texas, was elected for the provisional term of one year by the convention which framed the constitution. He was a native of New Jersey, a gentleman and scholar, a sincere patriot and devout Christian, and, withal, a good hater, especially of Sam Houston, who reciprocated the passion. Though eloquent, and in some things sagacious, and in many ways gifted, Burnet was better endowed with every other kind of sense than hard common sense.

At the time on which I am now entering, Filozoli had effected in safety the retreat for which Houston had bargained with Santa Anna. He was nearly over the Rio Grande, and no Mexican troops remained in the inhabited parts of Texas, except the prisoners, who, in the course of a year, were all released, when all of those who belonged to the ranks remained voluntarily in the country. At Velasco, where Santa Anna was held a prisoner of State, President Burnet, about five weeks after the battle, gave a finish to Houston's expedient by making, with the captive President of Mexico, what was called a treaty. Though I have already mentioned this affair, it may not be amiss to refer to it more fully. By the provisions of the compact the powerless prisoner acknowledged the independence of Texas, with the Rio Grande for its southwestern boundary, and pledged himself, on being released, to exert what authority and influence he might have left, to secure the acceptance of these terms by the Mexican Government. Though there was now ample reason for the liberation, and the treaty could do no harm, it seems strange that any one who knew aught of Santa Anna and of Mexico could have hoped for anything from this personal agreement; yet Burnet was sanguine of its complete success. "In six months our consular flag will be flying in the City of Mexico," he exultingly exclaimed, on June 1st, when Santa Anna bade him adieu, and went on board the Texan schooner *Invincible* to sail for Vera Cruz. Unfortunately for the testing of the experiment, a local popular feeling against it was made effective by the protest of a body of volunteers lately arrived from New Orleans, and then encamped at Velasco. Their commander, Gen. Jeff. Green, though he had been but a few days in the country, was willing to take charge of its State affairs. A strong reaction against the sparing of Santa Anna had set in among the ruffianly element of Texas, which was willing to turn the captive over to the hangman after all the use had been made of him that could be, and the fresh volunteers from abroad, who were now taking the place of the

soldiers of San Jacinto, caught the feeling. It proved so strong at Velasco that the President was coerced into breaking his pledge and revoking his order for embarkation ; and, when Santa Anna refused to land, he was brought on shore by Gen. Green with force of arms. Fortunately for the credit of Texas no other violence than this was committed. If Burnet's hopes were not sagacious, the opposition to his intent was neither sensible nor honorable. Houston himself had done away with all right to make the prisoner an object of punishment or reprisal. If the sparing of him was a fault, his execution now would be a crime. He was already a burden on the country—the hyena had grown into an elephant ; his liberation now could at least do no harm, and if a pledge were coupled with it, the only benefit from it to be hoped for was in letting him reach his home before his influence there had all evaporated. The affair shows how dangerous the condition of a community is when too much sovereignty is floating loosely about ; and it is worthy of remembrance, because it became the basis of the shallowest of fallacies in the U. S. Congress as well as in the press. One of the pleas set up, after annexation, for the boundary of the Rio Grande, was this treaty made with an individual while in bonds, and broken by the makers of it before he had time to act on his pledge.

Santa Anna's captivity continued about six months longer, when Houston, after he became President, got rid of the elephant by an unconditional liberation. Considering the weakness of authority and the state of society in Texas, it reflects no little credit on that country that the pledge of leaders and a feeble guard were sufficient to keep the captive in safety up to that time.

Santa Anna's history abounds in those anomalies of fact, which, if introduced into fiction, would make it seem absurdly improbable. His ferocious course in Texas was not in harmony with his previous career which had not been marked by inhumanity. His career in the field was at times highly successful, yet he often showed a lack of personal bravery and sagacity. During successive periods of one, two, or more years, he exercised a control, almost absolute, over a country in which no intelligent person believed in his honesty or patriotism ; every fall he met with, it was supposed, would send him final obscurity ; yet till energy of body and mind were subdued by age, he evinced a capacity for recuperation which has seldom clung to a wiser leader and purer patriot.

General Houston returned to Texas as early as his condition permitted, and was soon after elected to the first term of the regular Presidency, Mirabeau B. Lamar being chosen Vice-President. Zavala did not live out that eventful year, and his death was in a few months followed by that of Gen,



Austin. Burnet did not serve out his full term, but resigned in October, 1836, when Houston was inaugurated. The term of the first regular President was two years, all succeeding terms to be three, and no one could serve two consecutive terms.

The battle of San Jacinto broke the power of Mexico for offensive warfare, for that disaster awakened revolutionary elements which taxed the resources of the country to keep them down, and no invasion of Texas worthy of the name thereafter occurred. A formidable expedition in that direction was long contemplated by Mexico; but with distractions and misgovernment she grew so rapidly weaker that every effort failed. During the few years between Houston's victory and annexation, raids were made by Texas against Mexico, as well by the latter against the former: they served only to show that offensive operations were hopeless to both, but most disastrous to the feebler of the two. The safety of the new Republic was owing, not to her own wisdom or discretion, but to the weakness of her enemy, and an abnormal source of growth in the migration from the United States. Yet, in spite of this prop, had Mexico possessed power proportionate to her numbers and natural resources, Texas must soon have been crushed; and had the war been conducted according to civilized rules, foreign intervention would not have saved her.

About five months after Houston's inauguration the independence of Texas was acknowledged by the United States, and this act lifted the new Republic from the pariah condition of a mere insurrectionary population, with no status of authority which could be recognized beyond her own borders. One government, and that the most potent of the New World, now saluted her as having entered the sisterhood of nations. The outcome of events showed that about the same time Mexico's real hope of conquest died within her, though she would not yet own it to herself, nor for several years own it to the world. Here, then, with the immediate results of colonial revolt, this article may fitly end, as it is penned to introduce another, to which I referred in the beginning.

R. M. POTTER

<sup>1</sup> *Texa*, or *Teja* (two modes of spelling with the same sound), is a word current among miners and smelters for a rough piece of silver or other metal, formed by pouring it out on the ground when molten; and the addition of *s* forms the plural. But as Texas probably received the name before any mining was there attempted, and has never been much of a mining country, the name could hardly have originated from the Spanish meaning of the word.

## WHALE-BOAT PRIVATEERSMEN OF THE REVOLUTION

There was one phase of our revolutionary struggle peculiar in itself, and as interesting as a romance because of the skill, heroism and enterprise it developed, which historians have failed to limn in striking and positive colors, partly, perhaps, because the necessary data were difficult to obtain, and partly because the subject was not deemed of sufficient importance to justify so great an expenditure of labor. I refer to the whale-boat warfare waged chiefly between the Tories of Long Island and the Whigs of the seaboard towns of Connecticut, and carried on across the waters of the narrow sound that separated the hostile parties. This warfare began with the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, continued to the peace of 1783, and affected the entire coasts of both communities, from Stamford to New London on the Connecticut shore, and from Throgg's Neck to Sag Harbor on the Long Island coast. The Cowboys and Skinners of the lower Hudson were organized gangs of plunderers, who harried friend and foe impartially. The warfare between Staten Island and the New Jersey shore was largely a neighborhood skirmish, the partisan warfare at the south a conflict of clans; but the whale-boat service of the Sound combined the characteristics of all three, and to these added several peculiar features of its own, such as spying on the enemy, trading in goods declared contraband by the British, and abducting prominent gentlemen to be held as hostages or for exchange. As for the origin of this peculiar service, it is found in the political condition of the two communities at the outbreak of hostilities, and in the organizations known as whaling companies, which could be employed only in a predatory, intermittent warfare. Connecticut was intensely Puritan and republican; Long Island, settled by the conservative Dutch and by English gentlemen whose sympathies were entirely with the mother country, was as intensely monarchical and loyal. The guns of Lexington made these two communities bitter enemies.

The whaling companies of which mention has been made had existed all along shore, on both sides of the Sound, from the earliest times, and were very perfect organizations in their way. They were originally formed for the capture of whales, at one time as plentiful in the Sound as later in Delagoa Bay or on the Brazil Banks. Even the Indians were

engaged in their pursuit, and a law was passed as early as 1708 for their protection from any molestation or detention while thus employed. A company comprised from twelve to thirty men, each owning its boats and whaling gear, and prosecuting its enterprise independently of the others. The business long neglected was renewed by Robert Murray and the brothers Franklin, who fitted out a sloop in 1768. In 1772 the vessels were exempted from tonnage dues, and 1774 the United Whaling Company was formed with Philip Livingston for its President. It seems to have been closed in July, 1776, by such of the members as remained in the city of New York. The business had nearly died out at the beginning of the Revolution, yet the company organizations were still retained, and the outbreak of hostilities found little squads of men all along shore thoroughly equipped and drilled for a partisan service. No general combination seems to have been effected; the Tories usually acting under commissions from the British authorities, and the Whigs as a part of the militia of their State. The objects of the different expeditions, as before hinted, were various; sometimes they took the form of reprisals on the enemy, sometimes they carried spies, who penetrated the hostile ranks, and returned with valuable information. Again, they captured prominent persons, who were held as hostages or as prisoners of war. Sometimes they were expeditions against the enemy's war vessels, garrisoned posts or military supplies, and not infrequently, it is to be feared, they degenerated into mere plundering excursions.

Having thus glanced at the pre-existing conditions of the warfare, it will be interesting to consider in detail some of the more noteworthy exploits of these hardy privateersmen. First, and perhaps the most remarkable of these, was the expedition of the lamented Capt. Nathan Hale, whose tragic story, often told, seems to gain fresh interest with each recital. Washington, it will be remembered, after his retreat from Long Island, desired a thoroughly competent person to visit the enemy's camp and report his numbers, and plans in full. Captain Hale, young, talented, but two years out of college, the idol of the army, volunteered his services. "I have been nearly a year in the service without doing anything of moment for my country, and now that an opportunity offers I dare not refuse," he said in answer to the remonstrances of his friends. Washington accepted the sacrifice, and the chivalrous young patriot at once began preparations for the enterprise. To cross over directly from New York to Brooklyn into the enemy's camp would court discovery, but to pass eastward into some of the Connecticut towns, thence cross the Sound by means of the whale-boat

service, and so approach the hostile camp from among its friends, offered a fair prospect of success ; and this plan Captain Hale adopted. He chose Fairfield, Conn., as his point of departure. This town was then one of the first importance, and exerted as much influence in State affairs as either New Haven or Hartford. It was the centre of the republican cause in Western Connecticut, and, as will be seen, the nucleus of the whale-boat service, expeditions radiating from it in all directions except landward, like spokes from a hub. The ancient town was already in arms, its two militia companies were fully armed and equipped, a patrol of twenty seamen guarded the coast nightly from sunset to sunrise against Tory incursions, and two whale-boat crews had already been out spying the enemy's movements and harrassing him whenever an opportunity offered. Captain Hale arrived in the town on the 14th of September, 1776, bearing a letter from General Washington, instructing any of the American armed vessels to speed his passage across the Sound. Presenting this letter to the town Committee of Safety, a whale-boat and its crew were at once put in requisition, and that same night he was safely and secretly conveyed to the island, and reached Huntington early next morning, from which place he succeeded in penetrating the British lines. His subsequent movements and sad fate are too well known to need recapitulation here. After this episode no further action of importance is found in the annals of the service until the August of 1777. In the beginning of that year a company of Tories, under Colonel Richard Hewlett, took possession of the old Presbyterian Church in Brookhaven on Long Island, nearly opposite Fairfield, and proceeded to fortify it, surrounding it with a stockade and other defensive works. Early in August Colonel Abraham Parsons, who later rose to the command of a brigade in General Putnam's division, began collecting a force in Fairfield for the reduction of this novel fortress. Having mustered one hundred and fifty men, provided with muskets and one brass six-pounder, he embarked from Black Rock Harbor in Fairfield in a sloop and six whale-boats for the purpose of capturing the Tory stronghold. It was the evening of the 14th of August, 1777, and before daybreak next morning they had landed at Crane Neck Bend, near the village. Here leaving their boats, they marched quickly to the church, dragging the six-pounder through the sands. Arrived at a proper distance, the detachment halted, and a flag of truce was sent to Colonel Hewlett, demanding an unconditional surrender. This being refused, fire was opened at once, and returned in a spirited manner by the besieged. Before anything could be accom-

plished, however, word was brought that a British fleet was sailing down the Sound, and fearing that his retreat might be cut off, Colonel Parsons ordered his detachment to the boats. They reembarked in good order and reached Black Rock the same evening, bringing with them no trophies except a few of the enemy's horses and some military stores. For the next year and a half the whale-boat service was chiefly employed in spying on the enemy, cutting off his unarmed vessels, making plundering incursions into his lines, and harrassing him in much the same manner that the gad-fly torments the ox. Indeed, such was their enterprise, that no royalist on Long Island considered himself safe without an armed guard, and most of the British officers on the island repaired to New York and Brooklyn for protection.

In the spring of 1779 Sir Henry Clinton determined to pay off the Connecticut privateersmen in their own coin. General Gold Selleck Silliman, a descendant of an old Connecticut family, was then living at Holland Hill, a fine old country seat in the town of Fairfield, about two miles out of the village. He was one of the most prominent Whigs in his section. After the battle of Long Island, and before the army moved from New York, General Washington had given him the command of a brigade. Later Governor Trumbull made him his deputy in consultations with the Commander-in-Chief, and there is still extant a long letter from Washington to him, on matters connected with the army, written while he was acting in this capacity. He had been trained to the law, and as a delegate to the Continental Congress had done good service for the people. At the time of which I write he was a member of the town's Committee of Inspection and Correspondence, and had been appointed by the Governor and Council commander of all the State forces in the vicinity of Fairfield, his house at Holland Hill being retained as his headquarters. General Clinton now determined on his capture. He selected a man named Glover, a Tory refugee, formerly of Newtown, who had once worked for the General and knew him well, with eight other refugees, for this purpose. The party left Lloyd-Neck, L. I., in a whale-boat on the evening of the first of May, and reached Fairfield about midnight, when, leaving one man to guard the boat, the others surrounded the Silliman mansion and began rapping for admission. The journal of Mrs. Silliman contains so graphic an account of the attack and abduction that it is given in her own words:

“At a midnight hour, when we were all asleep, the house was attacked. I was first awakened by the General's calling out, ‘Who's there?’ At that instant there

was a banging at both doors, they intending to break them down or burst them open—and this was done with great stones as big almost as they could lift, which they left at the door. My dear companion then sprang up, caught his gun and ran to the front of the house, and as the moon shone brightly saw them through the window, and attempted to fire, but his gun only flashed and missed fire. At that instant the enemy burst in a window, sash and all, jumped in, seized him and said he was their prisoner, and must go with them. He asked if he might dress himself. They said yes, if he would be quick. They followed him into the bed-room, where I and my dear little boy lay, with their guns and bayonets fixed; their appearance was dreadful; it was then their prisoner addressed them in mild terms and begged them to leave the room, and told them their being there would frighten his wife. They then withdrew for a moment or two, and then returned, when he asked them out again and shut the door. After that I heard them breaking the windows, which they wantonly did with the breeches of their guns. They then asked him for his money; he told them he had none but continental, and that would do them no good. Then they wished his papers. He said his public papers were all sent abroad, and his private papers would be of no use to them. Then some wanted one thing and some another. He told them mildly he hoped he was in the hands of gentlemen, and that it was not their purpose to plunder. With these arguments he quieted them so that they plundered but little. They then told him he must go. He asked if he might take leave of his wife. They said yes if he would make haste—he then came in and dropped a bundle of his most valuable private papers under something on the table, took leave of me with great seeming fortitude and composure, and went away with them. As soon as I heard the door shut I arose and went to the bed-room of our son William, and found he was gone, although I did not hear any of them taking him. I then went to the door, and saw them bearing away their prisoners. I then went to inform those at the next house, when they fired a gun, which frightened the enemy very much, as they had not got above a quarter of a mile from our house. They took them down about two miles to their whaleboat, where they had left one man, and proceeded on their journey to Long Island. I heard nothing more from them in three weeks. After three weeks I received a letter from the General informing me where he was. I think they were then at Flatbush on Long Island. In that he told me where to send my letters to him for inspection, as no letters were suffered to pass without.

\* \* \* Nine men came over in the boat. They embarked between the hours of one and two o'clock Sabbath morning, and had a boisterous time over. They took a fusee, a pair of elegant pistols inlaid with silver, and an elegant sword which one of them who had worked at our house took much pleasure in flourishing about, and he it was who piloted them. On arriving at (Lloyd-Neck) Long Island they were hailed by Col. Simcoe, who commanded there, 'Have you got him?' 'Yes.' 'Have you lost any men?' 'No.' 'That's well,' said Simcoe. 'Your Sillimans and your Washingtons are not worth a man.' He then ordered his men to the

guard house with the prisoner. Said the General 'Am I going to the guard house?' 'Yes!' When they came there, he said to the adjutant, 'Is it thus you treat prisoners of my rank?' He said, 'We do not look on you as we should on a continental General.' 'But how will you view me when an exchange is talked of?' 'I understand you, Sir,' and walked out, as I suppose, to report to his commanding officer. Soon after a horse and carriage was sent to bring them to New York, guarded by a corps of dragoons. On his arrival all flocked to see the rebel. They gave him good lodgings until he was ordered to Flatbush, where he remained until exchanged for Judge Jones."

This bold abduction excited the liveliest commotion, not only in the town but throughout the State, and led to redoubled vigilance on the part of the coast guard, which had somewhat slackened in watchfulness as the days passed on and no enemy appeared. Negotiations were at once opened with the enemy for an exchange of their prisoner, but it was soon found that the Americans had no one in their possession whom the British would consider an equivalent for the General. In nowise disconcerted, however, the hardy privateersmen determined on capturing some person of equal rank, and began casting about for a prisoner. There was then living at Fort Neck, a village in the town of Oyster Bay, Long Island, the Hon. Thomas Jones, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of New York, a staunch royalist; this gentleman was selected as a proper subject for their enterprise. Through the golden autumn days a plan was slowly matured in the village. Captain David Hawley, one of the most skillful captains in the service, aided by Captains Lockwood and Jones, quietly enlisted twenty-five of the bravest men in their commands, and on the evening of the 4th of November, 1779, set off in whale-boats from Newfield (now Bridgeport) Harbor. A few hours brought them across the Sound, and into Stony Brook Creek near Smithtown, where they disembarked and at once set out for the Judge's residence, fifty-two miles distant. They arrived there about nine o'clock on the evening of the 6th. A merry party had assembled at the mansion, music and dancing were in progress, and the noise effectually prevented the approach of the party from being heard. Captain Hawley knocked at the door, but perceiving that no one heard him, forced it, entered and found Judge Jones standing in the hall. Telling the Judge that he was his prisoner, he forced him to depart with him, together with a young man named Hewlett. According to the journal above quoted, the party met with several adventures on their return to the boats. At one place they had to pass a guard of soldiers posted near the road. Here the Judge hemmed

very loud, whereupon Captain Hawley forbade him to repeat the sound. He, however, repeated it, but on being told that a repetition would be attended by fatal consequences he desisted, and the picket was passed in safety. When day broke the adventurers concealed themselves in a thick forest until nightfall, and then resumed their journey. They reached their boats on the third night, and crossed to Black Rock with their prisoners, having met with no mishap except the loss of six men, who, having lagged behind on the third night, were captured by the light horse which closely pursued them. Mrs. Silliman, a most amiable and accomplished lady, hearing of the Judge's arrival, sent him an invitation to breakfast, which he accepted, and during his stay in Fairfield he was the guest of the mansion, its fair mistress doing all in her power to make his situation agreeable; yet we are told that he remained distant, reserved and sullen. After several days he was removed to Middletown on the Connecticut, and negotiations were again opened for an exchange. It was six months, however, before the British would accept the terms proposed; but at length, in May, 1780, they agreed that if a certain notorious refugee, named Washburn, could be included in the exchange, they would release General Silliman for Judge Jones, and his son for Mr. Hewlett. A very pleasant incident of the transfer of the prisoners is recorded. The vessel bearing General Silliman met the one conveying Judge Jones in the middle of the Sound, whereupon the vessels were brought to, and the gentlemen dined amicably together, after which they proceeded to their respective homes.

A little more than a year elapsed, and then the village was stirred by the departure of another expedition, bound on a still more hazardous service. It consisted of eighty men, part of them dismounted dragoons from Colonel Sheldon's regiment, and was under the command of Major, afterwards Colonel, Benjamin Tallmadge, who will be remembered as attending Major André at the scaffold, and afterwards as a representative in Congress from Connecticut for sixteen years. The object of the expedition was Fort St. George, erected on a point projecting into the Great South Bay at Mastic, L. I. The party embarked at Fairfield November 21, 1780, at 4 P. M., in eight whale-boats. "They crossed the Sound in four hours, and landed at Old-Man's at nine o'clock. The troops had marched about five miles, when, it beginning to rain, they returned and took shelter under their boats, and lay concealed in the bushes all that night and the next day. At evening, the rain abating, the troops were again put in motion, and at



three o'clock in the morning were within two miles of the fort. Here he divided his men into three parties, ordering each to attack the fort at the same time at different points. The order was so well executed that the three divisions arrived nearly at the same time. It was a triangular inclosure of several acres, thoroughly stockaded, well barricaded houses at two of the angles, and at the third a fort, with a deep ditch and wall, encircled by an abattis of sharpened pickets projecting at an angle of forty-five degrees. The stockade was cut down, the column led through the grand parade, and in ten minutes the main fort was carried by the bayonet. The vessels near the fort, laden with stores, attempted to escape, but the guns of the fort being brought to bear upon them, they were secured and burnt, as were the works and stores. The number of prisoners was fifty-four, of whom seven were wounded. While they marched to the boats under an escort, Major Tallmadge proceeded with the remainder of the detachment, destroyed about three hundred tons of hay collected at Corum, and returned to the place of debarkation just as the party with the prisoners arrived, and reached Fairfield by eleven o'clock the same evening, having accomplished the enterprise, including a march of forty miles by land and as much by water, without the loss of a man."

For this exploit Major Tallmadge was honored with an autograph letter of thanks from General Washington, and with a complimentary resolution from Congress. It was not the first nor the last time that this gallant officer made use of the whale-boat service to annoy the enemy. Very early in the war he had opened a secret correspondence for Washington with the Whigs of Long Island, and kept one or more boats constantly employed in this service. In 1777 a band of Tory marauders had established themselves, under the protection of a strongly fortified post erected by the British, on an elevated promontory, between Huntington and Oyster Bay, whence they would steal out in their boats and commit depredations on the Connecticut coast. Tallmadge, learning of the retreat of this horde of bandits, determined to break it up, and on the 5th of September, 1777, embarked with 130 men at Shippon's Point, near Stamford, at eight o'clock in the evening, landed at Lloyd's Neck, captured the entire party, and returned to Stamford before morning dawned; and again in October, 1781, he embarked his forces at Norwalk and captured and burned Fort Slongo at Tredwell's Bank, near Smithtown, bringing off a number of prisoners and a piece of artillery.

Captain Caleb Brewster of Fairfield was another Continental officer who figures largely in the records of the whale-boat service. In 1781

he captured an armed boat with her crew on the Sound, and brought both safely into Fairfield, and on the 7th of December, 1782, was the hero of one of the most famous and desperate encounters of the privateersmen, which is still spoken of in Fairfield as the "boat fight." On the morning of that day several of the enemy's armed boats were seen proceeding down the Sound, and Captain Brewster, with his hardy veterans, at once put out from Fairfield to intercept them. Forcing his boats into the midst of the enemy's fleet, a hand to hand conflict ensued, so deadly that in twenty minutes nearly every man on both sides was either killed or wounded, the gallant captain himself being pierced by a rifle ball through the shoulder. Two of the enemy's boats were captured in this affair, the others succeeding in making their escape. This gallant act brought the captain the plaudits of his countrymen, and a pension for life from Congress. In a year his wound had so far recovered that he was ready for active service again, and took command of an expedition for capturing the Fox, a British armed vessel that had been stationed in the Sound to prevent the roaming of the privateersmen, and had long been a source of annoyance to them. On a dark night—the 9th of March, 1783—the boats left Fairfield, and stealing upon the Fox as she lay at anchor, captain and men leaped on board with fixed bayonets, and in two minutes the vessel was at their mercy. Captain Johnson of the Fox and two of his men were killed and several wounded, while of the patriots not a person was injured. After the war Captain Brewster was commander of the revenue cutter of the district of New York for a number of years. He died at Black Rock, Fairfield, February 13, 1827, aged seventy-nine years.

But the operations of the whale-boatmen were not always of an offensive character; they were sometimes obliged to act on the defensive—but generally, even in such cases, with credit to themselves. Early in March, 1780, a band of seven men, commanded by one Alexander Graham, a deserter from the American army, but who then bore a commission from General Howe, authorizing him to recruit Connecticut Tories for the British army, landed on the coast at or near Branford, and marched inland to the house of Captain Ebenezer Dayton in Bethany, a merchant, who had been obliged to flee from Long Island to escape the persecutions of the Tories. In the absence of the captain they broke into the house, and destroyed or carried off nearly five thousand pounds worth of property. From this place they proceeded to Middlebury, where they were secreted in the cellar of a Tory family for several days, and afterward to Oxford, where they lay sev-

eral days longer in a barn. At length, leaving their retreat here, they passed through Derby, and down the Housatonic to Stratford, where they took a whale-boat and set out for Long Island. Their passage through Derby had been discovered, however, and two whale-boats with their crews, under command of Captains Clarke and Harvey, started in pursuit, and after a brisk chase succeeded in overhauling the marauders just as they were entering the British lines. They were brought back in triumph, tried and condemned, Graham, the commander, to be hung, and the others to the tender mercies of the old Newgate.

No unimportant place in the annals of the whale-boat service of the Revolution belongs to Captain Marriner of Harlem and Captain Hyler of New Brunswick. In an old time-stained copy of the Naval Magazine, printed nearly sixty years ago, is to be found a very interesting and gossipy account of these famous chieftains, communicated by General Jeremiah Johnson, himself a revolutionary veteran and privy to the facts which he relates. I give the article nearly entire:

"Hyler and Marriner cruised between Egg Harbor and Staten Island. Hyler took several ships and levied contributions on the New York fishermen on the fishing banks. He frequently visited Long Island. He took a Hessian Major at night from the house of Michael Bergen at Gowanus, when his soldiers were encamped near the house. He surprised and took a sergeant's guard at Canarsie from the house of their Captain, Schenck. The guards were at supper, and their muskets standing in the hall, when Hyler entered with his men. He seized the arms, and after jesting with the guards, he *borrowed* the silver spoons for his family; took a few other articles, with all the muskets, and made one prisoner. He sent the guard to report themselves to Colonel Axtell, and returned to New Jersey. Capt. Hyler also paid a visit to Colonel Lott at Flatlands. The Colonel was known to be rich; his money and his person were the objects desired. He was surprised in his house and taken. His cupboard was searched for money, and some silver found; and, on further search, two bags supposed to contain guineas were discovered. These, with the silver, the colonel and two of his negroes, were taken to New Brunswick. In the morning, on the passage up the Raritan, the captain and crew agreed to count and divide the guineas. The bags were opened, when, to the mortification of the crew, they found the bags contained only half-pennies belonging to the church of Flatlands; and the colonel also discovered that his guineas were safe at home. The crew were disappointed in their Scotch prize. They, however, determined to make the most of the adventure; they took the Colonel and his negroes to New Brunswick, where they compelled him to ransom his negroes, and then permitted him to return home on parole. Capt. Hyler also took a corvette of twenty guns about nine o'clock at night in Coney Island

Bay. The ship lay at anchor, bound for Halifax, to complete her crew. The night was dark ; one of the boats with muffled oars was rowed up close under the stern of the ship, where the officers were to be seen at a game of cards in the cabin, and no watch on deck. The spy-boat then fell astern to her consort and reported, when orders were passed to board. The boats were rowed up silently—the ship boarded instantly on both sides—and not a man was injured. The officers were confined in the cabin and the crew below. The captain ordered the officers and crew to be taken out of the ship, well fettered and placed in the whale-boats. Afterwards a few articles were taken from the ship and she was set on fire, when Capt. Hyler left her with his prisoners for New Brunswick.

“My informant, one of the men who took the ship, stated that the captain of the corvette wept as they were crossing the Bay, and reproached himself for permitting one of his Majesty’s ships to be surprised and taken by ‘two d—d egg shells,’ and he added that there were \$40,000 on board the burning vessel, which Captain Hyler and his crew deserved for their gallant enterprise. The booty however was lost.

“After the notorious refugee Lippincott had barbarously murdered Captain Huddy at Sandy Hook, General Washington was very anxious to have the murderer secured. He had been demanded from the British general and his surrender refused. Retaliation was decided on by General Washington. Young Asgill was to be the innocent victim to atone for the death of Capt. Huddy. He was saved by the mediation of the Queen of France. Capt. Hyler determined to take Lippincott. On inquiry he found that he resided in a well known house in Broad street, New York. Dressed and equipped like a man-of-war press-gang, he left the Kills with one boat after dark, and arrived at Whitehall about nine o’clock. Here he left his boat in charge of three men, and then passed to the residence of Lippincott, where he inquired for him, and found he was absent and gone to a cockpit. Captain Hyler thus failed in the object of his pursuit and visit to the city. He returned to his boat with his press-gang, and left Whitehall ; but finding a sloop lying at anchor off the Battery—from the West Indies laden with rum, he took the vessel, cut her cable, set her sails, and with a north-east wind sailed to Elizabethtown Point, and before daylight had landed from her, and secured, forty hogsheads of rum. He then burned the sloop to prevent her re-capture.

Captain Marriner resided many years at Harlem and on Ward’s Island after the war. He was a man of eccentric character, witty and ingenious, and abounding in anecdotes ; but he had his faults. He had been taken by the British, was on parole in King’s County and quartered with Rem Van Pelt of New Utrecht. The prisoners among the officers had the liberty of the four southern towns of the county. Many of them frequented Dr. Van Buren’s Tavern in Flatbush. Here our captain’s sarcastic wit in conversation with Major Sherbrook of the British army led to abusive language from the Major to the prisoner. After some time Marriner was exchanged, when he determined to capture Major Sherbrook, Col-

onel Matthews (Mayor of New York), Colonel Axtell and a Major Bache, who all resided in Flatbush, were noted and abusive Tories, and obnoxious to the American officers. For the purpose of carrying his design into execution, he repaired to New Brunswick and procured a whale-boat. This he manned with a crew of well armed volunteers, with whom he proceeded to New Utrecht, and landed on the beach at Bath, about half-past nine o'clock in the evening. Leaving two men in charge of the boat, with the rest of the crew he marched unmolested to Flatbush church, where he divided his men into four squads, assigning a house to each; each party or squad was provided with a heavy post to break in the doors. All was silent in the village. Captain Marriner selected the house of George Martence, where his friend, the Major, quartered, for himself; the other parties proceeded to their assigned houses. Time was given to each to arrive at its destination; and it was agreed that when Marriner struck his door, the others were to break in theirs, and repair to the church with their prisoners. The doors were broken at the same time. Marriner found the Major behind a large chimney in the garret where he had hidden himself; and where he surrendered in the presence of his landlady who lit the way for Marriner. The Major was permitted to take his small clothes in his hand, and thus was marched to the church where the parties assembled. Mr. Bache was taken. Cols. Axtell and Matthews being at New York escaped capture. The parties marched with their prisoners unmolested to their boat and returned safe to New Brunswick. This event took place about mid-summer on a fair moonlight night.

“Captain Marriner also paid Simon Cortelyou of New Utrecht a visit; and took him to New Brunswick as a return for his uncivil conduct to the American prisoners. He took his tankard and several articles also which he neglected to return. After Captain Marriner's visit to Flatbush, four inhabitants of New Utrecht were taken separately, and separately imprisoned in the Provost, in New York, on suspicion of having been connected with Marriner in his enterprise, viz., Col. Van Brunt, his brother Adrian Van Brunt, Rem Vanpelt, and his brother Art Vanpelt.”

As the war progressed, the boldness and adventurous spirit of the privateersmen increased, until towards the close, the entrances to New York were in a state of blockade, which even armed vessels did not always attempt to force singly. The Narrows and the Sound swarmed with whale-boats. The fishing industry on which the inhabitants of New York greatly depended for food, and which was a main source of supply to the beleaguered garrison, was almost wholly broken up. The fisheries had always been a matter of concern to the merchants, and annual bounties were paid to the vessels bringing in the largest quantities of deep-sea fish.

The Shrewsbury banks, a favorite fishing ground, and the main source

of supply to the New York market, was jealously watched. In the safe cover of the Shrewsbury river Hyler lay in wait to pounce upon the adventurous or unwary who cast a line or dragged a net within his assumed jurisdiction. Unlike the British admiral on the station, he granted no passes for illicit trade but took his toll in another fashion. On one occasion it is related of him, that he captured two fishing vessels which he ransomed at one hundred dollars each, and within the week recaptured one of the same boats, which had again ventured within his reach. Such was the frequency of these captures that the Tory merchants who revived the Chamber of Commerce during the war, made application to Admiral Arbuthnot for "the protection of the fishermen employed on the banks of Shrewsbury." The Admiral purchased a vessel mounting twelve carriage guns and requested that the city would man her, but the seamen placed little faith in the promises from British naval officers, and hesitated to enter a service, the exit of which was as hopeless as from the Inferno of Dante. The "hot press" was the terror of American sailors before and after the war; indeed, till Hull and Decatur and Preble laid an injunction upon it at the cannon's mouth.

In 1782 similar application was made to Admiral Graves, who had succeeded Arbuthnot on the station, and the intervention of General Robertson, the military commandant of the city, was invoked "to encourage the fishermen to take fish for a supply to this garrison, and that its commerce may not be annoyed by the privateersmen and whaleboats that infest the narrows." The newspapers of 1781 are full of Hyler's exploits, which sometimes reached higher game than fishing smacks. In June he and an associate, Captain Story, in two whaleboats boarded and took the schooner Skip Jack which mounted six carriage guns besides swivels, at high noon, and burned her in sight of the guard ship and the men of war on the station, and on the same cruise carried off three small trading vessels laden with contraband cattle on the way from the Jersey Tories to New York.

Captain Adam Hyler was of New Brunswick. He died in the fall of 1782 and was honorably mentioned in the New Jersey Gazette, "his many heroic and enterprising acts in annoying and distressing the enemy."

The whaleboats used on their excursions were formidable enemies. They were upwards of thirty-five feet long, were rowed with eight oars, carried two heavy sails and were armed with a large swivel. They depended on neither wind nor tide for their progress in pursuit or flight.

After the war Captain Marriner resumed his avocation of tavern keeper, in the course of which he occupied several houses in the village of Harlem, which were in turn a favorite resort of the politicians and military men of the city. He was also largely patronized by the disciples of Isaac Walton, who angled for bass or dropped their line for the tautog in the stirring waters of Hell Gate and its vicinity. The view here given is of a building that stood, until about 1866, at the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street, on the bank of Harlem River, and is drawn from the recollections of Mr. James Riker, the well-known historian. Marriner also figures in history as the caterer who provided the dinner for General Washington and his suite, on their visit to the ruins of Fort Washington in 1790. The Commander-in-Chief refers to the affair in his journal, under date of July 10 of that year.

## CHARLES BURR TODD



## LA SALLE AND THE MISSISSIPPI, 1682-1882

No handsomer compliment can be paid the Father of Waters upon his majestic size than to revive the circumstance that he was not and could not have been discovered all at once. While this distinction may seem, superficially, to be common to all streams of any appreciable length and density, it must be found, upon candid examination, to belong pre-eminently to the Mississippi.

Who first made out and properly named this noble stream? Manifestly the all but equally noble red man. That individual has hitherto failed to receive due credit in the matter of Western fluvial discovery. He has been set upon, driven back, reserved, preserved, and then driven on again, until he long since ceased to be where he was wont; and, the unkindest cut of all is, that, in making his ruthless progress inland, the white man has assumed to himself the honor of having opened up the Continent single-handed, counting the Indian simply a block in his path. This is rank injustice. Shall that great stock of information respecting the interior of America which the Indian tribes had been accumulating for generations, through all their wars, huntings, and migrations, and which they imparted, often so freely, to the early explorers and pioneers, go for nothing in the final rendering of our account with them? How much could Marquette and Joliet and La Salle have accomplished during their sojourn in the Mississippi Valley but for the calumet and the wigwams along their course, which proved to be as sure a set of guide-books as one may find anywhere to-day? The truth is that, whoever may have been the explorers of the Mississippi, much of the weary work they would have been obliged to do had already been done for them by the Indian. The course of the river, the fact that it was the main river, the direction and extent of the numerous tributaries, and other most necessary information, came into their hands continually as they pushed their canoes along its surface. They went forth and verified the red man's report. They found that he had long before appreciated its magnificent proportions, and had given it its true name. The names they gave it successively have happily disappeared, and only that one remains. The red man dignified it, not as the "Father of Waters," but as the great or all water, *Missi* meaning whole, and *sipi*, river. A grand and significant name, too—the "All Water," describing in one word nature's irrigating system for that vast region, and telling of the Indians' full exploration, knowledge, and understanding of it!



In advance of De Soto and La Salle put the forgotten "Lo." Give him, at least, a place on the river-bank as the original sign-board.

The present generation is reminded of the white man's earliest efforts to trace the Mississippi by the celebration to be held at New Orleans on April 9th in honor of La Salle's voyage down, and the discovery of the mouths of the river, two hundred years since. The "teeming millions" of the Valley and, indirectly, the nation at large, are expected to join sympathetically with the Crescent City in the joy of the day. No one can dispute the eminent propriety of observing such an anniversary, especially as for the West it is unique and of the highest interest. Much will be fittingly said by speakers on the occasion in memory of the pioneers of the Mississippi, and in anticipation of the great empire that seems destined to rise along its course and tributaries, but as to the true history of the river itself—the ages it has been rolling to the sea, the changing people and races that have dwelt upon its banks, and the possible civilization that may once have flourished there—the mystery must remain as dense as ever. Could the mouths of the river themselves but speak!

Those first French explorers among the lakes and great rivers of our continent were no common men. La Salle was one of them. Champlain, Nicolet, Marquette, Hennepin, and Joliet had preceded or were contemporary with him, and had assisted in paving the way for his own final success. In reaching the mouths of the Mississippi on April 9, 1682, and establishing the fact, beyond peradventure, that it emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, he represented the progress made by others as well as himself. Leaving out the Spaniard who had seen the Mississippi in the previous century, the first Frenchmen to reach it from the north were the Jesuit missionary, Father Marquette, and Louis Joliet, who had come from France to seek an overland route to the Pacific Ocean. They started forth from the country of the Ottawas on the 17th of May, 1673, providing themselves with two birch canoes, a supply of smoked meat, and Indian corn. They were accompanied by five men. "They had obtained," says Parkman, "all possible information from the Indians, and had made, by means of it, a species of map of their intended route." "Above all," writes Marquette, "I placed our voyage under the protection of the Holy Virgin Immaculate, promising that, if she granted us the favor of discovering the great river, I would give it the name of the Conception."

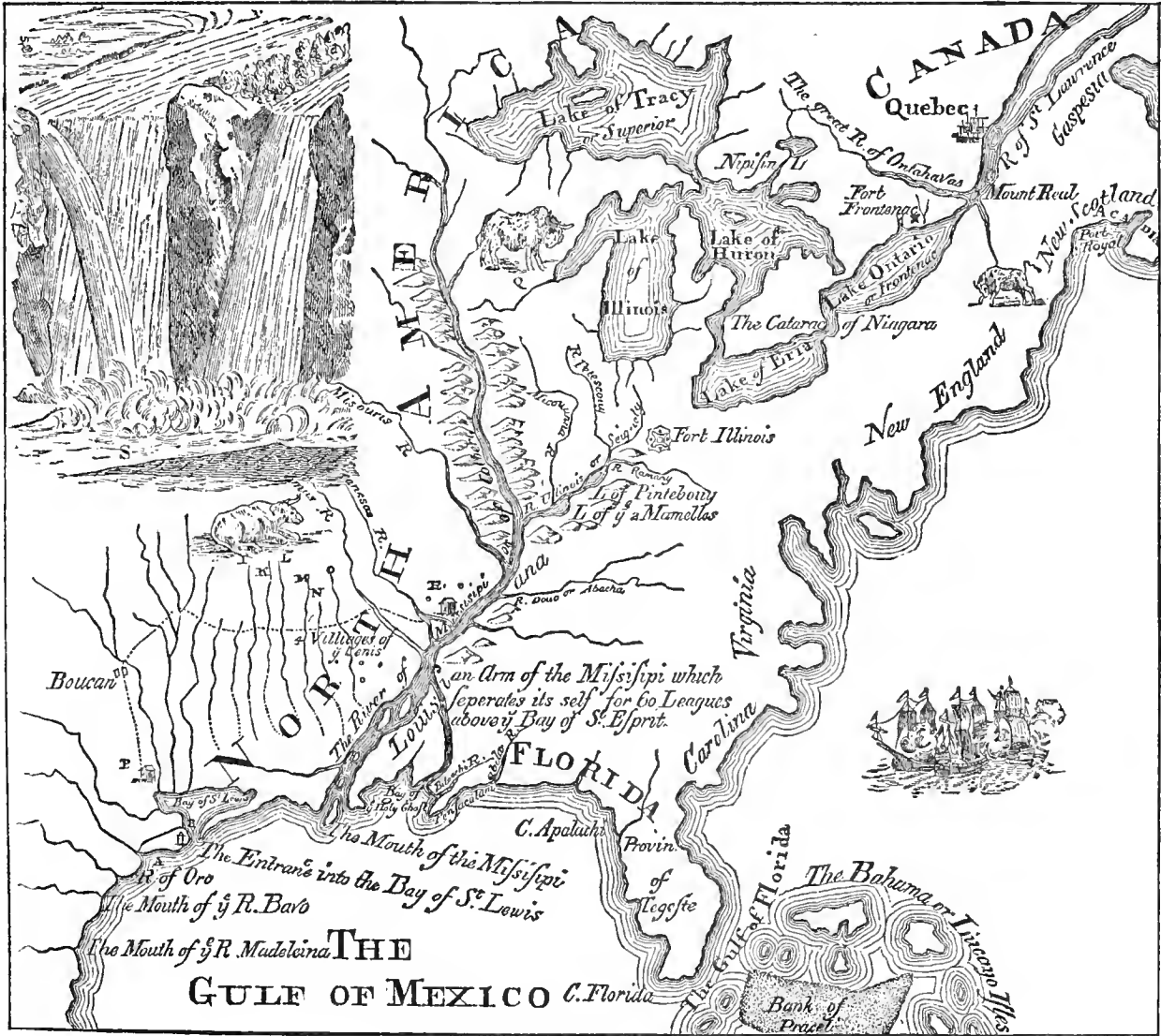
The arms of these men were as stout as their faith, and, after paddling many a league through the lakes and rivers, they reached the Mississippi at last, by way of the Wisconsin, where the town of Prairie du Chien now stands. This was on the 17th of June. Then, gliding southward, and en-

countering experiences of every sort, they descended as far as the Arkansas. Here, in the middle of July, they paused. "They had gone far enough," continues Parkman, "as they thought, to establish one important point—that the Mississippi discharged its waters, not into the Atlantic or Sea of Virginia, nor into the Gulf of California or Vermilion Sea, but into the Gulf of Mexico. They thought themselves nearer to its mouth than they actually were, the distance being still about seven hundred miles; and they feared that if they went farther they might be killed by Indians or captured by Spaniards, whereby the results of their discovery would be lost. Therefore, they resolved to return to Canada and report what they had seen."

While honoring La Salle, it is to these voyagers—Marquette and Joliet—that the West must express its obligations in the first instance. Not only were they the first Frenchmen to sail down the Mississippi, but they were the first to give to the world approximately correct maps of the interior of the continent and its great system of waters. They both made maps which are of high value, giving the true course of the Mississippi, although the prolongation to its source and its mouth were conjectural or based on the descriptions of the Indians. Joliet, indeed, made several maps, one of which has been unearthed in Paris, and lately published by M. Gravier, of Rouen, and which proves to be of rare interest, Gravier claiming that it is probably the earliest one prepared by Joliet, and the first which gives us at once an outline of the great lakes and the course of the Mississippi. Its superscription reads: "*Nouvelle Decouverte de Plusieurs Nations dans la Nouvelle France en L'annee 1673 et 1674.*"

La Salle—René Robert Cavalier de la Salle—who was now to complete the grand discovery made by Marquette and Joliet, was a native of Rouen, in Normandy. Coming to Canada in 1666, he dreamed of opening up an easy line of communication with China and the South Sea *via* some one of the western rivers. His first expedition resulted in the discovery of the Ohio, it is alleged, in 1677. Returning to France, he made preparations for more extensive explorations, and appeared in Canada once more in the latter part of 1678, where, after overcoming many difficulties, he set out on his second western expedition, leaving the site of Chicago in January, 1682. Reaching the Illinois overland, he was again upon the rivers, and entered the Mississippi on the 6th of February. Then came the long, tedious paddling to the mouth, the object of this journey, and, on the 9th of April, his desire was fulfilled. Finding, three days before, that the river divided into three channels, he followed the most westerly one himself; D'Autray, a fellow voyager, took the east, while Tonty sailed down the middle passage. They

soon reached the salt sea—the Gulf—and the course of the lower Mississippi was established. If it neither led to China nor the South Sea, the discovery itself was of the most gratifying character. La Salle took possession of the territory in the name of Louis the Great, and the immense domain of Louisiana was secured to France.



A SECTION OF JOUTEL'S MAP. 1713.

In a third expedition, in 1684-85, La Salle explored the lands to the west of the river's mouth, and on this occasion was accompanied by a companion named Joutel, who published a brief account of it, with a map of North America as then known. The latter bears the late date of 1713, but is of interest as being one of the first published after the expedition, and among the earliest to indicate, though in a rude way, the fact of a delta at the outlet of the Mississippi. It is reproduced in the present number of

the magazine. Earlier unpublished maps, giving distinct outlines of the mouth and adjacent coast, are to be found in the archives of the French Government.

The Mississippi thus discovered, no doubt there should be rejoicing over the fact. It still rolls on "unvexed" to the Gulf, an occasional source of misery to the dwellers upon its banks, and a tax upon the ingenuity of engineers and the treasury of the Government. For this, however, there seems to be some slight compensation. The river is steadily increasing its length, and in the course of ages will enable the geographer to boast of its proportions with even greater pride than he does to-day. From a comparison of surveys made since 1838 the average annual advance of the South Pass bar for the last hundred years has been calculated by the Government engineers to have been one hundred feet. The source appears to be immovable. As to the expenditures which the mighty current has entailed upon the public, Congress has appropriated, since 1829 to the present year, \$2,536,681 for the clearing of its mouths. The contract with Captain J. B. Eads for the construction of jetties involves \$5,250,000, with \$100,000 more per annum for repairs for twenty years. In addition, appropriations for the improvement of all other parts of the river above and below the Falls of St. Anthony, and for improvements below Cairo under the new Mississippi River Commission, amount to \$13,565,000, a total public expenditure up to date of about \$21,400,000. Congress has never appropriated money for the construction of levees, the river States having thus far attempted their construction as local necessities.

Considering, in fine, the time consumed in its discovery and exploration, and its importance as a grand central commercial highway and a consequent bond of national union, we may continue to exult over our possession of the great stream. And, happily, it will always be the MISSISSIPPI, for it might have been the "Conception," as Marquette wished, or the "Le Buade," as Joliet proposed in his first map, in honor of Frontenac, or the "Colbert," as subsequent maps have it, after the then French Minister of Marine. How utterly inappropriate would any name sound but the one we have!

## BARON STEUBEN

I am not certain in what part of Germany Baron Steuben was born, though I think it was in Suabia. He was not a Prussian, for, "had I been born a subject," said he to me (speaking of the strong passions of his old master Frederick II.), "I should have been sent to Spandau for daring to demand a dismissal from his service."

The Baron had been in the family and friendship of Prince Henry, the King's brother, of whom he never spoke but with the greatest tenderness and affection. In an unfortunate campaign of the Seven Years' War, the Prince incurred the displeasure of his inexorable brother. He was directed to retire from the field, his suite ordered to their different corps, or placed in situations which might make them feel the misfortune of being the friends of a man who had dared to displease, perhaps to disobey, the King. Steuben was sent into Silesia to recruit, equip, and discipline, within a certain period, a corps broken down by long and hard severity. The pecuniary allowance for this object was wholly inadequate, but in the Prussian service who dared to say what was or what was not possible to be performed? The regiment was marched complete to headquarters within the time prescribed, and the Baron soon after received the appointment of aide-de-camp to the King, and was charged with the superintendence of the Quartermaster-General's department. It was undoubtedly an excellent part of the Prussian system that the different departments of the army had each a particular person near the monarch, intimate with all its concerns, to whom every officer of the corps could, on all occasions, address himself, and on whom, at any moment, and for every kind of information relative to the branch of service with which the aide-de-camp was connected, the King could call.

In this respectable situation he remained four years. Why it was relinquished I never knew—I never asked; for though some anecdotes of the King's conduct to his officers, which would make an American volunteer look wild, were told me by him from time to time, there was a delicacy observed in speaking of that great man's faults which marked the feelings of profound respect with which he was remembered by the Baron. When the death of the King of Prussia was announced, I saw a tear roll down the Baron's cheek. Strong ties are broken when old soldiers weep! An American officer, who had been a prisoner on Long Island, said to me that a German of rank had told him that there was a feeling of jealousy of the

Baron's military fame. "Jealous of me!" said the Baron; "the fellow was a fool—'a motley fool' your Shakespeare would have called him."

There can, however, be no doubt of the consideration in which the military talents of the Baron were held by the monarch. When General Lincoln, then Secretary for the Department of War, was directed by Congress to apply to the different European Courts for a transcript of their military codes, M. de Hertsburg, Prime Minister of Prussia, answered that the instructions in question had never been published, or even transcribed, except for the use of the chiefs of the army, adding that he was surprised at the request, as it was understood that Baron Steuben was in the service of the United States, who knew everything relative to the Prussian code *au fond*. Whatever may have been the cause, the Baron retired from Prussia, and entered into the service of Prince Charles of Baden, who gave him the command of his troops; and some time afterward he was appointed or elected Lieut.-General of one of the circles of the empire—a station rather honorary than lucrative. The troops of the Circle were militia, and the duty at that time was that of attending a periodical review. How changed for many years have been the situation and duties of that unfortunate people! God help them! they have drank deep of the cup of affliction!

The Baron's income from his military and ecclesiastical rank, for he was a chanoine,<sup>1</sup> amounted to the value of five hundred and eighty guineas per annum. By whom he was made a dignitary of the church I have forgotten, but it is certain that the King of Prussia bestowed church livings on his officers; nor would he, I presume, have felt scruples of conscience in assigning the whole revenues of the church militant to troops in whose tactics and weapons he had greater confidence than in the church spiritual, could the assignment have been effected without danger or disgrace. In a country, where a coachman or a chief cook could be hired for ten or fifteen dollars per annum and a suit of clothes, where many luxuries and all the necessities of life were cheap in proportion, twenty-four and twenty-five hundred dollars was a world of money.

The Baron frequently passed the winters in Paris. There, in 1775, in the society of the Count de Vergennes and the Prince de Monte Barre, Minister for the War Department, he met Benjamin Franklin, Ambassador at the Court of Versailles. Mr. Franklin, venerable in his appearance, high in reputation, and full of enthusiasm in the cause of his country, spoke with energy and with all the art of a politician, of the goodness of the cause, of the noble spirit of the people, of their ample means and well-founded hopes, of the glory to him who should effectually assist in laying the foundation of a great Empire, and of the gratitude, honors, and rewards which awaited

the man who should give instruction in the military art to the brave but undisciplined army of the United States! The French Ministers supported the arguments, and joined in all the wishes of the Philosophic Negotiator. "It was undoubtedly the intentions of the King, their Master, they said, to declare him such, as soon as circumstances would admit, the protector of this virtuous people, who had bravely taken arms against a haughty, imperious nation, whose ambition went not only to their subjugation, but to that of all Europe—that, though the moment had not yet arrived, in which the King could openly espouse the cause of the Americans, steps were about being taken to supply them with arms, and there could be no doubt of his favorable regard to him, who, by teaching the most effectual manner of using them, should tender essential service to those oppressed people, struggling for liberty and independence. The glory attendant on a successful achievement of this perilous adventure was painted in such glowing colors, and so often presented to view by those masters in the art of coloring, that the Baron, without entering into any kind of stipulation with Messrs. Franklin and Dean, immediately returned to Germany, resigned his places and their emoluments, came back to France, and, in the autumn of 1777, embarked for the United States on board a ship freighted ostensibly by private persons, but in fact by Louis XVI., with arms, clothing, and munitions of war, and commanded by Captain Landais, a brave and experienced officer, who had sailed round the world with Mons. de Bougainville, and who, for the service performed to the nation, deserves a recompense, the benefits of which he yet might feel. Not long since I passed the veteran in the street, and saw, with pain, that adverse gales seemed still to buffet him.

The Baron landed in December at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and immediately commenced his journey to York, in Pennsylvania, where Congress then sat. I saw him for the first time at a ball which the citizens of Lancaster gave him. He had been received in the most distinguished manner by Congress, and was then on his way to General Washington. His reputation had preceded him; and those who yet remember his graceful entry and carriage in a ball-room, the splendor of his star and its accompaniments, can easily conceive the proud feelings of his countrymen and of their fair wives and daughters.

The troops assembled at Valley Forge were in want of everything, ill-armed, worse fed, and confined to their huts by sickness, the want of clothes and the severity of the winter. The Baron frequently afterward declared that no European army could have been kept together under such dreadful deprivations. What must have been his feelings to have seen, as he passed

with General Washington through the cantonment, the wretched, naked figures (except a piece of dirty blanket) hidden by half-closed doors of bark or logs, wide distant from each other, and to hear at every turn a mournful cry of "No pay! no provisions! no clothes!" His heart sickened at the scene, and well it might. God knows that the misery was great! The spring opened; partial supplies were received, and the Inspector-General commenced his labors. Certainly it was a bold attempt, without understanding a word of their language, to bring men, born free and joined together to preserve their freedom, into strict subjection; to obey without a word, a look, the dictates of a master—that master once their equal, or perhaps below them in whatever might become a man. It was a bold attempt, which nothing but virtue or high-raised hopes of glory could have supported. At the first parade, the troops, neither understanding the command nor how to follow in a change to which they had not been accustomed, even with their instructor at their head, were getting fast into confusion. At this moment Captain, now Colonel Walker, then of the Fourth New York Regiment, advanced from his platoon, and offered his assistance to translate the Baron's orders, and interpret them to the troops. "If," said the good Baron many years after, "If I had seen an angel from heaven I should not have been more rejoiced." Perhaps there was not at that moment another officer in the army, except Hamilton, who spoke French and English to be understood! Walker became his aide-de-camp and friend through life. They well deserved the friendship of each other. From the moment that instruction began, no time, no pains, no fatigue was thought too great in pursuit of the object. During the whole of every campaign, when the troops were to manœuvre—and this was almost every fair day—while his servant dressed his hair, he smoked and drank one cup of strong coffee; was on horseback at sunrise, and, with or without his suite, galloped to the parade. There was no waiting for a tardy aide-de-camp, and those who followed wished they had not slept. Nor was there need of chiding. The Baron's look, when duty was neglected, was enough! It was a question why our troops had not been put to the performances of the great manœuvre. I beg pardon for calling it great, but it was great *to us*. We had it not by intuition, nor was the country then filled with books compiled by Oriental and by Western sages, and filled with all kinds of knowledge for all kinds of troops. How changed the times. To the question it was answered, "That in fact there was no time to learn the minutia. The troops must be prepared for instant combat; that, on a field of battle, how to display or fold a column, or how to charge a front, was of more consequence than how to stand, turn, or handle a musket. The business is to give our



troops a relish for their trade, to make them feel a confidence in their own skill. Besides, your officers, following the miserable British sergeant system, would think themselves degraded by an attention to the drill. But the time shall come when there will be a better mode of thinking. Then men will attend to the turning out the toes." This prophecy, I remember, was literally fulfilled a year or two afterward. "Do you see that, sir," said the Baron, "there is your colonel instructing that awkward recruit. I thank God for that!"

Sir Henry Clinton marched from Philadelphia. Our troops quitted Valley Forge and fought the British at Monmouth. Colonel Hamilton said to me that he had never known nor conceived the value of discipline until that day. The Baron had no command in the line, for although Congress had, in addition to his appointment of Inspector-General, given him the rank of Major-General, the benefits expected to be received from his knowledge and exertions were of too much value to be confined to a single division of the army, besides which there was such an influx of Frenchmen from the Continent and from the islands, all demanding high rank and superior commands, that the American officers began to be disgusted, and to murmur loudly at being commanded by foreigners. The Baron had received what had been given, without asking, and he wisely left it to time and future service to place him in his proper station. His assistance in forming the troops and in reconnoitring the enemy on that day, in which service he narrowly escaped being taken, were acknowledged. His report to General Washington of the real situation of the British and of the column under the command of General Lee induced that gentleman to say something in his own defence, for which the Baron thought it proper to ask an immediate explanation. It was given in a manner perfectly satisfactory. The truth was, General Lee had an exalted opinion of the British discipline and valor, and had very little confidence in our troops. He was unfortunate, and probably in fault; and probably he looked on the friends of the Commander-in-Chief, whom he, it was believed, had intrigued to supplant, as his enemies, and as anxious to take advantage of his misfortune. General Washington, in confirming the sentence of the court, acted probably with as much propriety of mind as falls to the lot of nature; but the decision, it has been thought, ought to have been other than it was. If Lee had misbehaved before the enemy, he deserved a punishment much more severe. If his troops broke, and would not fight, he ought not to have been suspended.

As soon as the troops became for a time stationary, the Inspector-General commenced a system of police which pervaded every branch of the service, and by which thousands were saved every campaign after it was in

operation. Two honorable and worthy men, Judge Peters and Colonel Pickering, both of them at that time members of the Board of War, well knew to what a various extent the spoil and waste of tents, arms, ammunition, and accoutrements was carried, and they have not forgotten the service rendered by the Baron to our then poor country. "Sir," said one of those respectable patriots, not three months since (it was Judge Peters), "Sir, his services cannot be estimated at their value. I knew him well, and take him altogether, a better man did not exist." The organization of the Department of Inspection produced a new state of things, the benefit of which was felt by all. To whom, to how few can I appeal! The masters and the laborers in that grand work of Independence have passed away, and with them how great a portion of the virtue and the talent of our country! To what a strictness were we held when every article received must be brought forth and laid in view, and not a brush or a picker missing with impunity! In truth, long before the conclusion of the war, our army had arrived to the *then* highest point of military knowledge. Ambitious to excel, I have known the subalterns of a regiment sell one-half of their rations to the contractor, that they might add to the comfort and appearance of their men. The adroitness, and, above all, the silence, with which manœuvres were performed was remarked with astonishment by the officers of the French army. The Marquis la Val de Montmorency, a brigadier-general, said to the Baron, "I admire the celerity and exactitude with which your men perform, but what I cannot conceive is the profound silence in which they manœuvre!" "I don't know, Monsieur le Marquis, from whence the noise should come," answered the Baron, "when even my brigadiers dare not open the mouth, but to repeat the order." "Ah! hah! Monsieur le Baron," vociferated the Marquis; "Je vous comprend! je vous comprend!" The French troops were exceedingly noisy in their evolutions and marches, and then Monsieur la Val was heard louder than the rest. On a subsequent occasion (to show the high degree of expertness to which our army had arrived), when a violent storm had occasioned a grand exhibition to be postponed, the Baron was asked by one of the allied generals, who, with others, had retired to his *marquée*, what manœuvres he had intended to perform. When told, with a studied *nonchalance*, as if this was the first moment he had thought of the matter, "Yes," said the general, "I have seen the last you mention by the Prussians in Silesia, but with the addition of some difficulty," which he explained. "Yes, sir," answered the Baron, "it is true. You do not expect that we are quite equal to the King of Prussia. No, General, that is expecting too much." "*C'est vrai! c'est vrai, mais avec le temps!*" "*C'est vrai, avec le temps,*" said the Baron, after his guests had retired, "*avec le*

*temps!* I will let these French gentlemen know that *we* can do what the Prussians can, and what their army cannot do. Get the order for the review," said he to one of his aides-de-camp. "Sit down and add to it as I dictate. I will save those who have not been in Silesia the trouble of going there for instruction; Ver Planck's point is much nearer. *Avec le temps!* The time is next week." They came—chiefs and subalterns, on horseback and on foot—for the encampment was but a few miles distant. Everything was done in the finest style, to their real or pretended admiration. Alas! when I think of times past of that day, and look to that eminence on which General Washington's *marquée* was placed, in front of which stood that great man, firm in the consciousness of virtue, surrounded by French nobles and the chiefs of his own army, when I cast my eyes, now dim, then lighted up with soldierly ambition, hope, and joy along that lengthened line, my brothers all! endeared by ties made strong by full communion in many a joyous hour, in many an hour of penury and want, my heart sinks at the view. Who, how few, of all that brilliant host is left! those few now tottering on the confines of the grave.

General Gates had been defeated; his army dispersed; and the Southern States were in great danger of being conquered. General Green, in whom the Commander-in-Chief placed the fullest confidence, was ordered, in 1780, to the southward. Baron Steuben accompanied him. General Green saw clearly that Virginia was only to be defended in the Carolinas—that if the British force in those States could not be broken down, there was little to hope—the whole, perhaps to the Potomac, must fall. The opinions of the two Generals coincided, and there was ample time, during the journey to Richmond, to mature the plans and system to be pursued. The Baron was left in Virginia to collect whatever of men and means might be gathered to form the troops, and at all risk of clamor or dissatisfaction of the Virginians to disfurnish their State for the moment, in the hope of securing its permanent safety. The success of our arms was an object very dear to the Baron's heart. He had a personal friendship, and the highest respect for his general, and certainly he exerted himself to the utmost to fulfill his engagements with him, though he soon felt that he did his duty at the expense of his popularity. Nor is it to be wondered at that, feeling the dangerous situation of their State, the Virginians could not with satisfaction see its resources daily lessening. Nor did the Baron's zeal permit him on every occasion to act with the mildness and caution proper to be observed by military commanders in the service of a Republic, the laws of which protect even an unworthy foreigner from punishment, except inflicted by their own tribunals. Men sufficient to form a regiment had, with great exertion, been

collected ; the corps was paraded, and on the point of marching to Carolina, a good-looking man on horseback, with his servant, as he appeared, also well mounted, rode up, and, introducing himself to the Baron, informed him he had brought a recruit. "I thank you, Sir," said the Baron, "with all my heart, he has arrived in a happy moment ; where is he, Colonel ?" for the man was a Colonel in the militia. "Here, Sir," ordering his boy to dismount. The Baron's countenance altered, a sergeant was ordered to measure the lad, whose shoes, when off, discovered something by which his height had been increased. The Baron patted the child's head with a hand trembling with rage, and asked him how old he was ; he was very young, quite a child. "Sir," said the Baron, turning to him who brought him, "you think me a rascal !" "Oh ! no Baron, I don't." "Then, Sir, I think that you are one—an infamous scoundrel, thus to attempt to cheat your country ! take off this fellow's SPURS ; place him in the ranks, and tell General Green from me, Colonel Gaskins, that I have sent him a man able to sêrve, instead of an infant whom he would have basely made his substitute. Go, my boy, carry the Colonel's horses and spurs to his wife ; make my respects to her, and tell her that her husband has gone to fight, as an honest citizen should, for the liberty of his country. By platoons ! to the right wheel ! forward ! march !" Colonel Gaskins, fearing the consequences, let the man escape on the arrival of the regiment at Roanoke River. Nor was he tardy in applying to Governor Jefferson for redress. The purity of the Baron's motives could not be suspected ; and his honest zeal was appreciated too highly by the Governor and Council not to prevent any unpleasant results attending this high-handed exertion of military power. When Arnold landed in Virginia and marched to Richmond, there were only a few militia and a troop of unarmed cavalry, mutinous for want of pay and clothing, to oppose him. An attempt was made at a pass near Richmond, which proved abortive. After destroying all kinds of property, public and private, within his reach, he retreated. Philips arrived with a reinforcement, took the command, and marched toward the capital. There was a show of resistance, a skirmish at Petersburg, but it amounted to nothing—the civil authorities had retired to Charlottesville near the head of James River. The Baron, with his miserable force, retreated to the point or fork where the State artillery, magazines, etc., had been carried up to a place supposed to be out of danger of an attack. Simcoe, however—such was the difficulty of gaining intelligence of the enemy's movements—within a few hours of the notice of his approach being given, appeared with his cavalry on the spot, from which the last of the stores were removing to the other side of the river, and an aide-de-camp of the Baron, fell into the hands of the enemy. The British had passed

down to the vicinity of Williamsburg. The Marquis de la Fayette arrived with troops from the northward, and the Baron, severely attacked by the fever of the country, and sick with vexation, retired to Albemarle County, where he remained, fortunately in the society of two or three respectable neighboring gentlemen, until he was informed by General Washington of his near approach to Virginia. At the siege of Yorktown the General gave him the command of a division of the army. It was during the Baron's tour of duty in the trenches that the negotiations respecting the capitulation commenced. At the relieving hour the next morning, the Marquis de la Fayette approached with his division. The Baron refused to be relieved, alleging as a reason the etiquette in Europe—that as he had, during his guard, received the first overtures it was a point of honor to remain on his post till the capitulation was signed or broken. The Marquis applied to the Commander-in-Chief, but the Baron with his troops remained in the trenches until the English flag was struck. The capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army closed the campaign. The Baron returned to the northward, and remained with the army, continually employed in inspecting their discipline till the peace. He resided for some years in the city of New York, and died on the 28th of November, 1795, at Steuben, in Oneida County, New York State.

These are but hasty and very incomplete sketches of the Baron's military course from 1778 to 1783. He undoubtedly did us great service in the field, adding largely thereto by preparing regulations. But it is upward of thirty years since the war, and I have little accurate recollection of more than the elegant manners, the playful wit, and the kindness of heart which this excellent man possessed. General Washington was fully sensible of his deserving, and urged Congress, on all proper occasions, in his behalf. In truth, considering our poverty, he was treated, as to money, with a commendable degree of liberality, and received from time to time of good and bad amounts which some narrow men in Congress thought much too large. Elbridge Gerry (and I state it with pleasure) was always liberal. But what sum would have been too great for the Baron, who searched for worthy objects whose wants might be relieved? Never did reviews pass without rewards to soldiers whose arms and accoutrements were most conspicuous for the attention paid to them. Never was his table unfurnished with guests, if furnished with provisions. Officers of the higher grades, men most prominent for their knowledge and attention to duty, were principally his guests; but the gentlemen of his family were desired to complete the list with others of inferior rank. "Poor fellows!" said he, "they have field-officers' stomachs without their pay or rations." At Yorktown

or Williamsburg he sold such part of his camp equipage brought from Europe as was of value. "We are, God knows, miserably poor! We are constantly feasted by the French without giving them even a bit of wurst [*i.e.*, sausage]. I can stand it no longer. I will give one grand dinner to our allies, should I eat my soup with a wooden spoon forever after." The Baron had a full share of honorable pride. He could not bear to receive and not return. In thought and deed he was most liberal and most kind. On the eve of returning to the northward, "I must go," said he, "to a sick aide-de-camp. I must leave you, my son; but I leave you in a country where we have found the door of every gentleman's house wide open, where every female heart is full of tenderness and virtue. The instant you are able, quit this deleterious situation. There is my sulkey, and here is half of what I have. God bless you! I can say no more." Nor could he. The feelings of friends at such a moment may possibly be conceived, but not expressed. A journey of three hundred miles was before him; his wealth was a single piece of gold. Are other instances necessary to prove the texture of his heart? How many are there written on my own! There is, I trust, a book in which every one of his good deeds are entered to the credit of his account with Heaven.

At the disbandment of the Revolutionary Army, when inmates of the same tent or hut for seven long years were separating, never, perhaps, to see each other's face again, grasping each other's hand in silent agony, cut adrift without a hope, I saw his strong endeavors, if it were possible, to throw some rays of sunshine on the gloom—to mix some cordial with the bitter draught they drank—to go they knew not whither. All recollection of the art to thrive by civil occupation lost, or, to the youthful, never known; their hard-earned military knowledge worse than useless—a mark at which, with their badge of brotherhood, to point the finger of suspicion—ignoble, vile suspicion; no more to pay obedience to command, to quaff the cup of joy, or lessen every grief by sharing with a host of friends; to be cast out upon a world long since forgotten, each one to grope his solitary, silent path; his sword and military garb the only relics saved, or else overwhelmed and lost forever. It was too bad! On that sad day what soldier's heart was left unwrung! I saw it all and its effects.

To a stern old officer—a Lieutenant-Colonel Cochran, on whose furrowed visage a tear until that day had never fallen—the Baron said all that could be said to soften deep distress. "For myself," said Cochran, "I care not, I can stand it; but my wife and daughters are in that wretched tavern. I know not whence to carry them; nor have I means for their removal." "Come my friend," said the Baron, "let us go. I wish to pay

my respects to Mrs. Cochran and your daughters, if you please ;” and when he came away, he left hope with them, and all he had to give.

A black man, with wounds not yet healed, wept on the wharf ; for it was at New Burg where these sad scenes were passing. There was a vessel in the stream bound to the place where this poor soldier once had friends, he could not pay his passage. Where found or borrowed, I know not ; but the Baron soon returned. The man hailed the sloop, and cried, “ God bless you Massa Baron ; God Almighty bless you !” But why do I relate these scraps of his benevolence, when all who knew him and were worthy, knew him as their friend ? What good or honorable man, civil or military, before the party times which sundered friendships, did not respect and love the Baron ? Who most ? Those who knew him best.

In the society of ladies, the Baron appeared to be very happy—engaged in their amusements, and added by his wit and pleasantry to the delights of the evening. His sternness and stentorian voice were only heard in the field. “ Oh !” said an old man, who had been a captain in the war, and then kept a public house near Utica. “ Oh ! Baron, how glad I am to see you in my house, but I used to be dreadfully afraid of you !” “ How so, Captain ?” “ You halloed, and swore, and looked so dreadfully at me once, when my platoon was out of its place, that I almost melted into water !” “ Oh fye, donc, fye, Captain.” “ It was bad, to be sure,” said the old man, “ but you did halloa tremendously !” It is true he was rough, as the ocean in a storm, when great faults in discipline were committed ; but if, in the whirlwind of his passion, he had injured any one, the redress was ample. I recollect at a review at Morristown, a Lieutenant Gibbons, a brave and good officer, was arrested on the spot, and ordered in the rear, for a fault which it appeared another had committed. At a proper moment, the commander of the regiment came forward, and informed the Baron of Mr. Gibbons’ innocence and worth, and of his acute feelings under his unmerited disgrace. “ Desire Lieutenant Gibbons,” said the Baron, “ to come in front of the troops.” “ Sir,” said he to him, “ the fault which was committed by throwing the line into confusion might, in the presence of an enemy, have been fatal, and I arrested you. Your Colonel has informed me, that you are in this instance blameless, I ask your pardon ! Return to your command, I would not do injustice to any, much less to one whose character is so respectable.” All this was said, with his hat off, and the rain pouring on his reverend head. Was there an officer who saw this, unmoved with feelings of respect and affection—not one, who had the feelings of a soldier. I have spoken somewhere of the difficulty the Baron found in forming his book of regula-

tions for the discipline of the army. It was indeed great. There were no books then from which a compilation could be made. Even at the close of the war, Rivington's shop afforded nothing better than "Bland's Exercise" and "Sumner's Military Guide." All was drawn from his recollections of the Prussian school—these to be arranged in French, translated into English by men not conversant with military phrase or evolutions—to sketch and re-sketch the plates and fit them for the engraver. The engraver! where to be found! and paper scarcely to be procured. None but those who lived in those days of poverty and dearth of everything can think a thousandth part of all the difficulties which were then encountered in every department.

By the exertions of Colonel Hamilton, patronized by President Washington, and supported by some liberal and powerful men in Congress, an annuity of \$2,500 per annum for life was given to the Baron. He retired to Steuben, a tract of 16,000 acres, received under the administration and in unison with the wish of Governor George Clinton, from the Legislature of New York, where, in a convenient log-house, he passed the last moments of his life. He had parcelled out his land on very easy terms among twenty or thirty tenants, who afforded opportunity for the exercise of his philanthropy. Some hundreds of acres were given to his aides-de-camp and servants. Sixty acres of cleared land gave him wheat and ample nourishment for his stock. Except the society of a young gentleman, whose literary exhibition, when a boy, had attracted his notice and regard, who read to and with him, and now and then a stranger passing through, or a friend who went into the wilderness to see him, his time was passed in solitude. His farm and garden afforded some little amusement, and he was fond of chess. But it was chiefly from his library, which was well stored, that he drew support against the tedium of a situation so very different from that in which the greatest part of his life had been passed. This state of inaction was undoubtedly unfriendly to health, though there was no appearance of failure either in mind or body. They remained in full strength until the moment he was struck with an apoplexy, which, in a few hours, was fatal. Agreeably to his desire, often expressed, his remains were wrapped in his cloak, enclosed in a plain coffin, and placed in the earth without a stone to tell where it lies. A few tenants and servants, the young gentleman his late companion, and one on whom for fifteen years his eye had never ceased to beam with kindness, followed in silence and in tears. The commissioners of the town laid a road, a public road, near to his grave! They either knew not, or they could not feel. Walker, his first and most worthy aide-de-camp, snatched the remains of his dear friend



and master from their sacrilegious grasp ; hid them in the forest, and gave a bounty to protect the hallowed wood from rude intrusion.

I feel all the imperfection of the manner in which these notices are given. I have said nothing to what might, what ought to be said of this most worthy man. I may, on some future occasion, add. At present I cannot make it better.<sup>2</sup>

W. N.

NOTE.—The original MS. of the foregoing graphic sketch of Baron Steuben I recently found among my father's papers. It was written in 1814, for the *Herkimer American* at the request of the latter—then editor of that paper—by General William North of the Revolution, a beloved aide-de-camp of Steuben, and his assistant in carrying out his system of discipline in the army. Whether or not it was ever published, I do not know, as the files of that paper for 1814, and a few subsequent years are not in existence. North, who was Adjutant and Inspector General of the Army of the U. S. A., during the years 1798-99, and also United States Senator, seems to have been a quaint character, as the following letter to my father, who was a great favorite of the old General, shows. It is addressed, "To William. No Treasure; nothing but advice."

"Wherever I die, it is my desire to be buried in the nearest burying-ground. I want no monument; no epitaph—'lies like an epitaph'—If anything, a plain stone with 'William North, a soldier of the Revolution.' I bar you and your sisters going into mourning. If I am to be mourned, let it be by the heart, not black garments and foolish weepers streaming from the hat—the absurd custom!

W. NORTH.

"November 15, 1827. Not a gloomy, but a day of bright sunshine, and my mind serene, for which I thank God.

W. N."

## WILLIAM L. STONE

<sup>1</sup> The reference to a canonry is explained by the following extract from one of Steuben's memoranda :

"Sans etre riche dans ma patrie ma situation etait aisi et agreeable, les emolumens que je recevais du Prince de Baden comme son Lieut.-General et ceux du Prince de Hohenzollern, comme son Marchal de Cour joint a un benefice de La Cathedrale de Havelberg que Le Roi de Prusse m'avoit donne et une petite terre que J'ai entres les Etats de Wurtemberg et de Baden, cela ensemble me fournissait une revenue suffisante non seulement pour vivre avec aisence chez moi mais pour faire tout les ans un voyage pour mon plaisir." Steuben's MSS. in Archives of the New York Historical Society, vol. xiii.

The above may be translated as follows :

"Without being rich, my situation in my country was easy and agreeable, the emoluments that I received from the Prince of Baden as his Lieutenant-General, and those of Prince Hohenzollern as his Court Marshall, added to that of a Benefice of the Cathedral of Havelberg, which the King of Prussia gave me, and a small estate that I had between the States of Wurtemberg, and Baden, that together furnished a sufficient revenue not only to live with ease at home, but to take every year a journey for pleasure."

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the young aide-de-camp left by Steuben sick in Virginia, and the one who followed him to his grave, "in silence and in tears," was none other than General North himself.

In "Kapp's Life of Steuben" there is a reference to a pamphlet by North, evidently similar in its character to this sketch. The pamphlet, however, must be very rare. We have never found a copy.

## MINOR TOPICS

### I.—SIR HENRY CLINTON'S MANUSCRIPTS.

Although the papers of General Clinton, so long Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, appear to have passed, at their recent sale in London, into the hands of English collectors, the hope may be indulged that they will ultimately find their way to this country. A reference to them in the London *Athenæum*, and the more satisfactory description given by a correspondent of the New York *World*, indicate their value, and enhance the regret that they are only the remnants of the manuscripts which once belonged to Sir Henry—the remainder having been scattered during his own lifetime, and, to some extent, by his descendants since.

According to the journals mentioned, these papers include (to make three groups of them) :

1. *Correspondence and Publications*.—Washington's official letters to Clinton at various times during the war, many of the margins of which are filled with memoranda in the hand-writing of the British Commander. Two volumes containing copies of André's letters to Clinton and Washington ; a "Plan of Defence for Ireland in the event of a French invasion" (MSS. notes in the margin by Sir Henry Clinton), and manuscript poetry, etc., supposed to be partially in the hand of Major André. In one of these volumes occurs a long letter of Sir Henry Clinton, filling five folio pages and addressed to Lord George Germain, and dated New York, July, 1778. In this letter an account of the retreat from Philadelphia, the battle of Monmouth, and embarkation of the army for New York are given under Clinton's signature. Four copies of Clinton's "Narrative," bound up with Cornwallis' "Answer," and Clinton's "Observations on the Answer" (all published in 1783), copiously annotated by Sir Henry ; also Burgoyne's "State of the Expedition from Canada," Ramsey's "American Revolution," and "Memoirs of Colonel Charles Lee," nearly all annotated. Sets of Pennsylvania newspapers, 1769-1781, large paper copy of Smith's "New York," 1757, etc.

2. *Two manuscript volumes*, entitled "Private Intelligence" and "Information of Deserters and Others not Included in Private Intelligence." The first begins January 20, 1781, and consists of one hundred and fifty pages of closely-written matter, on small folio paper ; the second is a volume of the same size, of about one hundred pages. A pencil note,

written by one of the Clinton family, says of these manuscripts: "I think Sir G. Beckwith's hand." "Whether this be the case or not," writes the *World* correspondent, who examined them at the sale, "the writing bears indisputable evidence of having been written from day to day, as information came into headquarters through the agency of spies, deserters, or friends of the British, whose names in some instances are attached to the entries. Taking one or two of these days at random, occur the following in the volume marked "Private Intelligence," January 20, 1781. Page 1: "Gould came in this morning at 10 o'clock from Elizabeth town. On Sunday morning the Jersey Brigade, part of which lay at Pomptom, mutinied and seized two field pieces and joined the rest of the brigade at Chatham. He saw some of them, whose complaints were about pay, &c. They told him they were determined unless they got redress to join the British. One Grant, a serjeant-major and a deserter from the British army, commands them. They say'd they would come to Elizabeth town. The militia are turned out to oppose them, and this morning he heard a very heavy firing and some cannon, and afterwards passing shots towards Elizabeth town by Springfield. A violent storm prevented his coming in before.

"—— Woodruff says the same. A cousin of his, one Nicholls, is second in command."

20th. "The mutineers are at Trenton. Three regiments are discharged and gone home to Pennsylvania. One condition insisted on is, that only three officers retain their rank and command—General Wayne, Colonels Stewart and Butler. The committee of Congress consists of Sullivan, Matthews, Witherspoon and Attey. They sit at Barclay's tavern on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The two men delivered to Wayne by the mutineers were hanged on Friday morning. Washington is at N. Windsor. The militia are collected throughout the Jerseys."

Page 3. "Mr. Washington has about 500 men with him. Headquarters at N. Windsor. The Hampshire Brigade are in West Point. The New York Brigade stationed in Albany. All the six months' men are going home, except a few who are employed in threshing out wheat about Goshen. Forage is exceedidgly scarce indeed. They have no magazines; they live from day to day. All their expectations from France have turned out nothing. He (Captain G. of one of the Massachusetts regiments) heard the French are going to quit the continent. A Mr. R. Morris told this to a gentleman of his acquaintance. The mildness of the season has prevented the expedition to Canada, which is given up. By the best accounts Ethan Allen has not yet joined tho' much discontented.

"The Pennsylvania officers say they will not serve with such rascals as

their soldiers. The revolters have agreed to receive the arrears of pay with the depreciation, and their arrears of cloathing, which has been promised them.

“Congress leave out all the officers, who are prisoners, in the new regiments. Mr. Adams has orders not to exchange any militia for British prisoners.”

3. *Maps.* A “Collection of twenty plans and maps illustrating the Province of New Jersey” (in illustration of Clinton’s campaign in New Jersey), dated 1778–82. Nearly all these drawings are executed by J. Hills, the well known assistant engineer officer serving under Clinton, one of them being dedicated to him. Plan of Perth Amboy, Bonham Town, Brunswick, Raritan Landing, Haddonfield, roads from Pennyhill to the Black Horse, roads from Black Horse to Crosswick, Allen Town, roads from Freehold to Middletown, showing the skirmish between the rear of the British army, under Clinton and the advanced corps of the American army, June 28, 1778. Middle Town, a survey of part of the province of New Jersey, survey of Somerset County, of Middle County, of Monmouth County, northern part of New Jersey, chart of Delaware Bay and River to Philadelphia, being part of the provinces of New Jersey and Pennsylvania; road from Paulus Hook [Jersey City] and Hoboken to New Bridge, Paulus Hook, with road to Bergen and parts adjacent, and plan of Paulus Hook with the works raised for its defence, 1781–82.

It is clear enough there will be something new to say about the war of the Revolution when this material, and much more like it, becomes available. The whole of it should be obtained and deposited in our public collections.

J.

## II.—MISS JANE MCCREA.

In the grounds of the Union Cemetery, on the road leading from Sandy Hill to Fort Edward, N. Y., is the grave of Miss McCrea. Her remains lie on the left-hand side of the entrance path near the gate, beneath a stone bearing the inscription:

“Here Rest the Remains  
of  
JANE MCCREA  
aged 17  
Made Captive and Murdered  
By a Band of Indians  
While on a Visit to a Relative in  
This Neighborhood  
A.D. 1777.

To Commemorate  
 One of the Most Thrilling Incidents  
 In the Annals of the American Revolution  
 To do Justice to the fame of the Gallant  
 British Officer to whom she was affianced,  
 And as a Simple tribute to the  
 Memory of the Departed,  
 This stone is Erected  
 By her Niece  
 SARAH HANNA PAYN  
 A.D. 1852"

The edges of the stone, which is a plain white marble one, are chipped and defaced by the relic seekers.

The inscription, it will be observed, gives her age as 17 years, but Drake's American Biography says that she was born at Leamington, N. J., in 1754, which would have made her twenty-three years old at the time of her death.

The scene of her murder is on the west side of the road near the northern part of the village of Fort Edward. Going through the gate of a private house, and crossing a fence to the left, I found myself on a declivity, partially covered with trees, overlooking the railroad track. Here, among thick bushes, is a spring, covered over with a wooden covering in two places. Within a few feet is the remnant of the stump of the famous pine-tree. At the foot of this tree, by the spring, the remains of Miss McCrea, it is said, were found. There are three accounts of the affair which should be compared, viz., "Sparks' Arnold," pp. 100-107; "Irving's Washington," vol. iii., p. 162; and "Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution," vol. i., p. 97.

A writer, signing himself "A. S.," in the *New York Mirror* for August 15, 1835, throws doubts on the question as to the exact locality. He says: "Miss McCrea was found near a spring on the *east* side of the present road. She had been dragged from near the block-house adjacent to which the road then ran; for the blood was on the sand next morning. The informant of Mr. Gilliman, who gave a particular account of this affair some years ago, must have been mistaken; the spring on the west side of the road, near a tall stump of a tree, is *not* the spot where she was found. On the twenty-eighth her body and that of Lieut. Van Vechten were carried down to Moses Kill and buried. Mrs. Campbell's negro woman, who had escaped the Indians by hiding in the cellar, says she went in the boat with the corpse of Jenny down to the American army. In 1822, the remains of Miss McCrea were removed to the graveyard at Fort Edward."

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL.

## III.—“WILLIAM GRAHAM.”

Shortly prior to the appearance of the “Note” (vi., 218) here referred to, the present writer, in conversation with Henry Hill, Esq., a venerable former Boston merchant, but whose first clerkship was in this city, received from him some account of Graham’s remarkable career and its tragic termination. In a late letter, also, he has suggested that a correct record of this his early friend and school-mate “might be of service to young men similarly exposed,” sending us with it a brief biographical sketch from his own skilful pen, printed on a broad sheet, and headed: “William Grenville Graham. By an Octogenarian.” It is an interesting narrative, and gives several beautiful extracts from Graham’s letters to himself when the former was in England. We here learn that he was born in Catskill, N. Y., early in 1793, “was a noble, beautiful boy, naturally graceful, affectionate, generous, talented, but impulsive, venturesome, daring.” Of their boyhood-life together out of school, we quote an incident illustrative: “On a sailing excursion once, on a raw and gusty day,” says the narrator, “we got into an ill-constructed craft, which was soon partially capsized, and, being heavily ballasted, sunk like lead. Graham, in his Spring suit, swam for the opposite shore, and as Judge Cantine, a very tall man, rushed into the water and was about to reach him, he cried out: ‘Never mind me; go for Harry!’” His father, Joseph Graham, failing in business in Catskill, removed to New York, where he kept a popular boarding-house at 88 Pearl Street, became a religious man and a member of the old Cedar Street Presbyterian Church. In a letter written by Graham from England to his friend Hill, in 1816, he thus refers to their different family training: “You were more rigidly brought up at home, and taught self-management betimes.” Perhaps here was the *fons mali* of his after years. He studied in Union College, also subsequently at New Haven, whence he entered the law office of Barent Gardenier of this city, of the firm of “Gardenier and Anthon,” in Wall Street, as early as 1807–8. Gardenier was a member of Congress, and represented the 7th Congressional District, Kingston, N. Y., in the Xth Congress, and again the 5th District in the XIth, in both terms representing Greene and Ulster counties. He fought a duel when in Congress; a sad legal example to his student who afterward fell a victim to that false code of honor. In London Graham, a stranger, needy, and impelled by illness, was befriended by a philanthropic gentleman of fortune by the name of Burdon, who sent him to Trinity College, Cambridge. There his old Catskill mate spent a pleasant day with him. Graham subsequently wrote him from Hartford House, Northumberland, Mr. Burdon’s country-seat. The two did not meet again until 1826, when they dined together at Niblo’s.

He was then assisting Major Noah in editing the *Enquirer*, and wrote a number of articles that were read with much interest, particularly some on "Good Society," not yet forgotten by old New Yorkers. A few weeks after, when playing cards with young Barton, of Philadelphia, a hasty word was followed by a blow, then a challenge, a duel, and a fatal shot. He died in a boat from Hoboken on returning to New York. As he fell he exclaimed, "Barton, I forgive you."

WILLIAM HALL

#### IV.—THE YORKTOWN-WASHINGTON MULBERRY TREE.

In his Yorktown Centennial Oration, Mr. Winthrop indulges in a glowing reference to the tree under which Washington is said to have slept on the first night of the investment of the town, September 28, 1781. "You will all agree with me, my friends," to quote the orator, "that if that tree, which overshadowed Washington sleeping in the open air on his way to Yorktown, were standing to-day—if it had escaped the necessities and casualties of the siege, and were not cut down for the abattis of a redoubt, or for camp-fires and cooking-fires, long ago—if it could anyhow be found and identified in yonder Beech Wood, or Locust Grove, or Carter's Grove—no Wellington Beech or Napoleon Willow, no Milton or even Shakespeare Mulberry, no Oak of William the Conqueror at Windsor, or of Henri IV. at Fontainebleau, nor even those historic trees which gave refuge to the fugitive, Charles II., or furnished a hiding-place for the Charter which he granted to Connecticut on his Restoration, would be so precious and so hallowed in all American eyes and hearts to the latest generation."

The tree is there—what remains of it; so at least say those who have long dwelt under the shadow of its offspring, which has grown out of the parent stump. During a visit to Yorktown before the celebration, the writer was curious to fix the spot of Washington's Headquarters, which, with the plans of the siege and the aid of an officer of the United States Engineer Corps, it was not difficult to do. The site has always been known as the "Washington Lodge," where a house stands, whose occupant, Mr. Jones, assured us that a fine old Mulberry tree adjoining the premises was the lineal continuation of the one under which Washington slept, as stated. This tradition in his family comes straight down from his grandfather, who was a Virginia militiaman at the siege. The original house which Washington soon made his quarters, and in front of which he also pitched his marquee, was burned down during the late war, only the kitchen chimneys of the historic building remaining. Irving had heard and states that the tree was a Mulberry. It stands two and one-half miles back of Yorktown, undisturbed, unvisited, unphotographed.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN  
GRAHAM,CHAPLAIN TO CONNECTICUT TROOPS IN THE  
EXPEDITION TOWARD CROWN POINT, 1756

The Rev. John Graham, of Woodbury, Conn., was the second son of one of the Marquises of Montrose, being born in Edinburgh, 1694. Coming to Boston in 1718, he married Abigail, daughter of the celebrated Dr. Chauncey. He settled at Exeter, N.H., and afterward at Stafford, Conn. In 1732 he became minister of Southbury Society, Woodbury, continuing there until his death, December, 1774, in the eighty-first year of his age. The Connecticut Colonial Records (x. 483) recite that "this Assembly do appoint the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. David Jewet, of New London, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. John Norton, of Middleton, the Rev<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Grayham, of Woodbury, to be Chaplains in the forces to be raised in this Colony for the Expedition against Crown Point."

Though appointed he does not appear to have gone to the field, as he was already far advanced in years. The journal, however, indicates that his son took his place, as the writer of the journal mentions his "father Graham." This son was the minister of Suffield, near the northern border of the State on the Connecticut River. Chaplain Graham appears as the typical New England parson of the period, being conscientious, devout, morbid, and superstitious, believing in signs, and accepting ventral grumblings as positive indications of the will of the Lord.

The troops raised by Connecticut consisted of four regiments, under General Phineas Lyman, a very brave and

able officer, who served under General Johnson at the battle of Lake George, the year previous, and who conducted the fight after Johnson retired to his tent wounded. Though so greatly indebted to Lyman, General Johnson did not mention him in the dispatches, and, while acknowledging his indebtedness in private, carried off all the honors. A full and appreciative sketch of Lyman will be found in "Dwight's Travels" (i. 305, iii. 361). The intended campaign against Crown Point, however, failed, owing to the inefficiency of Lord Loudon, who had succeeded to the command in North America, a man described to Franklin by Innis as being like St. George on the signs, always on horseback but never getting forward. Loudon had about fifty thousand troops under his control, but did little. At Lake George and vicinity the troops accomplished nothing beyond the operations referred to in the Journal, where the Connecticut troops do not appear to much advantage, and hardly justifying the devout traditions of their ancestors.

Suffield was the home of both Chaplain Graham and General Lyman. Leaving this place they went first to Suffrage and Canaan; thence going northward to Sheffield, Massachusetts. The route was then pursued to Kinderhook, on the Hudson, and along the river to Greenbush, opposite Albany, afterwards arriving at Half Moon, at the junction of the Hudson and Mohawk.

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN GRAHAM.

Friday. June. 11 1756. About one o'Clock, P.M. set out from Home in the Expedition to Crown Point in Company



with the Honourable Phineas Lyman Esq. Maj<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> of the Army and Sundry others—Came that Night to Oliver Humphrys of Suffrage.<sup>1</sup> Lodged here

Saturday June 12. 1756. Had but Little Sleep. rose, under great Exercise of mind whether I, under my Bodily infirmities could be in the way of my Duty to Engage in an Affair attended with So much Labour and Fatigue; But Spreading my Case before God, addressed myself to my Journey Still pleading that God would direct my path; and if it was not his pleasure that I should go, Y<sup>t</sup> I might know it by the encrease of my infirmities, on the Contra, if his pleasure that Health and Strength might be allow'd ride with dejected spirits till Noon

Began to feel more Comfortable, had some refreshing Sense that I was in the hand [of] God, that he was able to Improve me for his Glory and hon<sup>r</sup>—and that I had nothing to do, but to sanctify God himself and make him my fear, and him my Dread

Came at Night to Cap<sup>t</sup> Lawrances at Canaan where we Lodged

*Sabbath Day June. 13. 1756* Still concern'd how to approve myself unto God, and men in my present Business; felt But weak and Infirm in Body; Yet set out and Came that night to Garet Koons in the upper part of Sheffield, where we lodged and thank God felt more Comfortable both in Body and mind

*Monday June. 14. 1756* Rested Comfortable Last Night, and with much pleas-

<sup>1</sup> Oliver Humphrey was the first magistrate of West Simsbury, taking up his residence at Suffrage Village, now Canton, in 1742. Barber says that Suffrage took its name from the sufferings there endured by the settlers.

ure addressed myself to my Journey in Company—at Night Came to Esq. Vanscoit at Kenderhook where we Lodged.

Tuesday June 15. 1756—Came to Col: Ransley at Green Bush about 5 o'Clock—P.M. where we put up.

Tuesday June 22. 1756—Continued to keep at Col. Ransley all the week past—preached a Sabbath day past in the Dutch *Chh.* P.M. from *Isai.* 8. 13—this Day left Col. Ransleys and entended to go up to the Camp at the Half Moon—But taken with an Ague fit and Squincey was Detained at Mr. Wendell

Wednesday June 23. Continued very ill But thro' goodness at Night my Throat Brok

Thursday. June 24. 1756. felt much more Comfortable, and walked abroad

Friday June 25. 1756. Recruited fast.

Saturday June 26. Set out for the Camp where I arrived about 9 o'Clock P.M.

Rec<sup>d</sup>. a Letter from B<sup>r</sup> Judd. & B<sup>r</sup> Bull Camp at Half Moon.

Sabbath June 27. 1756. Preached P.M. from *ps.* 84. 12. The assembly appeared not only Serious but many Effected—Thanks be to God the Glorious Head; all Influences.

*Munday June 28. 1756.* Rose Comfortable attended Duties of the Camp. favoured w<sup>t</sup> a Letter from my spouse. Dated June 24.

Nothing Remarkable Happened

Dispatched a Letter for my wife

*Tuesday June 29. 1756.* Rec<sup>d</sup>. a Letter from my wife, giving me the Satisfaction of the Health of my Family—Lord Continue it—Rec<sup>d</sup>. also Letters from Father Graham, B<sup>r</sup> Crouch. &c

Wednesday *June 30. 1756.* Sent a letter this Morning to my wife; this

evening the Malancally News of L<sup>t</sup> Grant and p<sup>y</sup> of fourteen that were out in Scout Cutt off or Captivated—going to Fort Massachusetts <sup>1</sup>

Thursday July 1. 1756. Rose Comfortably this Morning. Sent a Letter to Father Graham & Cap<sup>t</sup> Peck

Friday July. 2. 1756. Nothing remarkable Happened on 'This Day all the Regin<sup>ts</sup>. Encamped at half Moon of Cannon heard at Fort Edward Judged to be at Fort Will<sup>m</sup>. Henry.<sup>2</sup> the firing said to begin about 8 o'Clock P.M. and continue till about 2 o'Clock next morning. Whereupon

Thursday July 8. There was a party of men, about 300 Sent of under the Command of Mj<sup>r</sup> Stores to go up to the forts, and if Distressed to relieve them—Twas also reported that there was a Number of Battoes filled with the Enemy that turned the point that runs into the Lake,<sup>3</sup> in fair Sight of the Fort

This Day a Heavy storm of rain Hail Thunder and Lightening about 2 o'Clock & 30 Minutes Past M.

Excessive and Sultery Hott before the Storm, more temperate since

The storm Came on again about 7 o'Clock. and held Till about 12 o'Clock at Night—This Evening returned the scout of 120, from Fort Massachusetts that went out last Saturday, all well. and report that they found 8 men Dead, one of which was L<sup>t</sup> Grant: Made no Discovery of the Enemy. L<sup>t</sup> Grant found w<sup>t</sup> a Sow Hogg in his Back

<sup>1</sup> Near or in Williamstown, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> At the head of Lake George; besieged and destroyed by Montcalm, 1757.

<sup>3</sup> Lake St. Sacrement, afterward "Lake George."

Friday July 9. 1756. Nothing remarkable Happened this morning

Saturday July. 10. 1756. no remarkable Events. happen

Sabbath Day July. 11. Preached at the upper half Moon, A.M. a [on] Mark. 16. 16 P.M. a [on] John 5 50<sup>1</sup> under Considerable disorder. By reason of the Dyscentary,—The Joyfull News of the Victory, obtain'd by Col. Broadstreet over the french and Indians, about Nine miles this Side of Oswago. Lost on our side 40, and 20 Wounded—toke 2 Captives, about 60 Guns, Packs &c. and killed a Great N. [number] not Certain how many <sup>2</sup>

Monday July 12. Nothing Remarkable Happened

Tuesday July. 13. 1756. Sent of a Detachment of men for the Artillery and Ordinance Stores to Albany

Wednesday, 14. July. the party returned Bro't up the Cannon &c &

Thursday, July 15. we De Camped began our March forward, about 1 o'Clock with all the Artillery, Ordinance Stores and Baggage in about 300 Waggons and 100 Teams—Marched 7. miles to the Half way House. Encamped. about 7 o'Clock all's well

Friday. July. 16. De Camped and Marched about 1 o'clock, Arrived at Fort Winslow at Still Water, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 7 o'Clock. Saluted with 7 Cannon from the Fort—I was much fatigued traveling on foot Saturday, July. 17. Continued our March, ie [with] the Army; I came by Water with Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman, &c also the Artillery and Ordinance Stores, were transported by Water to Fort Hardy at Sura-

<sup>1</sup> There is no St. John v : 50.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the expedition against Fort Du Quesne.

toga. the Army arrived about 8 o'Clock much wearied and fatagued with there Long march

Lords day July, 18. 1756—as we Encaped Last night, and the Army Something Beat out—tho't proper to Lye still—therefore sent of a Detachment of 700 men to Gaurd the Teams and Waggon To Fort Miller, and only a Sufficient Guard to be Sent Back with Teams & the rest to proceed forward to Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> P.M. about 5 o'Clock Cap rogers<sup>1</sup> arrived with 8 Captives, and, four Scalps. a Council of War Held, the Prisoners Examined, Nothing special found out by them

Also a Great many french Letters brot in—the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Swain Preached A M & M<sup>r</sup> Hawley P.M. Much Disorded all the forenoon—More Comfortable P.M

Munday July 19. still Continue our Encampment at Suratoga. P.M. about 5 o'Clock arrived the Guard from fort Miller, who bring the following advice that Last saturday a party of Indians about 20 Came upon our men at Lake George about 80 in Number and killed 3. and took 2, and wounded Several others. We afterwards were informed 1<sup>r</sup> [there] were 60 in y<sup>e</sup> party

Tuesday, July 20. 1756—We Decamped & marched about 9 o'Clock, Came that Night to the Small Plain, about 6, o'Clock 4 Miles South of Fort Edward—Gen<sup>l</sup> Winslow arrived at Fort Edward with y<sup>e</sup> first Division, Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman with the 2<sup>d</sup> Division Encamped at the small plain—alls well

<sup>1</sup> Captain Robert Rogers, who in the winter of 1755 was very active scouting on Lake St. Sacrement. During the Revolution he commanded some British Rangers.

Wednesday July 21. about 7 o'Clock M. Struck our Tents. and Marched—arrived at Fort Edward about 12 o'Clock—Dined at Col. Worsters Encamped on the plain North of the Fort

Thursday, July 22. 1756. Last night the whole Camp alarmed, Called to Arms abo't  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 1 at night, By the firing of the Centery, at what they knew not

This day came the News of Mr. Chapine being Killed, and anoy<sup>r</sup> Man, and his Family Captivated, who Lived at or Near Fort Massachusetts

Friday July 23. Nothing remarkable.

Saturday July, 24. Nothing Extraordinary

Sabbath Day July, 25. Preached to the Connecticut Troops in the fore Noon from ps. 78. 37. Mr. Lee P.M.—About 7 of the Clock P.M. the scouting party Came in from Fort Miller, with three french men who Came in there, and Surrendered themselves. they were three Days out of Tionderoga—and give the following account upon Examination—here reference had to the Examination Rec. Letters from Home &c

Munday July, 26. The Team and Waggon Guard came from fort W<sup>m</sup> Henry and Inform, that in Morning, a party of french and Indians, judged to be about 60. and attacted our men, looking for y<sup>e</sup> oxen. Killed and Scalped Two Rhode Island Teamers. Another had his Leg Broke to peices by a Shot from y<sup>e</sup> Enemy, and Cap<sup>t</sup> Lotridge had a bullit shot thro' the fore Peak of his Hatt. But our men with boldness withstood them, drive them off, and Recovery'd many of there packs, and Blankets &c. Especially there Surgeons pack, with Gown Medecines &c—Sent Letters Home

Tuesday July, 27.—Nothing Extraordinary

Wednesday July 28, Gen<sup>l</sup> Winslow moved off with 1,360 men to Fort W<sup>m</sup> Henry—Nothing Remarkable. Labour under great discouragements for find my Business but mein in the Esteem of many, and think there's not much for a Chaplain to do, Some that I might hope for better things, thinks it's too presuming for a minister to tell the officers or soldiers there particular Duties But Leave the officers to order just as I think best and the Chaplain to tell the Soldiers I must be ordily and attend Duty. O Lord to <sup>ie</sup> [thee] belongs praise and glory, teach me how to live and Conduct that I may Conduct myself both faithfully and acceptably

Friday July 30. 1756. Nothing remarkable Yesterday nor to Day, spent this Day in Study, am Considerably Comfortable in bodily health, have no great prospect of Being servicable as a Chaplain

Saturday July 31. Things remain much in the same Situation as of Late, the Reconnortering parties made discoveries of the Enemy sent

Lord's Day August 1, 1756—150 men Hedded by Col. Nathan Pason went to in pursuit of the Enemy—Nothing

Preached A.M. To Boston and Connecticut troops from Jer. 7. 2—P.M. To New Hampshire force from Rom. 2. 4.

Munday Aug<sup>st</sup> 2. A party of men sent to mend the Road, of 100, a Scout of 11 men Headed by Cap<sup>t</sup> Sheperd Sent out from s<sup>d</sup> party, who steered there Course Eastward, and about 4 Miles E from the Road, in the Side of a Swamp discovered the Enemy and fired upon

them, the Enemy returned the fire with Hedious Yells, and Large Numbers Rushed out, that our men were obliged to Escape—two Came to the party at the Roads—an Express Came into Camp, from Col. Hart who headed the party of 100 men informing us of the Affair

A Detachment of 300 men under the command of Maj<sup>r</sup> Paterson, were sent out immediately for the Relief of Col. Hart, who was about 87 Miles<sup>1</sup> upon the Road to Lake George. Maj<sup>r</sup> Paterson Marched his men being very dark, fell in with Enemy who had ambushed the Road about 5 Miles from the Camp; the fire Began very Brisk on both side, but all fired a Randum not see any object to Shote at—in which one Regular was Killed, Cap<sup>t</sup> Titcumb wounded and three or four More—About 3 o'clock the News Came to Camp, a Detachm<sup>t</sup> of 200 More were immediately Sent out who Tuesday Aug. 3. Joined the others and toke there Rout Eastward. Came across the Enemies Camp in a Hideous Swamp and Drive of the Enemy to take 2 Waggon Load of Bread, and a Large Quantity of other Stores—Distroyed all and Came of—also this Morning our Dead and wounded bro't in

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup> 4. 1756—Gen<sup>l</sup> Winslow Came from fort W<sup>m</sup> Henry to fort Edward Escorted by 300 men—Col. Angel with three Hundred detached out of the forces here; under his Command went out upon Discovery

Thursday Aug<sup>st</sup> 5. This morning a Reconnortering party, that went out Yesterday Morning, Returned, and Advice. that they discovered Signs of four partys of the Enemy. to the N. E. Stearing there

<sup>1</sup> Probably means seven miles.

Course to the Waggon Road from this fort to fort W<sup>m</sup>. Henry Judged there had been two Hundred in the whole of the four parties of the Enemy

. About 10 o'clock Gen<sup>l</sup> Winslow Set off from this fort towards Albany to wait upon the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>. Lord John, Earl of Louden

Maj<sup>r</sup>. Thomson Order'd to return with his men to fort W<sup>m</sup>. Henry to about a Mile, East of the path, and Col. Doty w<sup>t</sup> 170 men to March about a Mile E of Maj<sup>r</sup>. Thomson, and to Sustain Each oy<sup>r</sup> if attack'd by the Enemy

No News from the Scouting party but all things at present Secure

Lord be thou our Defence and Safe Guard

Friday, Aug<sup>st</sup> 6. 1756—the scout return'd from Wooderick<sup>1</sup> this morning, and Say that they have made no discovery a Little before 4, P. M. o.Clock a Storm of Thunder Came over with Severe Gusts of wind, attended with Hail, oversett many Tents — &c

L<sup>t</sup> Col. Doty. Returned with his men about  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 4. P. M. Made no discovery of the Enemy

Col. Angel Return'd. made but little discovery, found one [of] Cap<sup>t</sup>. Shepards men Dead, and buried him, found the pictures two more upon peel'd trees;<sup>2</sup> With the Signs of mortal wounds &c

Saturday Aug<sup>st</sup> 7. 1756. Twas with much Exercise of mind I spent the Day Considering the awfull growing wicked of the Camp—and nothing Effectual attempted to restrain—Lord Do thou re-

<sup>1</sup> Wood's Creek, in South Bay.

<sup>2</sup> These appear to be marks cut upon the trees for the guidance of those out in search of missing men.

strain us and turn us to thee and we shall be saved

Sabbath day, Aug<sup>st</sup> 8—One of the small scouts return and bro't word that a large Number of Enemy Lay in a Swamp within a few Miles from the Camp. Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman Order'd a Party of four Hundred to be immediately Sent out under the Command and Direction of Col. Fitch—who scoured the woods but made no Discovery of the Enemy themselves but saw some of there being very Lately in that place

M<sup>r</sup>. Norton Preach A. M.—and I preached P. M. from Jos. 24. 15—may it be word made Effectual to reform us—at night Rec<sup>d</sup>. Letters from Home by the hand of M<sup>r</sup>. Austin of Suffield

Munday Aug<sup>st</sup> 9. Spent the day in writing to my father, wife &c

Nothing Remarkable happened

Tuesday 10. Aug<sup>st</sup>. things remain much in the Same Situation; the Sickness Encreases very fast, and deaths Multiplied

Wednesday, 11. and Thursday 12.

Nothing Special

Friday Aug<sup>st</sup> 13. Joyful News Came this day to Camp, that the Stockbrige Indians<sup>1</sup> were come into Fort W<sup>m</sup>. Henry and had bro't in two french Scalps, and report the Enemies Camp at Tionderoga looks to be bigger than the Camp at Fort W<sup>m</sup> and this place both together; that they have Eight Store Houses, and a Great number of Barrels lying on the shore, and Battoes a great many

Saturday 14. 1756. Dined at Col. Harts with Col. Angel and Col. N. Payson—Nothing Remarkable happen'd

<sup>1</sup> They appear to have accompanied the troops to Lake St. Sacrement, bringing scalps, which fact evidently elevates the spirits of the Chaplain.

Lords Day Aug<sup>st</sup>. 15 M<sup>r</sup>. Norton  
Preached M. I preached P. M. from Is.  
8. 19

Munday, Aug<sup>st</sup>. 16. sent Letter to my  
Father & Tho<sup>s</sup> Truesdell of Danbury.

Col. Fitch, and Col. N Payson went off  
for south Bay,<sup>1</sup> With 450 men and the  
Regular Ingeneir to Survey that Country,  
and the Bay, for purposes not known in  
Gen<sup>l</sup> but Supposed in Order to Build a  
Fort there if need Require

This Evening about  $\frac{1}{2}$  after 9 Gen<sup>l</sup>  
Winslow and attendents arrived from Al-  
bany—Nothing yet Devulged, but kept  
Secret

Tuesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 17. 1756

Breakfasted this morning with y<sup>e</sup>. Gen<sup>l</sup>  
—But a graceless meal—Nev<sup>r</sup>. a Bless-  
ing Asked, nor Thanks given—At the  
Evening Sacrifice, a more open Scene of  
wickedness. the Gen<sup>l</sup> and Head officers  
with Some of the Regular officers—in  
Gen<sup>l</sup> Lyman Tent, within 4 Rods of the  
place of Publik prayers ;

None came to prayers ; but fixing a  
Table without the Door of the Tent.  
where a Head Col, was posted to make  
punch in y<sup>e</sup> Sight of all they within  
Drinking, talking and Laughing During  
the whole of the Service to the distur-  
bance and disaffection of most present

This was not only a bare neglect but  
an Open Contempt of the Worship of  
God, by the Heads of this Army Twas  
but last Sabbath that Gen<sup>l</sup> L——n spent  
the Time of Divine Service in the After-  
noon, in his Tent Drinking in Company  
with M<sup>r</sup>. Gourden a Regular officer—I  
have oft heard Cursing and Swearing in  
his presence, by some pas<sup>t</sup> field officers,  
but never heard a reproof, Nor so much

<sup>1</sup> The southern extension of Lake Champlain.

as a Checck to them for taking the Name  
of God in Vain, Come from his Mouth  
nor in the least to intimate his dislike of  
Such Language in the Time of it—tho  
he never Uses Such Language himself,  
but in private Conversation, when I  
have Spoken of it to him he disapproves  
of it to me—Lord what is man,—truly  
the May Game of Fortune—Lord make  
me Know my Duty What I ought to do

Wednesday Aug<sup>st</sup>. 18. 1756, Last  
night Col. Glazer geting into Anger with  
the Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Fort Guard, Close by my  
Window where there was nothing to be  
heard from Glazer but Damn and G—d.  
D—n, You

Here the Journal abruptly ends. On  
the succeeding pages are the following  
memoranda, "L. M." signifying lawful  
money. The Chaplain appears to have  
mixed the classics with themes of war.

for Sarg<sup>t</sup> Pumroy's Son to Get

1. Virgil
2. Tullys orations with Notes
3. a Greek Grammer

Rec<sup>d</sup>. a 30. Bill Oct<sup>r</sup>. Date

Gad Sheldon Greek Lexicon

Grammar

Latin Grammar

Rec<sup>d</sup>. three Dollars

M<sup>r</sup>. Bull paid I. M.

a Farmington . . . . .	L — 3 — 10
Southington . . . . .	1 — 8
idem . . . . .	— 8
Waterbury . . . . .	— 6
idem . . . . .	2 — 2
idem . . . . .	— 10
Woodbury . . . . .	—
New Milford . . . . .	4 — 9

ferry.....	8	
House in the Woods.....	8	
New Fairfield .....	—	3
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	18	— 9
York Money.....		
Cap <sup>t</sup> . Dan <sup>l</sup> . Bemus .....	2	— 8
John Brown .....	5	— 6
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Business for Ab<sup>m</sup>. Curtis

To Carry two Letters

To Inform M<sup>r</sup>. Kapon, and Amos Curtis I have all my money but there's

am to take M<sup>r</sup>. Kassons of his B<sup>r</sup>— have power to abate one Dollar of the Sum in the Note

Rec<sup>d</sup>. also a Note of Amos Curtis to Ab<sup>m</sup>. Curtis—

Synsbury,	L	1 — 2 — 2
Tole .....		2 — 2
Farmington .....		8 —
Southington .....	1	— 9
Waterbury .....	1	— 5
W <sup>t</sup> . of York—	4 — 3 — 3	

BETTY WASHINGTON'S TEA

The letter book of Mr. John Ball, uncle of Washington, is in the possession of a descendant, Mr. L. M. Downman, of

Washington, D. C., who has copied several letters for our use, among them being the following, addressed to Elizabeth Washington. In this connection it may be stated that we have been informed recently by a connection of the Washingtons, that there has always been in the family a tradition to the effect that, on one occasion, during the anti-tea times, Elizabeth Washington was caught, to her overwhelming confusion, in a private tea-drinking, thereby greatly scandalizing her own fair fame and the patriots' cause. What connection there may have been between this sad breach of public faith and the following letter, the reader must himself decide :

STRATFORD BY LONDON 2<sup>nd</sup> Nov. 1749  
Couz. Betty

I have sent you by your brother Major Washington a Tea Chest, and in it Six Silver Spoons and Strainer, and Tongs, of the same, and in one Canister  $\frac{1}{4}$  L. of Green Tea, and in the other as much Bohee : and the Sugar box is full of Sugar ready broke : So that as Soon as you get your Chest you may sit down, and drink a Dish of Tea. I rec<sup>d</sup> your Mothers Letters ; give my Love to her, and all your brothers and Sisters, and to Rawleigh Travers, and Mrs Cook, and Peter Daniel and his Wife. We are all well I thank God ; and wish you all so. My Wife and Daughter join with me in Compliments

I am Your Loving Uncle  
J. B.

To Miss Eliz : Washington  
Nigh the Falls of Rappahannock  
By fa<sup>vr</sup> of Major Lawrence  
Washington.

## REPRINT

THE STATUE TO WILLIAM PITT,  
EARL OF CHATHAM, IN CHARLES-  
TON, S. C.

The history of this statue illustrates the uncertainty attached to personal popularity, for the counterfeit presentment of the illustrious Pitt has proved a subject of alternate admiration and contempt. The wise and the unwise have illustrated the changes in public opinion, though we owe it, finally, to the intelligence of the City of Charleston, that the monument is once more decently placed in an appropriate position. The documentary account, reprinted from the *Literary Journal*, gives the story of the statue, procured at the expense of the public, which afterward paid the workmen for taking it down, while the crowd shouted for joy when "old Pitt," in the hurried descent, "lost his head." It appears now, however, that it was the mob that lost its head, though, as the accompanying engraving shows, a cannon-ball in 1780 came into town from the "Water-melon Battery," and carried away the eloquent statesman's arm. Otherwise the work is in a tolerable state of preservation, and its restoration gives much satisfaction. From the *Charleston News and Courier*, of May 30, 1881, we learn that—

"After the monument had been thrown down by the workmen, the fragments of the statue were gathered up and stowed away in some of the public buildings, where they remained with less dignified rubbish until the year 1808, when the commissioners of the Orphan House had them collected and erected the statue

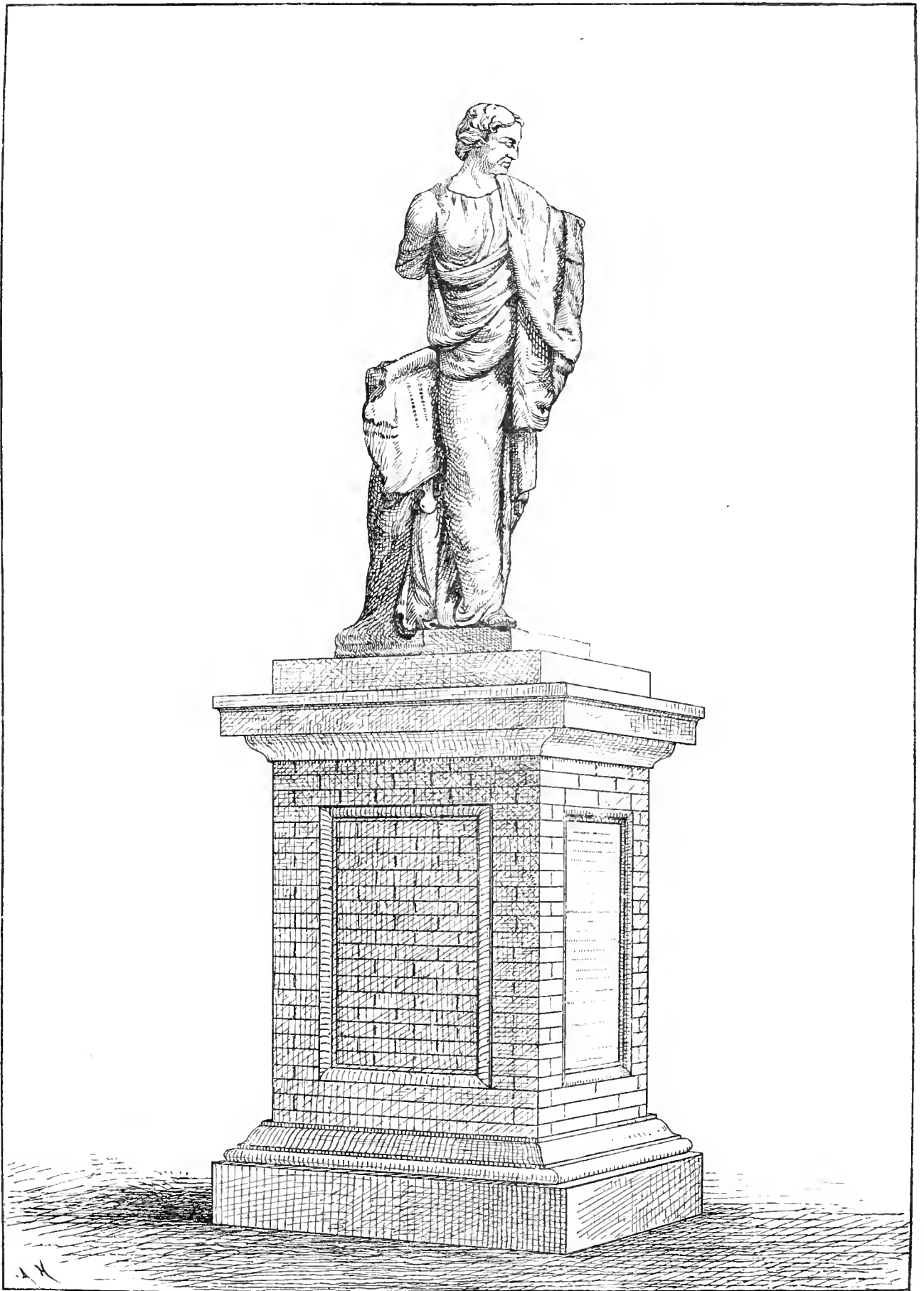
within the area fronting that institution, where it remained standing until it was taken down at the request of the South Carolina Historical Society and by order of the City Council, and removed to the City Park, near the spot where it first stood.

Mayor Courtenay has directed the work of re-erecting the statue. The base of the new monument is made of Fairfield county granite, and is five feet and six inches square by one foot and three inches thick. Upon this is built of pressed red and buff brick work the pedestal, into the die of which the panels containing the inscriptions are fitted. There are two panels of fine Italian marble (one of which is the panel that belonged to the original monument) three feet and six inches high by two feet and six inches in width. The pedestal is capped with a fine cornice of native granite five feet and six inches square, and one foot thick. Upon this cornice is placed the statue. The original panel of the monument faces Meeting street. It is somewhat stained by the lapse of time, but contains the following well preserved inscription :

## THE ORIGINAL INSCRIPTION

In grateful memory  
of his services to his country in general,  
And to America in particular  
The Commons House of Assembly  
of South Carolina,  
Unanimously voted  
This Statue  
of  
The Right Honorable William Pitt, Esqr.,  
how  
Gloriously exerted himself  
In defending the freedom of Americans.  
The true sons of England,







By promoting a repeal  
Of the Stamp Act,  
In the year 1766.  
Time

Shall sooner destroy  
This mark of their esteem  
Than  
Erase from their minds  
Their just sense  
of his patriotic virtues.

[THE NEW INSCRIPTION]

Upon the new panel, placed on the opposite side of the pedestal, is the following inscription :

This statue was voted in May, 1766,  
On motion of Rawlins Lowndes, Esq.,  
and was erected at the  
intersection of Broad and Meeting streets  
July 5th, 1769,

The right arm was destroyed by the fire  
of the English batteries on James Island  
during the siege of Charlestown  
in 1780.

It was removed March 13th, 1794,  
and

Re-erected by the Board of Commissioners  
of the Orphanhouse  
in front of that building  
in 1808.

At the request of  
the South Carolina Historical Society,  
and by order of

The City Council of Charleston,  
It was removed to this spot  
under the direction of

Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, Mayor,  
May, 1881.

NOTE—The New York Statue to the Earl Chatham now stands in a mutilated condition in the Refectory of the New York Historical Society. A full account of it may be found in Stevens' Progress of New York in a Century, an address delivered before the New York Historical Society December 5, 1876, and published for it. So much of it as con-

cerned the statue was reprinted in the Magazine (VII, 67) as a reply to a query on the subject.

LORD CHATHAM'S STATUE

*Extracts from the Southern Literary Journal,  
Vol. 1, No. 5, for January, 1836*

The news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in Charleston on Saturday, the 3d of May, 1766. It was brought by Captain Josiah Dickinson, in the sloop Sukey and Nancy, from Barbadoes. "As soon," says the South Carolina Gazette, of the 6th of May, 1766, "as the foregoing very agreeable and important intelligence was known, a general joy appeared in the countenance of every well wisher of his country, and the glorious cause of liberty. At four o'clock, in the afternoon, the artillery company, commanded by Christopher Gadsden, Esq., and the company of light infantry, commanded by Thomas Savage, Esq., appeared under arms, and went through their exercise, firing, &c. In the evening, the town was handsomely illuminated, and the day closed with loyalty and mirth, echoing with loyal toasts to his majesty king George III., the great patriot, Mr. Pitt, and our worthy friends in England."

The town was also illuminated on the evening of the 5th; but the gratitude of the people of the province did not stop here. The Commons House of Assembly, which was in session at this time, unanimously resolved, "that they would make provision for defraying the expense of procuring, from England, a marble statute of the Right Honorable William Pitt, to be erected in this province as a memorial and testimony of the great

eneration and respect they have for his person, and the obligations they lie under, in common with the rest of his majesty's American subjects, as well for his services in general to his king and country, as for his noble, disinterested and generous assistance towards obtaining the REPEAL of the STAMP ACT; and it was referred to the committee of correspondence, as soon as may be, to write to the agent to procure the same, to be done in the most finished and elegant manner."—*South Carolina Gazette, May 13, 1766.* Rawlins Lowndes, Esq., was the mover of this resolution.

In the tax act of 1766, the House of Assembly granted the sum of seven thousand pounds, Carolina currency, to procure this statue. I have never seen all the correspondence on this subject, which ensued between the committee of the House and Charles Garth, Esq., who was, at that time, agent of the province in England; but, in looking over some old papers, the other day, in the Secretary of State's office, I accidentally found the following letter of this gentleman, addressed, without doubt, to the committee of correspondence:

LONDON, July 9, 1766

*Gentlemen:* On the 1st inst. I had the honor of your favor of the 13th of May. I need not say that I had a very particular pleasure in hearing the joyful reception which the repeal of the Stamp Act has met with in America; as needless will it be to tell you how much I approve and am pleased with the commission you have given me to procure, for you, a statue of Mr. Pitt. It is a mark of grateful respect, in my opinion, extremely judiciously pointed. Taking the lead, and expressing his opinions in that able and spirited manner he did on the 14th of January, 1766, ought ever to be held in remem-

brance by every true friend and well wisher to the liberty, the peace and welfare of his majesty's dominions. By the first post I wrote to Mr. Pitt to apprise him of the compliment passed in your House of Assembly, enclosed him their resolutions and an extract from your letter to me in relation to this subject. I am pleased as this is not only the first but the most distinguished compliment paid to him from America. Other colonies, I hear, approving the thing, set on foot private subscriptions, a plan infinitely short of your's in nobleness and dignity. You may be assured, gentlemen, it shall be my earnest endeavor that your orders be obeyed in the completest manner possible. I have, since the receipt of your epistle, been employed in making the most diligent inquiry as to the repute and estimation in which the several artists in this way stand, and next in going to them to take a view of their works and to collect from their several opinions as well as to the manner in which your directions may be carried into execution, as to the price and the time requisite for finishing the same.

Rouvillac is dead; Risbach has left off business; of the several that remain, Mr. Wilton and Mr. Reid are of the first note and eminence. Both appear to have great skill, but the preference, I find, is given to the former. I have, therefore, made choice of him to give my orders to, to which I have been the rather induced, as he has signalized himself remarkably by a statue of Mr. Pitt, finished this spring, for the city of Cork, and admired by every body here before sent to Ireland. The city of Cork, when they asked the above favor of Mr. Pitt, begged his recommendation of the person he would choose it should be done by, and Mr. Wilton was honored therewith. In this gentleman's offices, I saw, likewise, two busts of him, to be sent to Ireland very shortly; and which, for likeness and workmanship both, are very greatly admired. I mention these circumstances that you may know the motives for the preference I have given—being myself extremely anxious to have your's finished in the most elegant style, though I have been a good deal perplexed notwithstanding, your letter not being sufficiently explicit where to be placed, this being a circum-

stance that must make a very material difference in the execution. If to be set in any room, or niche in any building, the figure must be less in size than if placed in a square or open area; so likewise the pedestal, in order to produce a good effect in the open air. These are the sentiments of Mr. Wilton, and of all the artists in general. At present I have given in your directions to have him at full length, in a speaking attitude and suitable dress, with a roll in one hand, inscribed Magna Charta, and a proper pedestal to it, that he may turn in his mind in what design to execute it. In the mean time I may learn either from some correspondent to the merchants of tolerable authority, or from persons who are lately come, or may arrive by the next vessels, what the idea and intention are at Charleston. As to the expense, I cannot send you any precise information. The artists vary in their accounts, but much must depend on the design. In general they talk of from five to eight hundred guineas, if it be set in an open square, which seems the noblest scheme. Till a model of the design is finished, there is no making any agreement with propriety, as that might be a means of limiting his fancy in the ornamental part about the pedestal. I don't find it practicable to finish the models of the statue and pedestal, and, afterwards, the marble therefrom, in less than fifteen or eighteen months. \* \* \* \* \*

I am, gentlemen, with great respect, your very faithful and most obedient humble servant

CHARLES GARTH

I understand that the whole of Mr. Garth's correspondence, as agent of the colony, with the Provincial House of Commons, is in existence at Columbia.  
\* \* \* \* \*

In the South Carolina Gazette, of the 6th of January, 1767, there is the following extract from a letter of the committee of correspondence to Charles Garth, Esq., dated Charleston, October 20th, 1766, in answer to the foregoing letter of Mr. Garth's. Says the committee:

“That concerning the statue of Mr. Pitt (now Lord Chatham), was taken immediately into

consideration, being the first business entered upon this meeting. It was then determined by the House to have it fixed in the most public part of our town, where two of the broadest and longest of our streets that run east and west and north and south, intersect each other at right angles, one of which is sixty, the other seventy feet wide, and both as straight as an arrow. In the cross-way of these two streets the statue is proposed to be erected, and will have our New Church, our New Market, the State House and Armory, all public buildings, at the several corners of it. Mr. Wilton's form, designed for an open space, is thought rather too stiff in its attitude. However, we have no additional directions to give on this matter, further than that you will consult the best connoisseurs, and have it finished in the most elegant manner, excepting that too great care cannot be taken to have the marble as hard, solid, and smoothly polished as possible, because of the many sudden and violent showers of rain that happen here in the summer time, and those frequently followed by such piercing and intense heat of the sun, as would (without such precaution) quickly penetrate into cracks and less solid parts, and, hereby, soon spoil the beauty of the statue.”

There were two designs of the proposed statue by Mr. Wilton sent out to Charleston by Mr. Garth, which are now in the possession of that admirable artist and accomplished gentleman, Charles Fraser, Esq. The provincial House of Assembly became quite impatient for the arrival of the statue, for, on the 4th of July, 1769, they disagreed to a petition to retain it some time in England, and ordered it to be sent out to Charleston as soon as finished.

The supplement to the South Carolina Gazette of May 17th, 1770, contains the following paragraph:

“This day arrived here in the ship Carolina Packet, Captain William White, from London, in 38 days, the marble statue of that celebrated English patriot, the Right Honorable William

Pitt, now Lord Chatham, for which the Assembly of this province voted one thousand pounds sterling in the year 1766. It is a colossal statue, done by Mr. Wilton, highly finished and reckoned as complete a piece of sculpture as ever was done in England. When ready to be landed, we are told that the inhabitants of this town are determined to draw it themselves to the place where it is to be erected in the square between the State House, Guard House, St. Michael's Church, and the Public Market, the present Lord Chatham being equally respected by them with the former great Commoner."

Mr. William Adron came out in the same vessel to put up the statue.

"Last Tuesday morning (says the South Carolina Gazette of May 31st), about nine o'clock, the elegant marble statue of that true friend and undaunted assertor of the liberties of Britain and America, the Right Honorable William Pitt, done by Mr. Wilton, of London, was landed upon Charles Elliott's wharf, amidst a vast concourse of the inhabitants, many of them of the first rank and consequence, who received it with three hearty cheers, and, preceded by music, after a flag had been placed on the case, drew it, by hand, in fifteen minutes, to a shade prepared for its reception at the armory, where it is to remain until the foundation and pedestal are raised where it is to be erected. Nothing ever was conducted with greater order than this procession, and (except *some of the lookers-on who have been remarkable for distinguishing themselves* upon too many occasions) every one seemed highly pleased with the respect that was shown to the great patriot by such a reception of his statue. All the vessels in the harbor except three (one belonging to Leith, another to Dundee, &c.) displayed their colors upon this occasion, and St. Michael's bells would have been rang, but were stopped out of regard to Isaac Mazyck, Esq., a very worthy member of this community, who lives near that church, and lay extremely ill. When the statue was lodged, the inhabitants made a handsome present to the seamen belonging to the ship; and their thanks are due to the owners, who have refused to receive any freight for the statue and appar-

tenances, consisting of no less than fifty-seven heavy packages.

"Previous notice having been given that the statue of the Right Honorable William Pitt would be got ready to be raised this afternoon, early this morning all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors, and a flag with the words PITT AND LIBERTY, and a fine branch of laurel above it, was displayed at the scaffolding, upon a staff of forty-five feet high; and, this afternoon, in the presence of almost the whole of the inhabitants, the statue was raised and fixed in its place, without the least accident, by the Numbers 26 and 92, members of the Club No. 45, who had assembled themselves upon this occasion. As soon as it was fixed, twenty-six members of our Assembly ascended the scaffold, when the Hon. Peter Manigault, their speaker, was pleased to condescend to the request of the people, by proclaiming the inscription on the pedestal, which was in these words:

In grateful memory  
of his services to his country in general,  
and to America in particular,  
the Commons House of Assembly  
of South-Carolina,  
unanimously voted  
this statue  
of  
The Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq.,  
who  
gloriously exerted himself  
in defending the freedom of Americans,  
the true sons of England,  
by promoting a repeal  
of the Stamp-Act,  
in the year 1766.  
Time  
shall sooner destroy  
this mark of their esteem,  
than  
erase from their minds  
their just sense  
of his patriotic virtues.

St. Michael's bells rang. Joy sat on every countenance. As soon as this was done, Lord Chatham's health was drank, twenty-six cannon were fired by the artillery company, three huzzas succeeded. This evening, the Club No. 45, consisting of a great body of the principal inhabitants, are to meet at Messrs. Dillon and Gray's (at the old City Tavern, northeast corner of Broad and Church Streets) where an elegant

entertainment is provided for them, when the following forty-five toasts will be drank :

1. The King. 2. The Queen and Royal Family. 3. The Lieutenant Governor (William Bull) and the Province. 4. The Sons of Liberty throughout America. 5. The Glorious Ninety-Two. 6. The Unanimous Twenty-Six. 7. Our present Representatives. 8. The men who will part with life before liberty. 9. Lord Chatham. 10. Lord Camden. 11. Lord Rockingham. 12. Honor and influence to the friends of Britain and America. 13. The Duke of Manchester. 14. Lord Granby. 15. Sir William Meredith. 16. All honest, resolute and disinterested patriots. 17. Mr. Burke. 18. Sergeant Glynn. 19. Governor Pownall. 20. The Virtuous Minority of both Houses of Parliament. 21. Mr. Beckford, Lord Mayor of London. 22. The Sheriffs Townsend and Sawbridge. 23. Alderman Wilkes. 24. The Supporters of the Bill of Rights. 25. James Otis, Esq. 26. Daniel Dulany, Esq. 27. The Pennsylvania Farmer. 28. Success to all Patriotic Measures. 29. Christopher Gadsden, Esq. 30. Thomas Lynch, Esq. 31. John Rutledge, Esq. 32. Firmness and Perseverance in our Resolutions not to flinch a single inch. 33. Hon. Jonathan Bryan. 34. Hon. Henry Middleton. 35. Hon. Peter Manigault. 36. The Patriotic Merchants of America. 37. Hon. Judge Lowndes, who made the motion for the statue. 38. Charles Pinckney, Esq. 39. Miles Brewton. 40. Mr. Neufville, Chairman, and the General Committee of this Province. 41. Success to American Manufactures. 42. Property to the Lovers of Liberty only. 43. Our Lands free, our Men honest, our Women fruitful. 44. Judas's fate to the enemies of America. 45. May Wilkes always prove a scourge to tyrants and traitors, and be the glory of old England."—*South Carolina Gazette*, July 5, 1770.

The Club No. 45, mentioned above, was a popular one at this time in Charleston, and took its name from the famous 45th Number, of the North Briton, which occasioned Mr. Wilke's imprisonment. The Club celebrated his release in Charleston by an entertainment, at which they drank forty-five toasts, and broke up at forty-five minutes past twelve o'clock.

One or two of the above toasts, perhaps, at this time, require a little explanation.

The General Court of Massachusetts on the 29th of June, 1768, by a vote of of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, at the request of the king, a resolution, of the preceding session,

directing their speaker to send a circular letter to all the colonies requesting that they would join in dutiful petitions to the king for the redress of the grievances occasioned by sundry late acts of the British Parliament. These ninety-two were generally called and toasted as the Glorious Ninety-two Anti-Rescinders. When the House of Assembly for South Carolina met on the 7th of November, 1763, Mr. Peter Manigault, the speaker, laid before them the above-mentioned circular, signed by Mr. Cushing, as speaker of the General Court of Massachusetts, which received their unanimous approbation. The House, at this time, consisted of twenty-six members.

This measure was so displeasing to Lord Montagu, then governor, that he immediately dissolved the House by proclamation, although they had not been in session above three or four days. In his opening address to the House, Lord Montagu had acquainted them that his majesty considered this letter and proposition of Massachusetts to be of the most factious tendency, and calculated to promote an unwarrantable combination among the colonies.

Daniel Dulany belonged to Maryland, and had been Attorney-General of the Lord Proprietary of that colony.

Jonathan Bryan was a distinguished Whig of Georgia. The rest of the toasts speak for themselves.

The statue, which was surrounded by an iron railing that supported four lamps, remained at the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets during the whole revolutionary war, unhurt by anything, except a cannon ball, which, during the siege of Charleston, in 1780, was

discharged from a British fort, on James Island, and which, ranging across Ashley River and along Meeting Street, carried off Mr. Pitt's right arm, extended as if in the act of addressing an audience. After the peace of 1783, carriages, for the conveyance of persons and goods, had increased so much as to require the statue to be removed from so public a thoroughfare. Jacob Milligan and others were employed to take it down.

This happened not long after the commencement of the French revolution, and the persons who were engaged in taking down the statue were supporters of French opinions, and favorers of the revolution; friends of France, and, consequently, hostile to William Pitt, who, at that time, was Prime Minister of England, and directing all the energies of his great intellect against France. With a petty malignity which savors of fierce democracy, their hostility to the son was extended to the statue of his illustrious father. It is thus described by Judge Drayton, in his memoirs, p. 60:

“They fixed their ropes around the neck of the statue (which was raised on a high pedestal), for the purpose, as they said, of obtaining a purchase by which they might erect the triangle, by whose assistance the statue was to be raised from the pedestal; and, after having gained the purchase, as they called it, and fixed blocks and tackles to a post at some distance at the side of the street, they commenced drawing the ropes with all their force. The event turned out as was expected, and of which they had been warned while in the act of applying the power; for, so soon as the triangle was raised a few degrees high, its weight, and the opposing angle it made to the upright position of the statue, overcame its fixture, and it was prostrated to the ground. By this fall, the head of the statue was

severed from the body, or was guillotined, as they were pleased to term it, and other parts of the body were mutilated.”

The executioners, however, were not satisfied with the mere delight of beheading the effigy of this illustrious friend of America, for I find that the City Council paid Jacob Milligan four pounds, eleven shillings and six pence, for his services on this occasion. The City Council lost nothing by this expenditure; for they afterwards sold the stones, which composed the pedestal, to the late Judge Grimke, “at a fair valuation.” Among these stones was the marble slab containing the inscription, which was placed, by Judge Grimke, in the wall of his garden on East Bay, where it remained for some time, until it was removed to be placed on the pedestal of the statue, when it was erected on its present site in the Orphan House yard.

The removal of the statue is noticed in the South Carolina Gazette of Friday, March 14th, 1794, in the following manner:

“Yesterday, the marble statue of the late Earl of Chatham, which had been standing for a number of years in Broad and Meeting Streets, was pulled down. The iron railing round it had been displaced a few days since. It is somewhat ominous to the *aristocrats*, that, in removing this effigy, the *head* was literally severed from the *body*, though without any assistance from the *guillotine*. A correspondent observes that the *executioners* showed no kind of contrition on this melancholy occasion; not even a *basket* was provided to receive the *head*; not a single person was observed to dip a handkerchief in the blood; nor will it be at all surprising if the body should remain without *interment* till the sound of the last *trump*. SIC TRANSIT GLORIA MUNDI.”



## NOTES

A FALSE METHOD—It is a favorite method with some historical writers to argue from negatives, or, otherwise, to make the absence of positive knowledge the foundation of positive statement. A voyage, for instance, the performance of which involves no improbability, is vaguely mentioned by some old chronicler. "This cannot be true," argues the objector, "for the reason that we have no account of such a voyage." Ignorance is thus brought to the front, and made to do duty as positive knowledge. Otherwise, the argument would run, "We know that such a voyage as that in question did not take place, because we know nothing about it." This process is sufficiently absurd, yet it is often employed. It is argued that we have no formal account of a certain achievement prior to a certain date, and therefore nothing prior was done. Thus, taking it for granted that little or nothing is known with respect to pre-Columbian voyages to America, it is argued that Columbus was the first to lead the way to the New World. In the hurry to make out a case for some particular hero, they are unable to see the dimly outlined anterior performance, and out of the whole cloth of ignorance cut for themselves garments which they fancy they have fashioned out of the beautiful texture of positive truth. There is nothing more credulous than incredulity, and unbelief often demands a prodigious venture of faith.

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PER CONTRA—As much, however, as may be said against scepticism in historic research, a great deal may be offered in

defence of well-grounded and thoroughly stiff doubt. In a sense, all progress is based upon doubt. Statements need to be looked into sharply, and whoever does his duty will seek to put the doubt with directness and force, wherever the doubt belongs, without regard to the feelings of families or communities that may be pained by the puncturing of some patent untruth. There is nothing that fibs like history, and the challenge is in order.

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THE DE BRY PICTURES—The original sketches made for the illustration of De Bry's work are now preserved in the British Museum. Recently they have been photographed, and they will be used in illustrating a series of articles in *The Century* by Dr. Eggleston, who will treat the question of life and manners in connection with the early history of this country. These photographic reproductions are exceedingly interesting, and show a degree of faithfulness upon the part of the artist that the engravings in De Bry's work do not reveal. In fact the engraver engraved out much that was essential, so that while, for instance, a shad in the original sketch is at once recognized as a shad by a competent judge, in the engraved picture it is difficult to say what kind of a fish the artist intended to represent. If these photographs are faithfully followed, as presumably they will be, the forthcoming articles in *The Century* will add much to the interest now taken in De Bry, and prove a welcome addition to American history.

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ETHAN ALLEN ONCE MORE—The charge that at one time Ethan Allen was on the point of becoming a traitor and

joining the British, has often been made, and, as some think, it has been substantiated. The Vermont explanation, as given by Hall, is that all this was a pretence on the part of Allen to deceive the British and gain time for the American cause. Mr. Hall denounced the conduct, of which he offered an explanation; but references to Allen are still turning up. In the present number of the Magazine (p. 201), in an article giving extracts from Sir Henry Clinton's "Private Intelligence," is the following significant entry: "By the best accounts Ethan Allen has not yet joined tho' much discontented."

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GONE TO TEXAS—The letters "G. T. T." used to signify "Gone to Texas." Bad characters, we have always been told, used to go there in great numbers; yet the leading article in the present issue on "The Colonization of Texas" seems to indicate that the early colonists were of a better class than often supposed.

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THE SARATOGA MONUMENT—The bill lately introduced into the New York Assembly, by Mr. D. S. Potter, of Saratoga Springs, appropriating \$15,000 for the proposed monument on the Saratoga battle-field, 1777, will, if passed, secure the completion of the project. The \$30,000 granted by Congress, added to the \$10,000 previously appropriated by the State, are evidence of the liberal disposition of both bodies. Something more, however, is needed, and will doubtless be secured by the new bill. The monument, it is known, is to stand about a mile west of the bank of the Hudson, near Burgoyne's last camp, and overlooking the field of

the surrender at old Fort Hardy. From Saratoga Springs the distance is twelve miles. The Monument Association has a clear deed to three acres of land purchased by private subscription, mainly through the efforts of the Secretary, Mr. Wm. L. Stone, Jr., and the monument has already made progress twenty-five feet from the ground. It will be obelisk in form, "with Gothic decorations," and have an altitude of one hundred and twenty-five feet. The designs, furnished by Mr. J. C. Markham, the architect, present a stately structure, worthy of the decisive event to be commemorated. It is expected that the present year will see the main shaft completed.

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CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA—With reference to the first of the coming centennials of the Protestant Episcopal Church, this ancient edifice will be restored. Among the repairs and restorations designed are the following: The restoring to use again the ancient aisle floors, including therein the venerable tombstones, still in good condition (as was ascertained in an examination of some of them in October last, by lifting a portion of the present flooring), substituting for the old and worn brick pavement Minton tiles, thus removing the wooden flooring built over them in 1836. Among these stones are those covering the remains, among others, of the Reverend Robert Jenney, LL.D. (1762), and the Reverend Richard Peters, D.D. (1776), rectors of the church, the Reverend Nathaniel Evans, M.A. (1767), the Honorable Richard Warsom, Esq. (1766), John Knight, Esq. (1733), John Roberts, merchant (1730), and those benefactors of

the church, Mrs. Mary Andrews (1761), and Thomas Venable, Esq. (1731), and Rebecca, his wife (1784). A memorial stone over the remains of Bishop White, which were laid under the chancel in 1870, is included in the plans, and is the gift of an unknown donor. The removal of the two western doors to the bay immediately east, where they were originally built, as shown by the brick mouldings and other evidences existing. The removal of the present cumbersome stairway to the galleries erected in 1836, and employing their place with the pews displaced by the new cross passage. Restoring the stairway in the south-east room, for access to the south gallery, and giving access to the north gallery by the school-house stairway. The removal of the pulpit from the north pier of the chancel (where it was placed in 1870) to its original site in front of the chancel arch, a little north of the middle aisle.

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A BURGOYNE SPY—In a MS. order book for 1779, among court-martial proceedings confirmed by general orders, "Head Quarters, New Windsor, July 4th," is the following item: "Likewise Joseph Bettis was try'd for having been a spy for Gen<sup>l</sup> Burgoine, in the Service of the enemy by coming within the American Lines, in the State of N. York, in a Secret manner; and Returning again to the Enemies of the United States; & for having forg'd a certificate to facilitate the execution thereof: found guilty and Unanimously Sentenced to Suffer Death by being hung by the neck untill he be Dead.—The Commander in Chief confirms the foregoing sentences."

HARLEM HEIGHTS—On the gravestone of James Clark, buried at Lebanon, Conn., in 1826, is the inscription:

"He was a soldier of the Revolution and dared to lead where any dared to follow. The battles of Bunker Hill, *Harlem Heights* and White Plains witnessed his personal bravery."

He was known in later years as Colonel Clark.

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THE RECORD OF WASHINGTON'S BIRTH—This entry found in the family Bible, in his mother's handwriting, is as follows: "George Washington, son of Augustine and Mary, his wife, was born ye 11th day of February 1732, about 10 in the morning, and was baptized the 3d of April following. Mr. Beverly Whiting and Christopher Brooks God-fathers, and Mrs. Mildred Gregory God-mother." In those days the year commenced on the 25th of March. In 1750 the beginning of the year was changed by act of Parliament to the 1st of January, and the day following the 2d of September, 1752, was reckoned the 14th, omitting eleven days. The 11th of February, 1732, old style, is equivalent to the 22d of February, 1733, new style. The 22d of February was *first* celebrated as Washington's birthday in 1791, I believe, and was generally adopted by 1793; but I do not think that any historian has noted the fact that Washington was really born in 1733, and was really one year younger than always represented. This fact makes his career all the more remarkable. To illustrate: on October 31, 1753, when he was commissioned "to visit and deliver a letter to the Commandant of the French forces on the Ohio," Irving and others say "he

was not yet *twenty-two* years of age." He was not *twenty-one*, being only twenty years, eight months, and nine days old.

ALEXANDER BROWN

*Norwood, Virginia*

INDIANS—From the tabulations of the United States census of June, 1880, we gather some curious facts about Indians living in the larger centres of population. The enumerators have made minute distinction between full-blood and mixed-blood Indians, and though we would expect to find more of the latter than of the former in our largest cities, just the reverse is the case. The following figures show that the Indians are gradually gathering about the large cities, because they are sure to find there more steady work than elsewhere: Cook County, Ill., with *Chicago*, has 39 Indians and 4 mixed bloods; District of Columbia, with *Washington*, has 6 Indians; Baltimore County, Md., with *Baltimore*, has 10; Suffolk County, Mass., with *Boston*, has 21; Philadelphia County, with *Philadelphia City*, has 26; Chester County, just southwest of the above county, has 4; Hamilton County, Ohio, with *Cincinnati*, has 10; Westchester County, N. Y., has 14; Kings County, with *Brooklyn*, has 23; New York County, with *New York City*, has 44. The Long Island aboriginal population are largely mixed with negro blood, and show for Queens County, 25; for Suffolk County, 60 Indians. The whole of New Jersey State has 58 Indians.

M. S. GATCHET

A REMARKABLE CAREER—Dr. Green, in his collection of epitaphs from the old

burying-ground of Groton, Mass., gives the following:

"Sacred to the memory of Capt. ABRAM CHILD, who was born at Waltham, 1741, and died at Groton, Jan. 3, 1834, aged 93 years. He entered the army in the French War, at the age of 17 years. Was with Gen. Amherst at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759. He was a Lieutenant among the Minute Men, and aided in the Concord Fight and the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775. Joining Washington, he was one of the Immortal Band which crossed the Delaware, Dec. 25, 1776, and turned the tide of war in the Victories of Trenton and Princeton. Detached to the North, he fought in the two Battles of Stillwater, and witnessed the surrender of Burgoyne in 1777. Rejoining Washington, he bore equally the Frosts of Valley Forge and the Heats of Monmouth, in 1778. Detailed with Gen. Wayne, he Crowned his Military career by heading the Infantry as oldest Captain in the gallant capture of Stony Point, in 1779, where he received the only wound that marked his eventful services."

GROTON

## QUERIES

THE SHARPLES PORTRAITS—The agent of the Sharples Washington portraits, which are again in this country on a brief tour of exhibition, is interested in ascertaining the number of copies of the pictures which the artist made and left in the United States. Four or five small copies of Washington as President, either in crayon or water-colors, are known to be in New York. Of Martha Washington

none are reported. Do any exist elsewhere?

Two of the three portraits, the recent arrival of which from England has been noticed by the daily press, are here for the first time since their execution. They are those of the President and his wife, painted in 1796. The other, of the General in military uniform, was on exhibition here in 1834, in company with Sharples' painting of "Stuyvesant's Army entering Sing Sing." It was at the solicitation of Washington Irving that they were sent over from England for a short period. The two additional portraits are of great value and interest, that of Martha Washington being especially noticeable for its strength and fidelity. The President's is a trifle less satisfactory, as compared with Stuart's portrait, which has become the traditional representation. All are worth a patriotic visit and critical inspection.

As to Sharples, it may be stated, what many will recall, that he was a well-to-do Englishman of artistic turn, who came to the United States in 1794 for the benefit of his health, "bringing with him orders and commissions to paint numerous portraits of officers and gentlemen, for their families in England." He painted portraits of the Washingtons, and executed in crayon those of many others. The originals of the former belong to an English family, in whose possession they are likely to remain for an indefinite period; but, for the gratification of all who wish to examine them, they are brought here for exhibition for a short time, and have been or are to be seen at New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and possibly some other

cities. Autotype copies are offered for sale.

WOMEN IN CAMP—How far was it a practice for Revolutionary officers and soldiers to have their families in camp? What can be added similar to the following, taken from the original *MS.*?

"Return of the Women and Children (drawing rations) of the first N. Y. Regiment of foot.

Companies.	Women.	Children.
Light Company.. .. .	4	3
First " .. . . .	5	..
Second " .. . . .	3	3
Third " .. . . .	7	6
Fourth " .. . . .	2	1
Fifth " .. . . .	11	7
Sixth " .. . . .	2	..
Seventh " .. . . .	5	7
Eight " .. . . .	5	5
Total.....	44	32

J. H. Wendell Adj. } Pompton 5 April  
 1<sup>st</sup> N. Y. Regiment." } 82.

KITE FLYING—I have always been curious on the subject of kite flying, which is of great antiquity among the Chinese, whose translated literature, so far as I know it, does not give any explanation of the pastime. I have frequently asked myself if the kite represented a captive bird or a flock of birds. There is, however, in the new volume of the Smithsonian Institution devoted to Ethnology, at page 372, a pictograph of the Coyetero Apaches, found at Camp Apache, in Arizona, which represents a star with a circle in the middle, having attached eleven small round disks con-

nected with lines, the whole forming an exact representation of a star-shaped kite with a long tail of bobbins placed at intervals on the string. The explanation given is not very clear, but is of an astronomical character, the star being put for the sun. Now, does this figure represent the heavenly bodies, and is kite flying a conceit of the Chinese, who fancy that they are playing with the sun, moon, and stars on the days sacred to this sport in the Flowery and Celestial Kingdom?

KITE

POLLOCK, GEORGE, OF NEW ORLEANS, 1806-7—George Pollock, Justice of the Peace for the County of Orleans, took the deposition of Gen. James Wilkinson against Burr, at N. O., Dec. 26, 1806 (Am. Register 1, 110). Also that of T. H. Cushing, U. S. Army, in same case, May 20, 1807 (Wilkinson's Mem. II., App. XCII.). George Pollock's name also occurs January 24, 1807, on the Grand Jury of N. O., among many very prominent men, which found a true bill against General Wilkinson for the military arrest of James Alexander and Peter V. Ogden (Am. Reg. 1, 98). Can any one give any further information about this George Pollock?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

THE PEACE OF 1783—Having duly commemorated nearly every incident, battle and skirmish of the Revolution from Maine to Georgia, it is proper to inquire whether any preparations are suggested or in progress to celebrate the conclusion of the treaty of Peace between Great Britain and the United States in 1783.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTOR—How comes he into our politics? The word "elector" could not have been continued from colonial use. Is it an importation, and imperial at that? In proposing that "electors" should elect the President, did the Constitutional Convention, or the mover in the case, have the German system in mind—the "Seven Electors"? Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, appears to have been the first to propose the electoral college. What new light can be thrown upon this point?

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—Where is the original letter written by Tobias Lear, Washington's secretary, describing the latter's reception of the news of St. Clair's defeat in 1791, to be found? When published, and in what form or what periodical?

T.

WESLEY AS A BISHOP—One frequently finds reference to this subject in historical discussions. Can any reader of the Magazine explain the origin of the notion that Wesley in some way received episcopal consecration, or furnish the bibliography of the subject?

STILLINGFLEET

## REPLIES

THE DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI—This subject [VIII. 139, 156] is treated as though La Salle, while having no claim as the discoverer of the Mississippi, was, nevertheless, the person who discovered the three mouths of the "Father of Waters." Perhaps, however, this claim is the worst founded of all; since, for a period of nearly one hundred and sixty years prior to La Salle, the northern

shore of the Gulf of Mexico was familiar to the European explorers, together with ecclesiastics and members of various religious orders. The suggestion that Joliet was indebted to representatives of his own faith for that full knowledge of the river which he did not gain from personal examination, is in accordance with what we know of the history of exploration, though the knowledge he thus obtained must have resulted from explorations earlier than 1673. A glance at the maps of the Gulf of Mexico prior to this date will enable the student to appreciate the activity of explorers. Before 1503, the Portuguese were active in this connection. In 1521, Garay explored the northern shore of the Gulf, proceeding eastward nearly to Florida, being succeeded by De Soto. More than a hundred years before Joliet saw the Mississippi, Englishmen, who had been left on the Bay of Mexico by Sir John Hawkins, crossed the river close to its outlet. In fact, those who have studied the question only in connection with operations at the north have missed much of the interest. Such maps as that found at page 92 of the "*Histoire Universelle des Indes occidentales et orientales*," printed at Douay, in 1611, not to mention earlier editions, show conclusively that a great river was known to occupy what we now know as the valley of the Mississippi. It was called "Rio de S. Spirito," and extended far into the north, showing a general resemblance to the Mississippi and the Missouri. The "Rio Escardido," on the western side of the Gulf, answers to the modern "Rio Grande;" while, eastward, "Rio Canaveral" represents the "Alabama." Between the latter and "Rio

de S. Spirito" were three small rivers represented to-day by the "Tanquaphoa," the "Pearl," and the "Pascagoula." These delineations are rude, but they are similar in their character to what we might expect of one drawing a map of those rivers from obscure and tangled relations and rough sketches. Hence what was intended for the Alabama River appears almost as great a river as the "Rio de S. Spirito." This map goes so far as to indicate, though in a vague manner, the connection of the southern water-flow with one or more great lakes at the north. Yet, however rude the delineation, there can be no doubt but that nearly a century, at least, before Joliet, the existence of the Mississippi had been made known, it being perfectly well understood that two or more great streams rose in latitude 40 north and united at a certain point, rolling on a mighty tide to the Mexican Gulf.

Joliet, La Salle, and the rest of the French explorers beyond question were familiar with the well-known "*Histoire Universelle*," and when they found themselves on the Mississippi, they knew perfectly well that they were sailing on the waters of the "Rio de S. Spirito." These men did not pretend to be discoverers, and Joliet, after reaching the lower waters of the Mississippi, did not go on to the mouth, as he feared that he should fall into the hands of the Spaniards and their Indian allies, who were down at the mouth of the river, with which they had been familiar for more than a century, having delineated it upon their maps. It is clear from the inspection of maps of a Spanish origin of the period between 1521 and 1600, that the northern shore of the Gulf

had been explored many times, especially by men like Garay, who was in search of rich cities. Excursions were made into the interior by land, and longer ones by water, following the Mississippi and other streams. Much was thus learned from personal knowledge, while the Indians in their rude way completed the sketches of the country which the Europeans began. But why was not the existence of the river emphasized? This was simply because the time to attach value to the fact had not arrived. The explorers were in search of wealth, and it was not until later times that territorial jurisdiction and its advantages attracted the attention of France. Then arose the opportunity of Joliet, Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle, who, by proclaiming the facts in the case, became famous. The early explorers did not care whether the Mississippi had one throat or three, though the good people of New Orleans are making as much ado over the matter as though the Father of Waters drank from the great salt gulf through threescore. The next time let us begin our investigation at the beginning, and prepare for a celebration of the *real* discoverers of the mouths of the Mississippi, when the discoverers are discovered.

DELTA

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THE FRAUDULENT THEVET [VIII. 130]  
—In confirmation of the truth of the representation of Thevet already given, the testimony from his earlier work may be added. In his "France Antarctique," published in 1556, and translated into English in 1758, and now rare, he distinctly shows that he was taken sick in South America, was carried on board the ship, was sick all the way on the voyage,

and could scarcely walk when he reached France, and that he did not even land upon North America. Nevertheless, in his later work he forgets all this, and pretends that he made the acquaintance of New England and the North by actual exploration. The following extract, however, settles the whole question, as he did not approach either Florida or Canada:

"Seeing thus that in writing this discourse we have made mention of this lande called *Florida*, although that in our retorne we approached not so neare, considering that our course lay not so low, never the less, we sayled close by to take an easterly wynde. It seemeth to me not out of the way, to write thereof some thing. Lykwise of the land of *Canada* that is next to it toword y<sup>e</sup> North, being only certaine mountaines betweene bothe. Therefore keeping our course of the height of new *Spaine* on y<sup>e</sup> right hand to attain to *Europe*, not so sure nor so right a course as we wished to have gone, we found the sea favorable enough. But as by chaunce I put out my head to beholde it," the sick man says, "I saw it as farre as I could extend my sight, all covered with herbs and floures, the which gave me occasion to think that we were nere to y<sup>e</sup> land, considering also y<sup>t</sup> in other places of y<sup>e</sup> sea I had not so much seene; notwithstanding I found myselfe frustrate of my opinion, knowing that they proceeded of y<sup>e</sup> sea, so we saw the sea strawed with those hearbs for the space of twenty 20 days." This was the "Sea of Saragossa" through which the monk sailed, and which he espied from his cabin window. Here let the "Explorer of New England," celebrated by Dr. Kohl, make his exit.



"THE OLD BENSON HOUSE" [VOL. V., 219]—This ancient formerly existing Harlem mansion, described in the note referred to, was stone-built mainly, but fronted with "Holland brick." It faced the south, was a story and a half in height, with low-running roofs, and had two square windows in each end. Mr. Sampson Benson, its owner and occupant, before, during, and after the Revolution for many years, died in 1821, at the age of about ninety. The old house—how old no one can tell—was totally demolished when Mr. Sampson B. McGown, the venerable grandson of Mr. Benson, built, about twenty years ago, the large and handsome brick house in which he now lives on three-quarters of the same site, using, however, some of the old stones of the former in its foundation. Col. De Voe is mistaken in the idea that the present house has any other feature of identity with its ancient Dutch predecessor, and that it has once been "turned around." The old mansion, seized by the British with the occupation of New York City, was appropriated and held for their army and hospital uses until the evacuation day. Then it was reoccupied by Mr. Benson, who, with his wife and two children, had retreated within the American lines, he to enter our army. His grist-mill, opposite the house—about where the Third Avenue corners on One Hundred and Sixth Street, north-westerly, and where was once a tide-water stream accessible by boats—was too patriotic in its work to stand, and so the enemy burnt it down. Mr. Sampson Benson McGown, born in Harlem, June 8, 1797, may now be properly regarded as the patriarch of that part of this great city. His father,

Andrew McGown, being quite a youth during the Revolutionary war, remained in charge of his aged mother on the family homestead. The British also occupied it, but permitted them to be co-inhabitants. Andrew McGown married Margaret Benson, and in 1794—the "yellow-fever year"—built him a house, which was lately consumed by fire with the Mount St. Vincent Convent, near the head of Central Park, where it stood, on his original lot of seven acres. To his son, the respected and intelligent citizen above mentioned, we are indebted for these facts.

W. H.

*New York, March 20, 1882.*

CALEDONIAN SOCIETY [VII. 457]—This New York society was incorporated April 6, 1807, by special act of the Legislature (Chapter 168 of Laws of 1807), which Act, by its own limitation, expired in 1822, and most likely the society went out of existence at the same time. The Act gave permission to the society "to purchase, take, receive, hold, and enjoy any real estate in fee simple or for term of life or lives, etc., etc., for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed." The clear yearly value of their real and personal estate was not to exceed \$2,000.

B. F.

*Albany, N. Y.*

GENERAL MORGAN—A note to the biographical sketch of Major-General Philemon Dickinson [VII. 427] reads as follows: "Headley says *General Daniel Morgan*, of Princeton, was Conway's second, but this is denied by the latter's

family." This is a mistake. Headley [II. 192] says: "When arrived at the appointed rendezvous, Cadwalader accompanied by General Dickinson of Pennsylvania, and Conway by *Colonel Morgan* of Princeton." This confounding of General Daniel Morgan, the hero of the Cowpens, with Colonel George Morgan of New Jersey, is quite common. In the *General Index to the Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (p. 429), the following reference is made: "Morgan, colonel Daniel, appointed Indian agent, VII., 983; his riflemen harass the British army, VIII., 731." Here Colonel *George Morgan*, the Indian agent, is mistaken for Colonel *Daniel Morgan*, the commander of the famous rifle battalion. In the index to *Lossing's Field-Book of the War of 1812*, p. 1081, is the following reference: "Morgan, Daniel, General, 1033." On turning to page 1033, I find it is General *David Morgan* who is mentioned. In *Holmes' Annals of America*, II., 486, in the list of deaths for 1817, *John Morgan* is mentioned, and in a note it is stated: "General John Morgan was of Morganza, Washington County, in Pennsylvania." It was really Colonel *George Morgan*, formerly of New Jersey. I. C.

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## SOCIETIES

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This society, which was organized in 1849, and reorganized in 1854, has a rare and valuable library of not less than 100,000 volumes in its rooms in the Capitol at Madison. They represent nearly every subject in art, science, and general

literature. The collection is especially rich in the early history of the Northwest, and in books relating to Indian tribes that once lived within the borders of the State. Among other treasures, there are 5,000 files of newspapers from every part of the country, including Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1739 to 1763. The society has published eight volumes. In the extent of its library, the society is exceeded only by two of the eighty historical societies of the country—the Antiquarian Society, of Worcester, Mass., and the New York Historical Society. By an extension of the Capitol, the society hopes to obtain—what it needs—better and larger accommodations.

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RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of the 21st of March, a meeting was held at Providence, to take action in reference to the death of the Hon. Zachariah Allen, the President of the society. Addresses were made by Prof. William Gammell, Ex-Governor Hoppin, Bishop Clark, James N. Arnold, Hon. Chas. E. Carpenter, Judge Stiners, J. E. Lester, Esq., and a suitable minute was presented and adopted. Mr. Allen had reached the age of eighty-six years and six months, and had been a member of the society since 1822. He was one of the most prominent men in the State of Rhode Island, and had been distinguished in many departments of life. He graduated at Brown University, studied both medicine and law, was the author of a number of books, especially upon science and mechanical philosophy, was a manufacturer widely known, and was universally honored and respected.

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HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW died at Cambridge, Mass., Saturday, March 25th, in his 77th year. A notice of the Poet's relations to American History will appear in the next issue of the Magazine.

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### LITERARY NOTICES.

THE FIRST ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, 1879-1880. By J. W. POWELL, Director. 8vo, pp. xxxiii, 603. Washington: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1881.

This book is, necessarily, unfortunate in its title, which is almost repellent, suggesting, as the word "Report" does, some musty publication composed of dreary and comparatively worthless compositions, like those often run through more than one official press, simply to create a "job," and reflecting nothing beyond the calm incapacity of the projector. This, however, is a work of a very different kind, the bulky volume being filled with valuable and interesting material, reflecting wide study and investigation, and showing everywhere an enthusiasm for scientific and antiquarian research seldom excelled. The report proper is confined to a few pages, the volume really being made up of what are called the "Accompanying Papers." "The Evolution of Language," which is the first in order, is by Mr. Powell, who also furnishes "A Sketch of the Mythology of the North American Indians," a paper on the "Wyandot Government," and a discussion relating to "Limitations to the Use of some Anthropological Data." Dr. H. C. Yarrow presents "A Further Contribution to the Study of Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," while "Studies in Central American Picture Writing" are presented by Prof. E. S. Holden. Mr. C. C. Boyce follows with a short article on "Cessions of Lands by the Indian Tribes to the United States," and Col. Mallery with the "Sign Language among the North American Indians," occupying about three hundred pages. An "Illustration of the Method of recording Indian Languages" is presented in connection with the manuscripts of the Rev. J. O. Dorsey, Mr. A. S. Gatschet, and the Rev. S. R. Riggs.

The article on Mortuary Customs is accompanied by no less than forty-seven illustrations, all of them good, and a number being handsome chromo-lithographs, which add greatly to the appearance of the volume. The treatise on Sign Lan-

guage has two hundred and fifty illustrations, and that on the Maya Hieroglyphics fourteen, several of which are double page. Indeed no pains or expense have been spared in producing this rich and elaborate volume. In itself it well nigh forms a library of aboriginal history and antiquities, the value of which cannot well be questioned; since we must study the beginning of things, if we wish to know the probable end, as the voyage of life by any people must be calculated like that of a ship, whose course is governed by her departure. Ethnology is a science which makes known the origin of races and peoples, and its study is a failure when the sources are not systematically searched for. There is a great deal of dust and rubbish to be dealt with in this connection, but the aim is not to admire the rubbish or adore the dust. The study of antiquity, when rightly understood, is a practical pursuit, and the intelligent student knows how to make the thought of the present rich by research in connection with the distant past. By such a publication the Smithsonian Institution justifies its name and foundation, offering, as it does, a contribution so eminently calculated to diffuse useful knowledge.

In treating within a small space a work of this magnitude, however, and one combining so large a number of minute details, it would be useless to attempt anything like critical examination, especially as some of the topics carry us into those remote and comparatively untrodden fields of investigation where the authors themselves must, in the main, be the judges of their own performance.

It may be remembered that in 1879 Congress abolished the various geographical and geological surveys, but provided for the continuance of anthropological work under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution. This is the first report under that provision. The present plan of organization contemplates the prosecution of research by the direct employment of scholars and specialists, and by inciting and guiding research conducted by co-operative workers throughout the country. It being held that sound anthropological investigation must have its foundation in language, the results embodied in this volume are largely linguistic. The *pièce de resistance*, however, is that on sign language, the Greeks, Chinese, Peruvians, Neapolitans, and others, being drawn upon in illustration of the subject in connection with the North American Indians. There is a separate treatment of signals, which are confined to those of the Indians, though it would be curious in this connection to notice some of those used by the Northmen when on the American coast in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and notice the agreement with those of the Eskimo when John Davis entered Greenland. In popular interest, the reader will find the discussion of Mortuary Customs quite equal to that of the Sign Language, the subject being brilliantly illustrated.

The volume, however, is so full of interest that it is almost invidious to particularize, for every department shows much sincere and disinterested devotion and an enormous amount of patient hard work. In the preface Mr. Powell gives us a hint of what we may expect in future volumes for which the preparations are well advanced.

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**METHODISM OLD AND NEW, WITH SKETCHES OF SOME OF ITS EARLY PREACHERS.** By J. B. HANIGEN. With illustrations and appendix. 16mo, pp, 294. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1880.

The term Methodist was originally applied in England to a sect known as Anabaptists, as an epithet of derision. In the year 1829 a few young men, at Oxford University, lamenting the low condition into which the Church of England had sunk, and seeing that on every side the practice and precepts of the Gospel had fallen into desuetude and contempt; that the high places in the Church were held by men whose daily life and conversation was a scandal to their calling; that the great ones of the state lived in open defiance of the rules of Christian morality and common decency; that the masses of the people, ignorant, degraded, and poor, with no outlook for advancement, nothing to hope for but a life of privation and toil, hanging on the verge of starvation—turned to the study of the Sacred Scripture in the original tongues, endeavoring to find in the lofty sources of inspiration a remedy for the ills they felt themselves powerless, unaided, to correct. Their fellow-students revived the old term of reproach and called them Methodists. That name, once significant of the scorn with which the feeble strivings of a despised few were viewed, is now the proudly borne title of one of the most numerous, influential, and powerful bodies of Christians, which has on the head roll of its apostles and leaders men whose genius, powers, and labors, though they have gone to their well-earned repose, are yet present to their followers and to Christians of all denominations. Among living members are included many whose deeds and examples show that the faith of their fathers has lost none of its vital force. This volume, full of information, and with a statistical appendix, must prove of interest and value to a circle of readers not limited to the Methodists alone. \*

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**MY COLLEGE DAYS.** By ROBERT TOMES. 16mo, pp. 211. HARPER & BROTHERS. 1880.

Dr. Tomes in this pleasant little volume tells with spirit and vivacity the story of his student-life, from his early days at Columbia College Grammar School, where he sat at the feet of the

late Professor Charles Anthon, so well known to generations of New Yorkers. He takes us to the most unclassical shades of Washington (now Trinity) College, Hartford, where he graduated. Resolved to pursue the study of medicine, he sought instruction in the University of Pennsylvania, and not satisfied with the opportunities of that school, crossed the water and took up his abode at Edinburgh, where he matriculated and took a degree. The book abounds with anecdotes of distinguished persons whom he there met and knew, and is piquant throughout with sallies of sly humor and kindly sarcasm, which has called forth vehement protest and remonstrance from partisans of Trinity College, and others who claim to be aggrieved or underrated from their own personal point of view.

W. C. S.

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**THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER.** No. CXXI. Vol. XXXVI. January, 1882. Boston: 18 Somerset Street.

This publication now enters upon its thirty-sixth year under the editorship of Mr. John Ward Dean, Librarian of the society that brings it out. The Register is too well known to need any commendation, standing as it does in an unrivalled position and with a field peculiarly its own. The present number shows a varied table of contents and maintains its long-established character for interest and value.

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**ARTICLES ON ANTHROPOLOGICAL SUBJECTS, CONTRIBUTED TO THE ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION FROM 1863 TO 1877.** By CHARLES RAU. 8vo, pp. x, 169. PUBLISHED BY THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. Washington, 1882.

This publication contains articles treating of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the California Peninsula, Agricultural Implements of the Stone Period, Artificial Shell Deposits in New Jersey, Indian Pottery, Ancient Aboriginal Trade in North America in Metals, Stone, Shells, and Pearls, and many other topics. The student will be glad to have these valuable articles in their collected forms.

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**ZUÑI AND ZUÑIANS.** By TILLY E. STEVENSON. 8vo, pp. 30.

This monograph appears to have been printed at Washington, and is fully and handsomely illustrated. It gives an interesting account of a curious place and people in New Mexico, and is every way worthy of attention on the part of the antiquary.





Solomon W. Longfellow

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 4

## THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON<sup>1</sup>

THE conclusion of such a work as the Memorial History of Boston may justify notice, it being of an exceptional character, and worthily rounding the quarter-millenary period. The last of the four sumptuous volumes dedicated to Boston's remarkable history possesses substantially the same features that characterize its fellows, combining elegant letter-press with interesting and valuable illustrations, the composition of the various monographs showing capacity, good taste, and full general knowledge, though there are some things to which exception may be taken. The work and the subject are almost equally unique, neither having any true prototype.

For two hundred years, but more especially during the last century, Boston has been engaged in making up for neglected opportunities. Though modern in comparison with many cities of the old world, Boston is not to be rated with any of the mushroom cities of the West that have proceeded with a bound from wigwam and log cabin to marble or brown stone. Boston has grown by slow and easy stages from the original thatched roof and wooden chimney to the massive, palatial fire-proof. The same is true of the mental and moral development, and much of the progress has been made in the face of prejudice, stubbornly fought and conquered.

Boston began with an enormous, but not useless, mistake. The early colonists separated themselves from the old world by a violent wrench, casting aside its social life and religion, well-nigh turning their backs upon European civilization, and essaying in the new world something severely original. Their ideal was not realized, and the savage himself, who was driven from the peninsula of Shawmut, did not look with more regret to

<sup>1</sup> The Memorial History of Boston, including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880. Edited by Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University. In 4 volumes. Vol. IV. : The Last Hundred Years. Part II. Special topics. Issued under the business superintendence of the projector, Clarence F. Jewett. pps. 713. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881.



the vanishing past than was exhibited by the old settler when contemplating the ruins of his cherished plans. Nevertheless, the friends and followers of the first inhabitants built better than they knew, giving a fresh interpretation to European principles and ideas. Besides it was not long before they began to reach out toward the things that had been left behind. At the end of the first century, Boston had made some advancement, or at least unlearned much that it was needful to unlearn; while during the last century the work of reconciliation with old hostile forces has been characterized with much success, so that to-day, in many respects, the people are nearly back to the point of departure. In fact, Boston is rapidly becoming in character a European city, deliberately adopting the most of those things that the founders cordially despised. A large portion of the fourth volume of the Memorial History is so much confession, even though it is not made with the frankness that would be justifiable. Of late the people have made great strides, the ease with which communication with the old world is maintained contributing to the general result; for there is a certain mean or average toward which educated intelligence tends, in defiance of all vagaries. Prejudice sets up only temporary barriers in the way of healthy progress, and only for a time prevents the normal crystallization of society; and therefore, at the end of the next quarter-millenary of Boston, the historian may discover more clearly than now, in the attempt of the early inhabitants to shape society according to their own notions, an analogy to that abortive force registered in flaws on quartz, the crystals of which, however, overcoming every abnormal tendency, take shape in obedience to a well-defined law. Society, like every mineral body, tends to assume a definite shape; and not a few of the chapters in this volume which deals in "special topics" illustrate what is here laid down, showing as they do the men of Boston rising superior to the lower or secondary law, and engaged in a courageous struggle to rectify the mistakes of the fathers, and get abreast of that trans-atlantic world which the Congregational Non-conformists, unlike other classes of colonists, had resolved to leave behind.

The first chapter deals with "Social life in Boston," and shows what the early worthies would characterize as the "decay," but which we may better call reconstruction. This had set in a hundred years ago, and is indicated even by so inconsiderable a thing as the prevalent "wig," for the people at large no longer considered the affectation of such an incumbrance a sin calculated to draw down the divine displeasure, but held that in dress and adornment they might reasonably follow the best examples found in civilized European countries. The outside of the head simply pointed to the progress of a revolution going on within. That the departures from the



ideas of the early inhabitants were always for the best, it is not our business to prove. In seeking to get even with the old world they were not always wise, for with wigs they adopted some things more harmful and much more lasting. That, however, is not the fault of the Memorial History. We are only concerned with the fact, that the last hundred years has proved fruitful in practical dissent from the Elders of the Bay, who have been and are still being stoned by those who build their tombs.

Following chapters treat of the topography of Boston, its industries, its importance as a manufacturing centre, of its canal and railroad enterprise and finance, the rise and progress of insurance, and of the trade, commerce and navigation. In these connections the founders of the city would discover little with which they would not incline to agree. The ancients were emphatically men of business, and though we are taught in this volume that their aim in coming to the new world was the establishment of religion, a claim that no class of colonists failed to put in, they nevertheless made a business of business, and devoted their energies to thrift. The average "founder," too, would regard the modern map of the peninsula with a satisfaction little less than supreme, showing, as it does, how their descendants have added land to land, largely increasing the habitable area; while the wise methods by which the people are now seeking to establish a supremacy in manufactures, transportation and trade, might go far, perhaps, to condone the sad falling off which they would find in other departments, if they could return to view once more the scene of their early attempts. They would be gratified also by an examination of the present educational system, though in the matter of public libraries they would not like to find thousands of youth, of both sexes, issuing forth from the elegant structures devoted to the preservation of books, with so large a proportion of novels under their arms, with scarcely a boy in town knowing even of the existence of the Westminster Catechism. Still greater and more justifiable concern, perhaps, would be felt in considering "philosophic thought in Boston," though, possibly, such men as John Winthrop and his friends might feel slightly amused by finding all the "philosophic thought" under a single class of hats. At all events, there are not a few moderns who, as they turn over the pages of the chapter in question, will smile at an exhibition which excludes an entire school of thinkers from the realm of thought. This is in the line of infinite jest.

"The women of Boston" are considered somewhat in the light of an ill-used class, being represented as without any particular influence from the time of the "persecution" until the dawn of the Revolution; though Oldmixon is quoted as saying, that "a gentleman from London would almost think

himself at home at Boston, when he observes the number of the people, their houses, their furniture, their tables, their dress and conversation, which is perhaps as showy as that of the most considerable tradesman in London." Women certainly had a part in all this, while they often turned up in notable funeral sermons. During the Revolution, however, the women of Boston were prominent, and as time went on they became extravagant, being addicted to finery more than to culture; and the caustic John Quincy Adams says, "Oh that our young ladies were as distinguished for the beauties of their minds as they now are for the charms of their persons! But, alas! too many of them are like a beautiful apple that is insipid to the taste." Young ladies and politicians, however, were pretty much alike when pictured by his sharp-nibbed pen. Yet Mrs. Cheney writes: "It is impossible to give any idea of the charms of Boston women in society. Many a foreign traveller has borne witness to it, and many old residents now love to recall the memory of those 'who made the world the feast it was' in their youth. But Boston women were then eminently delicate and reserved, and little public record remains of their lives. Eliot, Lyman, Quincy, Sullivan, Amory, are names which at once call up visions of dignified womanly culture and poetic beauty. Miss Emily Marshall became more widely known than any other lady, simply for her social attractions," which is evident from the fact that "the hackmen"—for she does not appear to have kept a carriage—"were so spell-bound with admiration that they forgot to open the door." Of the late Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis it is said that she was "less truly Bostonian in her manners. She had lived much abroad and learned the art of entertaining guests simply and agreeably." However exact the latter clause may be, she was a most charming and noteworthy woman, and exhibited the movement of Boston society as it drifted away from the old-time stiffness and reserve.

The discussion of "The Drama in Boston" shows a sad return to the flesh-pots of Egypt, or at least of Europe, as the founders of Boston, like American Colonists in general, were not partial to the Player, who vilified colonial enterprise upon the London stage and performed the part of Sannibal. Yet their descendants have found the Drama toothsome, and incline to the opinion that "the play's the thing." In discussing Fine Art, the writer says that "A Puritan society was not favorable to art," and the whole chapter shows how, by degrees, the "Puritan"—or, however, as should have been said, the Non-conformist—idea gradually faded out of the public mind, the people naturally returning to the normal love of picture, symbol, and color. Early Boston was scarcely more favorable to music. Referring to the progress made, the writer says: "The whole movement, so

to speak, is really included in the present century. Before the year 1800, all that bore the name of music in New England may be summed up in the various modifications of the one monotonous and barren type—the Puritan Psalmody. Its history, quaint as it may be, is more interesting as one phase of the old Puritan life and manners, than as having any significant relation to the growth of music or of musical taste or knowledge here as such. . . . Music for us had to be imported from an older and richer soil.” One nevertheless recognizes more clearly the growth of reconciliation with a forsworn world beyond sea in the chapter on Architecture, and especially in connection with ecclesiastical architecture. Though affiliating originally with the men who destroyed the abbeys and knocked down the carved work of the churches and cathedrals with axes and hammers, Boston has come to be one of the most pronounced fine-art loving cities in the world. In ecclesiastical architecture the advance has been made from the barn to the cathedral. Nothing is too ecclesiastical or too grand, and we may also say, too sensuous, for Boston now; and the founders would here find a rehabilitation of the old “idolatry,” and see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not to stand. The elaborate splendor of the New Trinity, superior to anything of the kind to be found on this continent, is not perhaps to be wondered at; but with the “First Church,” “Brattle Square,” and the “New Old South,” so delicately engraved on the pages of the volume before us, it is quite another thing, representing as they do the exquisite Gothic of England and the almost equally pleasing style of the Lombards. But Italy and the North, even, do not satisfy Boston to-day, and all countries are searched in the quest for fine examples, by men who have descended in the direct line from the most famous and influential of the early non-conforming families. This shows a growth of religious opinion equally with æsthetic culture. Yet the writer on architecture, the progress of which in Boston has proved so triumphant, does not appear to realize very fully the significance of what is being wrought out in marble and brown stone. Indeed, the same remark appears applicable to many of the writers, who, while recording the changes, do not seem to feel that Boston has changed. Nevertheless the Memorial History is one continued confession of the mistakes of the fathers, whose children are laboring to undo these mistakes and put Boston in her true connection with the thought of the world.

The chapter on Science shows the same desire for a new departure which was shown by the printer of a somewhat modern edition of Mather’s “Christian Philosopher,” who expurgated its pages, and dropped a portion of the author’s essay on “He Giveth Snow like Wool,” while the essay on

“Medicine,” as most lay-folk will probably agree, points to a reformation which, in the best sense, is a reform. In the chapter on “The Bench and Bar,” the opportunity for pointing out the first lawyers is not thoroughly improved; though we are shown that the early processes were sometimes far from just. The author might have gone farther, for the days of Jeffrey himself must be searched for a parallel to some of the early processes that obtained in the Bay, where nothing was to be done “contrary to God’s word,” while the magistrate settled what constituted the “word.” Nevertheless, with the incoming of pure, untrammelled English law a juster practice arose, and from the atmosphere of travesty and farce pervading the early courts the jurist passed to his present position, which is inferior to none, the purity of the Suffolk bench having become a proverb among all the people of the land.

A study in horticulture lends an interest and charm to the Memorial History, though the venerable writer is wide of his mark in saying that the earliest account that we have of the fruits and flowers of New England is that by Winslow, in 1621. Verrazano is certainly to be remembered here, together with Gosnold, Pring, Waymouth, and Davis, the author of the Popham Journal. As early as 1605, the grapes of Cape Cod were sent home in the form of a preserve for the King of France.

The volume closes with a discussion of “The Charities of Boston,” and it certainly cannot be denied, either by friend or foe, that these cover a multitude of sins. The beneficence of Boston has been felt by all classes of people and in the most remote recesses of the world. How often pity gave ere charity began, remains to be known. That the charitable organizations have not done their share to create the evil that they seek to cure, the author of the chapter does not try to prove. In one place he mentions a society called the “Associated Charities,” but otherwise it does not appear from these pages that the managers of charities in Boston have made much improvement during the last hundred years, while the class known as “tramps” flourish around Boston as in other parts of the land. Boston now maintains its “Overseers of the Poor,” as at the beginning, when every individual was known personally and no unworthy person could escape scrutiny. To-day, however, they are no longer “Overseers,” in the spirit of the original institution, as they see nothing, except through other men’s eyes. In the meanwhile, as in every other great city in the country, giving goes on, beggary and pauperism growing apace, there being no kind of loose living and no order of improvidence and shiftlessness that does not command a premium among “the charities” of Boston. This, unfortunately, forms part of that general movement toward a return to European life.

There is, nevertheless, one idea of the founders for which the moderns, as yet, have evinced no particular liking, namely, the monarchial idea. This among the founders was somewhat pronounced, especially on those occasions when memory was jogged by the king. It was one of the few ideas of the old world that they brought with them into the wilderness. It was well voiced by Boston's favorite, John Cotton, who declared: "Democracy I do not conceive that ever God did ordain as a fit government either for Church or Commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for Monarchy and Aristocracy, they are both of them clearly approved and directed in the Scriptures." Indeed, the aristocratic idea prevails to some extent to-day, Boston, without doubt, being the most exclusive city in the Union; the feeling at the same time being based upon something besides wealth, which in most other cities is the real foundation. Upon the whole, the Memorial History makes a fair exhibition. The results of the two hundred and fifty years are not what the founders desired or anticipated. The early generations are practically rebuked by the people who praise them, yet the modern tendency, in the main, is in the line of true development and growth. What is needed is a continuance of the old local pride, without provincialism; a watchful observation of tendencies, with reference to the elimination of things hurtful and false; a more thorough combination, on the part of the solid men, to keep the name of the ward politician off the fore-front of institutions that should be under the exclusive guardianship of the best intelligence and the highest culture; and the subordination of æsthetic taste and longings after material progress, to the desire for spiritual elevation and moral advancement. With due attention to these things, Boston will be in no danger of falling behind, or of losing her relative rank among the great cities that one day will cover this Continent.

B. F. DECOSTA

## A SKETCH OF JOHN W. DRAPER

John William Draper was born in St. Helens, a village near Liverpool, England, May 5, 1811. His father was a minister of the Wesleyan connection, and possessed a great fondness for scientific culture and information, a taste which his son either inherited or early imbibed. The father was in the habit of amusing his leisure by observing the heavens through a Gregorian telescope, and on one occasion his little son, then scarcely more than six years of age, was permitted to look through it at some of the heavenly bodies. The view was to him a matter of absorbing interest. He at once resolved to have such an instrument of his own, and proceeded to execute his determination to construct one like it. He has recorded his earnest, but almost infantile efforts, to realize his purpose—how he exchanged a valued toy with a young friend for a joint of elder from which the pith had been punched out, and, having thus obtained a tube, how he got a tinsmith to cut for him two circular pieces of polished tin to serve as reflectors, and then his disappointment at finding that the instrument would not work—certainly a remarkable instance of the early development of a taste which became both the charm and the labor of his maturer life, through all its changes, and to its latest hour.

His early education was received from private instructors, among whom it seems not unlikely that his father may have borne a prominent part, and contributed to foster the taste for physical observation which his own fondness for such things had originally inspired. At eleven years of age he was sent to a Wesleyan connectional school, where, under the instruction of a somewhat distinguished American teacher, he made good progress in classics and mathematics. His success was so marked that he was one of those appointed to address the conference which met at Leeds, in 1824.

Though he seems to have drawn from this institution some useful discipline, and to have retained a very pleasant impression of its influence upon his intellectual culture, he remained in it but a few years, and was then withdrawn into private instruction again, till upon the opening of the London University, in 1829, he was sent thither to study chemistry, under Dr. Turner, then the most eminent chemist in England.

This was probably only the recognition of the fact that his taste had become strongly developed in the direction of physical research. How long these studies were prosecuted under that distinguished teacher we have no

means of knowing. There is no reason to doubt, however, that it was long enough to enable him to master the science of which he ever after showed such a command, both in its principles and its details, and of which he was at a later day to rank as one of the most distinguished ornaments.

He had, while yet very young, been much struck by the sight of a glass jar containing some camphor, which, under exposure to light, crystallized in very beautiful forms on the illuminated side. This led him to read with avidity everything that he could find "relating to light adhesion and capillary attraction." He made many experiments upon these subjects, and it seems probably that it was during and after his intercourse with Dr. Turner, that this tendency to chemical investigation developed itself. It was probably with these studies and researches that he was occupied during the period which elapsed between 1829, when he went up to London, and his emigration to this country in the year 1832. He had by this time accomplished his chemical education, and looking forward to medical practice as his profession, he entered the University of Pennsylvania, from which institution he received his degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1836.

In his thesis for graduation he embodied an account of many of the experiments upon which he had for some years been engaged. "It was upon the passage of gases through various barriers not having visible pores, such as soap-bubbles. He showed that these transfusions take place as instantaneously as if there were no obstacles in the way, and are attended by many curious phenomena." He devised an ingenious experiment for the purpose of demonstrating the transfusion. He would blow a bubble of shellac at the end of a glass tube, and pour into it through the tube a test liquor; he would then insert it in an atmosphere of alkaline gas and witness the immediate change of color in the solution, which attested the presence of the gas within the bubble. This experiment, varied through many forms, clearly showed that the surrounding gas passes through the thin film of the containing substance and reaches immediately the contained solution. Similar changes moreover were also shown to take place through an animal membrane tied over the lower end of a tube containing a test liquor and immersed in a fluid. In these experiments the interstitial openings in the substance of an animal membrane were proved to operate like short tubes in which a fluid is drawn up by what we call capillary attraction; and the process was shown to afford an explanation of the passage of carbonic acid outward, and of the oxygen of the air inward, through the membrane of the lungs. It illustrated thus what had been known as endosmosis, a process before inexplicable, and elucidated the method of the oxygenation of the blood—the cardinal fact in modern physiology. It is no wonder that so sug-

gestive a paper, pregnant with germs of future discovery, received the unusual honor of being published by the Faculty of the University, and gave to its author a prominence among the younger students of physiology that at once marked him out for future distinction in that department.

The publication of some earlier papers during the period of his medical studies in Philadelphia had already drawn attention to the young chemist as an accomplished and enthusiastic student of that science, at a time when such students were few in America, and speedily secured his appointment as Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in Hampden Sidney College in Prince Edward County, Virginia. Thither he at once removed upon his graduation, to enter upon his work of study and instruction ; and under the stimulus of the distinction which his early efforts had so decisively won, he was now enabled, as he has said, "to convert experimental investigation, hitherto only an amusement, into the appropriate occupation of his life." The college is situated about eighty miles southwest of Richmond, and, like so many institutions in the South, in the open country, remote from any city or village.

Among the long summers and the fervid temperature of this more Southern latitude, Dr. Draper found unwonted opportunities for pursuing his favorite work of observation and experiment. The luxuriant vegetable growth of that portion of our country afforded varied and fine illustration of botanical physiology, which immediately attracted his attention ; and such opportunities were quickly discerned by his intelligent glance, eagerly embraced, and profitably used. Dr. Draper has somewhere recorded his observations upon a wild grape-vine, of some two inches in diameter, which he cut off a few feet above the ground for the purpose of study, and the great interest with which he noted the sustained and powerful flow of sap which it continued to pour forth from the top of the stump. The force which impelled such a quantity of water from the ground through the trunk and branches, and to the uttermost fibre of the plant, was a subject of wonder and inquiry ; and in the suggestions which it furnished relative to the flow of sap through the plant, and of blood through the animal system, that wild Virginia vine may be said to have borne its most valuable and most abundant fruit.

The publication in the scientific journals of our country of papers upon these and other topics of physiological importance, naturally drew the attention of the Council of the New York University to the accomplished and promising young investigator in Virginia, and he received all unexpectedly, in 1837, an invitation to the chair of Chemistry and Physiology in our University. The appointment, I have been informed, was due to the kindly



appreciation of a gentleman well known, as an enthusiastic student, and a writer whose works have had a wide circulation at home and abroad—Dr. Martyn Paine—who had been so much struck by the originality of the publications mentioned, that without any acquaintance with the author, or other certificate of merit, he urged, on these grounds alone, the appointment of Dr. Draper as a colleague in the University of which he was himself a Professor. The acceptance of the position was warmly urged upon him by the then newly elected Chancellor of the University, Mr. Frelinghuysen, who promised that if Dr. Draper would accept his appointment, he himself would assume the chancellorship, and afford him all possible countenance and support in his work.

Thus encouraged, Dr. Draper removed to New York and assumed, at first, labors in the college, while he gave his immediate attention, in connection with his friend Dr. Paine, to the organization of the Medical Department. This organization had been previously attempted, but had failed in consequence of the great financial embarrassments of that and the preceding year. Dr. Draper infused into the effort all his own enthusiasm, and with the aid of these influential friends the work was soon accomplished. A faculty of eminent professors was drawn together, of whom Dr. Valentine Mott—then the most distinguished of American surgeons—was one; and the work of medical instruction commenced with great ability, and in the use of methods previously unknown in this country. The Faculty of the University were the first to introduce into our medical education the now familiar method of clinical instruction which consists, it is hardly needful to say, in presenting before the class, patients whose cases are adapted to such modes of treatment, and showing in practical fact how diseases are to be discriminated and treated. The immense value of such instruction is now universally acknowledged; insomuch that no medical institution can afford to be without it: but then it was a new and great advance.

The introduction of these novel methods of instruction, in the hands of very able men, gave a great stimulus to medical education; and whereas before the whole number of medical students in our city had been only fifty or sixty, the University began to graduate classes of one hundred and fifty, and New York soon became a great centre of medical instruction.

In another great improvement of such education, some years later, Dr. Draper bore a prominent part—the legalization of dissections. It seems now almost an incredible thing to us that, previously to the time referred to, such dissections were illegal, and subjects had to be obtained literally by stealth. A bill was, however, prepared, and, by the agency of Dr. Draper and his colleagues of the medical faculty, presented to the Legislature, par-

ticularly by Dr. Paine, who spent a great part of one session in Albany for that purpose ; and, after much difficulty, our present judiciously drawn bill became a law. Thenceforward the practice was disembarrassed of many difficulties. The scientific study of the anatomy and physiology of the human system, in the only way in which such a study is even possible, instead of a forbidden and disreputable pursuit, became a lawful and honorable endeavor after knowledge of the highest usefulness, and the education of medical students was placed on a legitimate and firm foundation.

Draper's residence in New York was distinguished by a continuous mental activity, applied without cessation to the subjects of his professional instruction. Year after year he improved his lectures, till at length they were ready for publication, and he gave to the world his two treatises, one upon chemistry and the other on human physiology. The former has been highly approved and widely used as a text-book by instructors in that department of science. The latter has attracted great attention as containing much that was original, and elucidating physiological principles with great ingenuity and success. True to his principles as a chemist, he was always explaining physiological phenomena by chemical combinations and reactions, and carrying chemical laws and affinities out to their extreme limits, regardless of the vital agencies to which others were wont to look for more immediate and easy, but less philosophical explanations.

Meanwhile he prosecuted his work of experimental investigation with great assiduity. For this work he had a marvellous aptitude. His clear grasp of a scientific principle, together with his logical habit of thought, constantly suggested to him mechanical arrangements for apparatus by which to observe the working of physiological laws, and test the probability of physiological theories. His work on that subject offered many novel suggestions and many original views. Perhaps the most important of these was his explanation of the circulation of the blood. This cardinal fact in physiological science he drew into relation with the circulation of sap in the plant, and explained as a result of capillary attraction. Of other ideas inculcated, I have not time to speak. His views on this subject have not, I believe, met with the general concurrence of investigators, and any opinion here on a subject which is still *sub judice* would be out of place.

His views on these subjects rested on a great body of experiments which he had begun in his old home in Virginia, and had continued through many successive years. A description of these experiments—nearly a thousand in number—was published about 1850, in a quarto volume of some five hundred pages, entitled "A Treatise on the Forces that Govern the Organization of Plants."

This work has, unfortunately, been almost lost to the world. Soon after its publication, and while yet but about fifty copies had been issued, the whole edition, together with the stereotype plates from which it had been printed, was consumed by the great fire which burned down the establishment of the Messrs. Harper, the publishers. The expense of the volume had proved already so great that they were unwilling to incur the cost of a new edition, and the record of a long period of investigation and the results of nearly a thousand experiments were thus in great degree lost.

Among the subjects which occupied Dr. Draper's attention during this early period of his residence in New York, were those in which he was engaged with Prof. Morse, the Telegraph and the Daguerreotype. Morse, at that time a professor in the University, lived in the building, and was in habits of intimacy with Draper which permitted him to visit familiarly the laboratory of the latter, and to find guidance and help from him in his own experiments with reference to the possibility of constructing an electric telegraph. Often they sat together, engaged in such inquiries and experiments, till a late hour of the night, and when the final and decisive moments came for determining the practicability of the result, it was with Draper's batteries and apparatus that the experiments were conducted which issued so triumphantly. Miles of wire were stretched through the ample halls of the University, and it was with Draper's suggestions and help that the practicability of the electric telegraph was demonstrated to all beholders, with a certainty that has made the name of Morse immortal.

When Morse visited Paris, he became acquainted with Daguerre, the great inventor of the art that bears his name, who had then just sold the secret of his invention to the French Government for \$20,000. He had recently published the pamphlet explaining his process, and he put a copy into his friend's hand just as Morse was leaving Paris for America. That pamphlet Morse brought at once to his friend Draper, who took up the subject and repeated the experiments with enthusiastic zeal. He had hoped that it would prove available for taking likenesses of the human face; but the time required was so long—involving the necessity of maintaining a fixed position, under a powerful sunlight shining upon the face for nearly half an hour—that it was altogether impracticable. A French friend of Daguerre himself had expressed the opinion that such an achievement was well-nigh hopeless—"un peu fabuleux."

Draper at once gave himself to the study of the subject, and soon found a means of removing the difficulty. He ascertained that an ammoniated solution of sulphate of copper would take out from the sunlight passing through it the chief portion of the rays especially obnoxious to the eye.

Having constructed a screen containing between two large glass plates a somewhat thin film of the solution, he found that the sun's rays filtered through it were no longer so intolerable. He was thus enabled not only to avoid this difficulty, but even to employ a larger lens, and to concentrate a much more powerful light without offending the eye. Erelong the process was practically complete, and arranging his novel screen and taking his sister for a sitter, the first natural picture of a human face was imprinted under his hand, on a metallic plate, and the great desideratum was effectually attained. Thus the two great inventions which science and art have united to produce in our century—the one the most useful, and the other the most beautiful and delightful of the recent achievements of our progress—stand both indebted to him for their successful completion, and the Telegraph and the Photograph will unite to convey to a late posterity the honored name of Draper.

Another of Draper's successes in this department is worthy of notice—he was the first to photograph the surface of the moon. This achievement is usually attributed by foreign writers to the eminent British astronomer De La Rue, but De La Rue's photograph was not obtained till 1850, while it is upon record in the minutes of the New York Lyceum of Natural History that Dr. Draper exhibited such a picture at a meeting of that society held on March 25, 1840—ten years earlier. This beginning of what has since grown to be a very beautiful branch of the science—Astronomical Photography—is unquestionably due to Draper's intelligent enterprise.

One, however, of his discoveries is too important to be passed over without specific mention, viz., that relating to the behavior of solids in spectrum analysis.

At a time when no one except Fraunhofer had investigated the phenomena of the spectrum, Dr. Draper took up the subject, and not only doubled the number of discovered lines, but ascertained that it is only the spectrum of a gaseous body that shows lines at all, while that of an incandescent solid is absolutely continuous, that is, without transverse lines.

This discovery has since been found to have an extraordinary scientific value. In observing the nebulæ, and endeavoring to extend our knowledge of those remarkable bodies, it is found that there are many of them which our finest telescopes fail to resolve into distinct points of light. A doubt at once arises. Is this irresolvability owing to the defects of our best instruments, or is it due to the diffused and gaseous condition of the nebular matter itself? This question Dr. Draper's discovery gives us the means of answering. If the spectrum of an irresolvable nebula consists of transverse

colored lines, it is a gaseous body that is burning before us; if, on the other hand, it is continuous, the body is an incandescent solid.

This beautiful and simple test affords our sole means of inferring the constitution of these remoter bodies of the universe, and informs us that while some of them consist of solid orbs, others are yet in the gaseous state—a conclusion which authenticates by physical observation the reasonings of La Place in his exposition of the nebular hypothesis.

These varied inquiries, and these successful achievements, though obscured by the destruction of the volume referred to, could not be hidden from the knowledge of the world, and accordingly Dr. Draper received from the American Academy of Arts and Science at Boston, though not till after a number of years had elapsed, the Rumford gold medal in attestation of his merits. Only five times before has that medal been conferred during the century which has elapsed since the prize was instituted; and in every one of these instances it was not strictly in the words of the eminent founder of the prize, “for the most important discovery relating to light and heat,” but rather for inventions of practical importance in the arts.

In the present instance, however, there can be no doubt that the conferring of the medal was in the strictest accord with the terms of the grant. The award was made on grounds distinctly stated by the President of the society in bestowing it; and the long list of discoveries in physics, then publicly recounted—too long for insertion here—bears ample testimony to the extent, the variety, and the general usefulness of these researches, and the patient and intelligent labor by which they had been achieved. It is perhaps the noblest list of original discoveries by which the name of any American scientist is distinguished.

At this period of his career, Dr. Draper presented himself to the public in quite a new aspect, and surprised his previous readers with a work of a very different character from any of those which had preceded it. This was “A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.” Having hitherto treated of man only as an individual, considered in his physical relations, and for the brief period of his organic life, he now assumed to discuss the social progress of mankind, throughout the whole period of history, and the whole development of civilization. His preceding works had been so strictly limited to purely scientific and experimental discussions, and his devotion to such inquiries had proved to be so fruitful, that it seemed as though his whole attention had been concentrated upon that department. Few, therefore, but his most intimate associates were prepared to expect, and still fewer to welcome, a work of so strangely different a character from his pen. The scope of it must necessarily be vast, the nature

of its topics widely variant from those which he had already discussed ; the reasonings necessarily to a large degree controversial ; and the bearing of its conclusions upon the great realm of philosophy and theology, not to say of religion itself, in all probability questionable.

But Dr. Draper had in reality long been meditating the production of such a work. He had expended no little care, reading, and reflection, upon the preparation of it ; and when the book was formally presented to the world, it very soon became evident that he had not overrated his ability to deal, in many important respects worthily, with his great theme. It was eagerly seized upon by a very large circle of readers, received most flattering notices from many of the organs of public opinion—chiefly indeed of the advanced liberal class—was speedily translated into various languages of Europe, and penetrated more widely into the remote European populations, than probably any other philosophical work that has ever been written. He had spared no pains in the collection of authorities, sending abroad, at much expense and with great care, for those which he could not find here, collecting from a very wide range the incidents which illustrated his general views, laboriously verifying the details of his statements, and even copying, with endless toil, the passages which he might have occasion to use. From this large and vast mass of materials he first wrote out his work, which ran to a formidable and almost impracticable length. He next set himself the task of reducing it, and finally presented to the world a work of only moderate extent, but covering the whole period of European civilization, and dealing, not indeed with all, but certainly with most, of the great questions which have arisen within the period of its development.

The great interest of the discussion so far as it is philosophical, arises from the fact that it regards European progress from a novel point of view, that of physical science ; and that in this respect it is handled by one who is theoretically and practically master of his subject, and who writes with entire freedom of thought, and frankness of utterance.

The statement of the author himself that it is a “ physiological history ” can hardly be deemed anything else than an exaggeration ; since it is scarcely possible to conceive of a history of such a subject, as in any strict sense physiological ; but a scientific history it certainly is. The author traces the development of European progress eminently in this great department. Beginning with the earliest development of physical science among the Greeks, he sketches its origin in the work of Alexander and of Aristotle ; its progress in the great scientific institutions of that monarch’s celebrated museum at Alexandria ; the great edifices constructed, the vast libraries collected by Ptolemy Philadelphus, the successor of Alexander, rich with

all the wealth of Grecian thought and all the remains of Egyptian history. He describes the great schools and museums, for scientific study, furnished with varied and ample apparatus of astronomical observation, and gathering through the accumulations of successive generations all the instructive and precious remains of the knowledge of the past, and all the pregnant beginnings of the science of the future. From this elevated point of attainment he shows the decline and fall of scientific investigation, the general degradation of society through the paganization of religion under Constantine and his successors, toward the ages of barbarism that followed; the depth of darkness that brooded over Europe, enveloping nations with their princes and people on the one side, and the Church, with its popes, councils, and prelates, on the other, in one common gloom; the ruin of the great Asiatic and Egyptian civilizations under the resistless conquest of the Saracens, and the whelming of Africa and Spain under the same great invasion of Mohammedanism.

He contrasts the noble and scientific beginnings of medicine under Hippocrates in 400 B.C., and his successors in the school of the Alexandrian Museum, their knowledge of anatomy, their practice of dissection, their acquaintance with the nerves, and even with the double function of the nerves, and their scientific treatment founded upon these facts with the profound ignorance of the Christian ages, with their miracle-cures, shrine-cures, and relic-cures.

He describes the revival of medical, astronomical, and geographical knowledge, among the Arabs of Spain, through the Nestorians and Jews, and the rise of the promising and beautiful civilization of the Moors—their extended schools and their varied culture; their elegant architecture, with its pleasure gardens, hydraulics and fountains; their social life, amid many refinements; their grand libraries and illuminated manuscripts; their miles of streets paved and lighted, while Paris was in every rain an expanse of mud, and there was not in London for seven hundred years afterward a single lamp; all these contrasts, so derogatory to Christianity, he pictures in full detail.

By the side of all this elegance and taste, he paints the grossness of the barbarism which had settled over Europe; the filthy hair-shirt of the monk, instead of the washable and cleanly linen or muslin under-garments which we have derived from the Arabs; the foul rush-covered floor of the baron's hall, in place of the tessellated and ornate pavement of the Moorish court; the universal and dense ignorance, even of the Scriptures, instead of the schools attached to every mosque for the study of the Koran. In numberless particulars, the low and debased life of Christendom is made to

stand out in pitiless contrast with the refinement and culture of Arab civilization.

But it is in the exhibition of the causes of these dreadful differences that the peculiarity of the book consists. Dr. Draper traces this degradation of social and moral life in a large and effective measure to the false and ignorant ideas of religion to which—shall I say it?—Christianity, either by its own influence, or by its combination with Oriental modes of thought, unfortunately gave birth.

Among these may be mentioned the unhappy superstition of an impending, or—to use a more modern term—“an imminent” end of the world, which rendered the early Christians insensible to every appeal of patriotism to take their part in the secular labors and conflicts by which alone the integrity of the State could be preserved against the attacks of the Northern barbarians. Another cause was the Oriental habit of placing religion in retirement and devotion, which withdrew multitudes from useful works of charity and benevolence to a selfish and secluded life in the desert. A third cause was the substitution of theological niceties of speculation—expressing itself in endless hair-splitting of metaphysical subtleties—for the practice of piety; and the fraudulent and corrupt management of councils, and manipulation of majorities, to secure what was deemed a right decision. A fourth was the reliance which soon began to be felt upon the civil arm for the vindication of religious doctrine, and the severe and cruel persecutions by which the adherents of the orthodox belief attempted to crush out heresy. It was largely these cruelties, banishments, confiscations, and similar wrongs, which led the Christian populations of Northern Africa to welcome the Mohammedan invader, and to prefer his milder rule to the intolerant bigotry of the orthodox Church. More even than to any of these the degradation and ruin of the early civilization was due to the simple overpowering weight of religious convictions, which deemed all secular knowledge poor and mean, in comparison with whatever related to the immortal destiny of the soul. The attention of believers was thus withdrawn from all study of nature, and concentrated upon purely spiritual objects, which without the wholesome counterbalance of secular thought completely overpowered the mind and destroyed all wise and free action. Nor must we forget the gross and monstrous frauds by which religious teachers stooped to impose upon their less intelligent brethren; as when in the visit of the Empress Helena—mother of Constantine—to Palestine, for the purpose of identifying the holy places, the three crosses of the Saviour and the two thieves were discovered in a vault, with Pilate’s inscription, and the nails used in the crucifixion, the cross of our Lord being distinguished by its



miracle-working power from the others, and, distributed in fragments, sold at a high price over all Europe, till enough of it was thus found to make a hundred crosses. These with winking and weeping images of the Virgin, and nodding statues of the Saints, corrupted the purer faith of the earlier days, and vulgarized it into other degradation.

To such a remorseless exhibition, what shall we say? Especially what shall the believer say, who holds Christianity to have been the saving element in the European history? Naturally, and justly, he will question the correctness, the fairness, of the representation. He will say that the philosophical form in which all this is taught, of an analogy between the development of society and that of the individual, through successive periods of credulity, faith, inquiry, scepticism, and decay, is fanciful, rather than philosophical, and carries with it little weight in the discussion; and this objection will be found to be true.

He will say, moreover, that the picture is exaggerated, the contrast is a forced and highly wrought one which but imperfectly conforms to the fact; and this too he may affirm with reason and with confidence.

He will say that the exhibition is one-sided and defective; that it fails to exhibit some of the most interesting features of the Christian history and to conceive aright of the Christian sentiment and life; and this too he would have good ground to maintain.

But when all has been said that can be said to mitigate the harshness of the sketch, he will say that the painful picture has elements of truth in it which the distinctively Christian historians have not adequately brought out, and which it was important should be brought out into distinct recognition. He will feel that to-day, when shrine-cure, miracle-cure, and prayer-cure are again coming to the front, it was necessary that some impressive warning should be uttered against the superstitions which have been so mournfully influential in the past, in degrading the mind of the Church. He will feel that it is well to be reminded of the controlling power of spiritual convictions, and of the need which those have who cherish them of some effective counteraction by secular science to maintain the healthful and equal balance of the mind. He will rejoice that science has at length gained a position of strength from which it can never again be thrust down; and will welcome its co-operation as an equal factor in all our systems and institutions of education for its happy and tranquillizing influence.

Of Dr. Draper's other works I have no time to speak. His "History of the Civil War in America" is a work in the preparation of which he had the peculiar advantage of receiving from the lips of the men who had been

the actors in the great campaigns of the war, their own narratives of the movements which the history is to record. Stanton himself, the great war-minister, came to visit Draper, and spent days with him in his study, in the explanation of the policy and movements of the administration in which he had borne so large and conspicuous a part. It will long be read as an impartial and accurate account of the great struggle for the Union and for freedom.

Of the "History of the Conflict between Science and Religion," but little can here be said. So far as it is an expansion of the views contained in the former work—the Intellectual Development, as the earlier part of it largely is—it is sufficiently covered by what has already been said. That portion of it which relates to the more recent progress of the dispute it would not perhaps be profitable to enter upon here, even if time allowed a further discussion.

The writer of such a history is apt to be betrayed into assuming a partisan position, and advocating with undue haste and some bitterness—arising from the present stress of the controversy—the side to which he is inclined. While there are considerable difficulties yet to be cleared away before the controversy can be considered settled, there is every reason to believe that we are approaching a harmonious conclusion; nor is it likely that that conclusion will be hastened by a sustained blast of the war-trumpet, and a new defiance from either side. The eager scientist who recklessly assails the Scriptures, and the bigoted religionist who rejects all science, may set the battle in array against each other, but their renewed war-cries will only serve to prolong the conflict which both profess to deplore. Dr. Draper's position did not secure to him the judicial impartiality which alone could impart to such a work the highest usefulness. Hence, while a cautious criticism will not fail to find many views of great intellectual importance touching the progress of the controversy, it must deeply regret the misconceptions of biblical truth to which his work has given currency, and the melancholy subversion of individual faith of which, in some instances, it has been the occasion.

When the confidence and positiveness of science can be tempered with caution and modesty on the one side, and with some suitable appreciation of moral and spiritual truth on the other, we may have a history of the controversy which shall satisfy and convince; but, judging from all that has yet been written, neither the time for such a history, nor the man, has yet come.

Dr. Draper's religious views, of which it would interest us all to have a more definite knowledge, he was never forward to declare. He was always

earnest in proclaiming his belief in a designing and intelligent mind, the Cause of Nature's phenomena, and the Author of her wise and elegant adjustments. He recognized, too, the existence of a soul in man—a spiritual existence which survives the grave, and does not decay with the body or the brain. He was thus favorably distinguished from the bold atheism of Comte and Spencer, and the gross materialism of Buchner and Naquet. To what extent beyond this he accepted Christianity, I am not able to say, though he always manifested a respectful deference toward it in his outward demeanor.

But now this fruitful and vigorous life was drawing to its close. Long and severe toil had told upon the erect and sturdy frame that we all knew so well, and the overtasked brain that had worked with such steady perseverance was weary. Both called for *rest*. After months of pain and suffering, the end drew near. On the morning of January 4, 1882, in the home of his many labors, and in the arms of his beloved children, he sank unconscious, and rest came.

BENJ. N. MARTIN

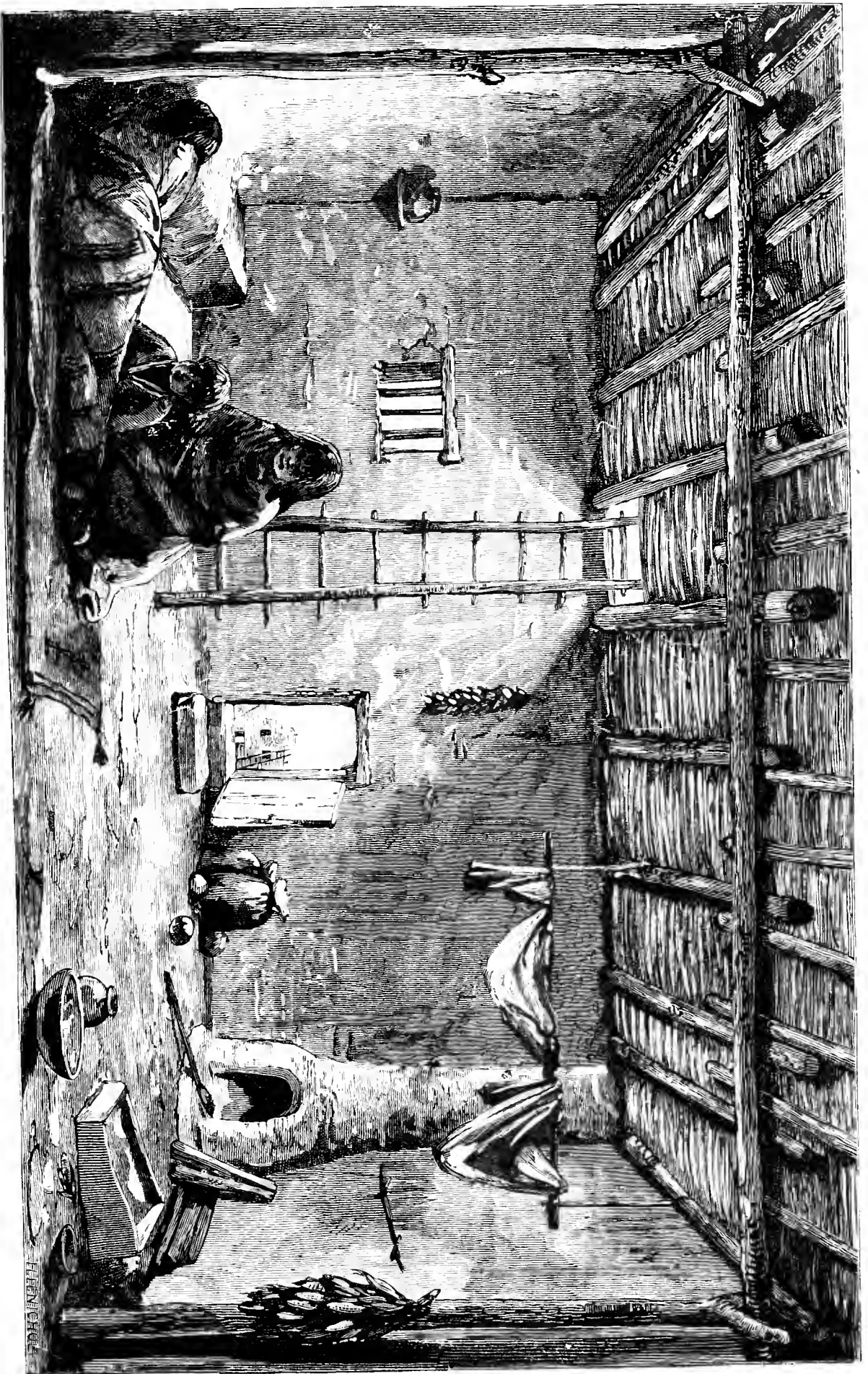
# INDIAN LANGUAGES OF THE PACIFIC STATES AND TERRITORIES

## AND OF THE PUEBLOS OF NEW MEXICO

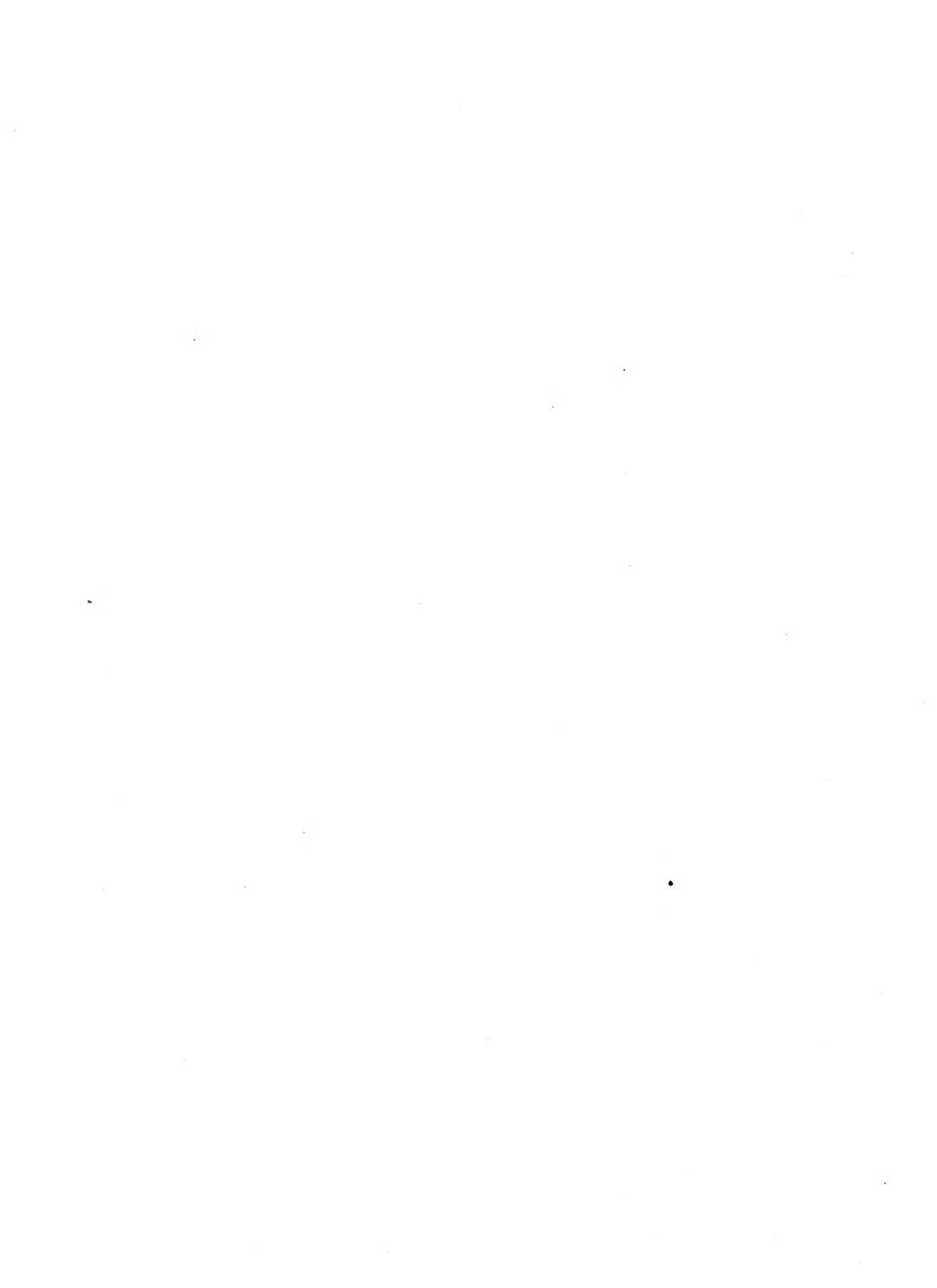
Several important publications on American ethnology and linguistics have appeared since I wrote my first sketch on the families of languages disseminated over the Pacific coast. Manuscripts sent to the Smithsonian Institution, as early as 1856, from the coast of Oregon have, on close examination, yielded to me several new stocks, and to Mr. Stephen Powers alone is due the discovery of a language in Northern California, and of another in the western valleys of Nevada, both entirely new to science. Powers' Tribes of California has cleared up the mutual relations existing between these aborigines. By shedding a flood of light on the habits, customs and languages, even of the most obscure of their number, and by giving the world a summary of his discoveries in a lucid linguistic map of California, he has done a most meritorious work, the value of which will be even more appreciated in later years than at the present time. The present article proposes to supplement my previous one with the most important results available for linguistic science from all recent sources.

A lacune in our ethnologic knowledge of California still exists concerning the southwestern portion of the State, for we do not yet know with accuracy the ancient distribution and limits of the races, tribes and linguistic areas before their christianization by the Franciscan friars, who began to found missions among them shortly after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1767. The indications left by the missionary Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta will certainly help us in disentangling this ethnologic and linguistic maze. That this labyrinth can become disentangled is an opinion, in which Alphonse Pinart, who lately explored these portions of territory, fully concurs.

From De la Cuesta's information, we gather the important facts, that the dialect known as Esselen or Eslen was identical with the Huelel of La Soledad Mission, and that the Karkin Indians, inhabiting the Straits of Carquines, also spoke a dialect of the same family, which we have called *Mutsun*. Another dialect of this family was heard in the ranchería or settlement of Saclan, and a Mutsun dialect, almost iden-



H. H. SCHMIDT



tical with that of San Juan Bautista, was spoken in the rancheria of Tuichun. In fact, dialects of Mutsun extended from the Pacific coast across the whole of California up to the Sierra Nevada, for the idioms spoken by Powers' *Miwok* tribes are Mutsun also.

An harmonious and vocalic *Wintún* dialect was or is spoken by the Suisun Indians on the northern side of the Bay of San Francisco. At the mission of San Juan Bautista, originally inhabited by Mozones or Moçones or Mutsunes, we also find a colony of the *Yókuts* race and language, called Nopthrinthres, perhaps brought there by the missionaries. Another *Yókuts* dialect obtained by him is that of the Lathru-unum.

The vocabulary taken by the Padre at the mission of *San Luis Obispo* differs largely from San Antonio and Santa Barbara, but agrees with the Obispo terms printed in Transactions of American Ethnologic Society, vol. ii. (1848).

CHIMARIKO.—As far as we can judge from the two hundred words obtained by Stephen Powers, this almost extinct tribe spoke an idiom which constitutes a linguistic family for itself. Its habitat is on the east branch of Trinity River, while the cognate, but extinct Chimalakwe was spoken on one of its tributaries, called New River. The language is vocalic; initial and medial syllables mostly end in vowels, but not final syllables. The numeral system is quinary, but, unlike that of the neighboring Pomo-Chimariko, shows some analogy with *Wintún*, with its northern dialects at least, by forming its plural in the same manner: tchimaritat, *people*; hupo-léchet, *toes* (hupo, *foot*); húshot, *eyes*, cf. *Wintún*; matat, *ears*; tumut, *eyes*; semut, *fingers*. Some resemblances may be traced also in the radicals of both idioms, as in Ch. tchélit, *black*; cf. W. tchololet, *black*; but they are too scanty to prove affinity.

WASHO.—This Nevada race, much reduced in numbers by contests with other Indians, once extended from Honey Lake to the southern shores of Lake Tahoe, the modern city of Reno, on the Central Pacific Railroad, forming almost the centre of their ancient habitat. In phonetics this language shows analogy with some Shoshoni dialects, by its tendency to nasalizing; tálung, *neck*; hánga, *mouth*. The primary vowels a, i, u largely predominate over the others, and ai, au seem to be the only diphthongs. The area of the Washo language borders to the west on the Maídu, and Stephen Powers gives the following instances of analogy with the neighboring Pit River language: ítsa, *tooth*; kukús, *chest, breast*, cf. Washo, tsátsa, *tooth*; tsikógus, *chest*.

Passing north into the vast timber and sage-brush lands, drained by

the Columbia river and other rivers running west of the coast range, we perceive that *Oregon* is almost as rich in linguistic areas as California. During my Oregonian trip, made in 1877, I obtained a list of words belonging to an idiom spoken on the State border, near Crescent City, Cal., on the Pacific coast, which was given to me as *Shasti*. Phonetically, as well as radically, it differed so much from the Shasti spoken on the Klamath river (and at the same time from Tinne and all the neighboring stocks), that I could only after a long study identify it with the western Shasti dialects. A tribe called Shasti Scoton is now settled on the Siltz reservation. On the same trip I also obtained a full classification of the dialects of the *Kalapuya* family of Willamet valley, which is as follows: 1. Atfálati (or Juálati, Wápatu), originally on Wápatu Lake, near Gaston, west of Portland City; 2. Yamhill, on the two Yamhill Creeks; 3. Lukamáyuk, on Lukamiute Creek; 4. Kalapuya proper, north of the Kalapuya Mountains, and west of the Willamet River; 5. Ahántchuyuk or Pudding River Indians, on Pudding River, and in French Prairie, east side of the valley; 6. Santiam (or Ahálpam "Uplanders"), on the lower banks of the two Santiam Creeks, their upper course being held by the Santiam-Molale; 7. Ayankéld (or Yónkalla), on the headwaters of Umpqua River. The dialects of Kalapuya differ but little among themselves, with the exception of that of the Ayankéld, which is almost unintelligible to the others.

It is strange that no traveler of scientific attainments has ever visited and *sketched* the Indian tribes of the Oregonian coast. That they are warlike, great quarrelers and exceedingly superstitious may be gathered from the early reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Of the languages spoken between the southern limits of the Selish stock (Jillamuk, Nehélim and Nestucca<sup>1</sup> are the Oregonian dialects of Selish) and the Tinné of Rogue and Smith Rivers, only one, the Yakon, was known to exist.<sup>2</sup> The majority of the coast Indians are now gathered at the Siletz reservation. Of the four linguistic families described below, and of each of their seven dialects, of which we have \*knowledge, I have published thirty-one terms in "*Globus*," *Zeitschrift für Lander und Voelkerkunde*, vol. xxxv., pp. 167, 168 (year 1879).

YÁKONA.—Dialects of Yakona, Yacon or Yákina are spoken by the coast Indians living between Cape Foulweather and Cape Perpetua, and up the Alseya and Yakona (Yáquina) Rivers. Though there are probably a multitude of dialects, we know at present of two only, the Yákona and the Alseya, spoken by tribes of the respective names, and



mutually not intelligible, for they differ about as much as German does from Scandinavian. Phonetically, both dialects are lacking the sounds *f*, *v* and *r*, but possess the lingual *s* (or *thl*) and the guttural aspirate, and most of their nouns emphasize the penultima. Alseya seems somewhat more consonantic than Yákona. The prefixed personal pronoun *my* is *tsi-*, *tsin-*, same as in Kalapuya; the numerals do not follow the quinary system of counting, *four* being made up with the elements of *two*. The Alseya call their own country Niahámtak.

SAYÚSKLA.—Dialects of this stock are spoken on Lower Umpqua River, about twenty miles up from its outlet, north of it along the coast to Cape Perpetua, and on the Sayúskla and Smith Rivers. Sin-law is a very common, but false orthography of this name, the true form of which seems to be Sayústkla (Horace Hale). Katlawatchat (or Kiliwátshat, Kalawátset) is the name of the tribe living at the outlet of Umpqua River, while the Sayúskla tribe lives on Sayúskla River. The language is decidedly more vocalic than that of the Yákona dialects; radically it differs from them in the important series of the parts of the animal body, of the colors and of the numerals, though the latter do not represent the quinary system, no more than they do in the Yákona, *eight* and *four* being made up of the elements of *two*; *ha-atso*, *two*; *ha-atson*, *four*; *ka-atsoháut*, *eight*. But there is a strong radical coincidence with the Yákona family in the names of the seasons, in some meteorologic terms, and in a few other terms which might perhaps be loan words only. Affinity of the two groups does not seem to be altogether out of the question, but of both a more critical and voluminous material must be submitted, laid down in a scientific alphabet, before an ultimate decision can be given. Some of the color adjectives are formed by syllabic reduplication.

KÚSA is spoken in various dialects, differing but little among themselves, on Coos River and Coos Bay, and Horace Hale gives also the forms *Ka-ús* and *Kwokwo-ōs* for the tribal name. According to Dr. T. T. Milhau, the Kowes Indians numbered, in 1856, about 300 souls, and called themselves *Anasitch*. Syllables terminate in consonants; they also begin with consonants, for initial vowels are rather exceptional, and seem to be prefixes or parts of such. The numeration system is the quaternary one.

TAKILMA.—A number of dialects are spoken on Lower Rogue River and vicinity, and the specimen of two dialects before me prove them to belong to the same family. The tribe which converses in one of these

is called Jakílma by Dr. Hazen, who has furnished a collection of words, and although the other dialect differs not inconsiderably, both seem mutually intelligible. The numeral series follows the quinary system, but none of the color names show a trace of syllabic reduplication, which is so frequently met with in the color adjectives of the interior of Oregon. Phonetically, Takílma is more sonorous, or, at least, more vocalic than Kúsa, a large majority of syllables closing in vowels.

In my last article I did not treat of the languages spoken by the *Pueblo Indians* of New Mexico. They cannot be classed among the idioms of the Pacific States, for New Mexico physically belongs to the drainage basin of the Gulf of Mexico, and its idioms differ in many particulars from what we observe in the languages of the Western slope. Nevertheless, an opportunity offers itself here to discuss them.

Long ago Pueblo Indians and the singular, unique structure of their dwellings had become an object of historical speculation. Mexicans and Anglo-Americans, contemplating with awe the greatness and power of the Atzec empire, and the artistic achievements of this wonderful, but thoroughly barbaric race, which had become more cultured only through contact with the Toltic civilization, have filled volumes with theories upon the location of the "seven caves," the legendary cradle of this people. This locality, like the home of the Chichimecs and most other American nations, was reported to lie to the north of Mexico; reasons sufficient for these authors to locate it among the New Mexican Pueblos, the only civilized Indians ever met with in olden times in North America, outside of the Mexican territory.

Now what have the Aztecs in common with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico? They lived in houses built of mud or stone and were agriculturists; that is all. The oldest, and, therefore, the most important, characteristics of a people, race and language, are far from being common to both, and even secondary and more recent characteristics, as implements, manners, customs, laws, government, religions, beliefs, worship and traditions, have not been shown to be identical in both. The languages of New Mexico further prove, that the people speaking them consists of *three* distinct races, or of *four*, should we add the Moqui Pueblos of Arizona. Now as the Aztecs cannot be related to all four, to which *one* could they be akin? The following exposé of the New Mexican linguistic families will show better than anything else the hollowness of similar theories:

RIO GRANDE PUEBLO.—This family of idioms is almost exclusively

confined to the valley of the Rio Grande del Norte, extending through the valleys of a few of its tributaries only. It seems to have stretched formerly far south into the Mexican and Texan territories, but we know of no northern limit than the one given by the Taos language. All the Rio Grande idioms have borrowed a few terms from Shoshoni languages, though these did not alter in the least the physiognomy of the five Pueblo dialects sketched below. These are mutually unintelligible, but have many peculiarities in common, which are as follows:

Their words are usually short and the idioms have a general tendency towards brevity of forms; the words are frequently obscured by nasalization. They have in common the sound *f* and several derivational suffixes, the demonstrative pronoun *na* used as a definite article, and another demonstrative pronoun or particle, *-e*, *-ē*, *-a*, which is always suffixed and emphasized. Aztec shows none of these particulars, and Aztec words often show a complexity the length of which has become almost proverbial.

They have in common many terms for concrete objects, as for the parts of the human body, some meteorological terms, and the first five numerals, but differ considerably in their color adjectives.

*Taos*, the northernmost of the Rio Grande dialects, is spoken by the Taos or Takhé, who are mixed with Picuris and Apaches; it is more closely related to Taño than to the rest of these dialects. Pueblos: Taos and Ticori.

*Taño*, spoken by the inhabitants of Isleta, of Isleta del Paso, and of Sandía. *Tehua*, or Téwa (téhua means *house*), is the dialect, of which we possess some grammatic knowledge through the labors of Dr. Oscar Loew; sub-dialects of it are heard in the pueblos (or adobe villages) of Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Nambe, San Juan, or Ochi, Santa Clara, Pojoaque, Los Luceros, and in the Tehua village on one of the Moqui mesas. *Temcs*, on Temes River (a western affluent of the Rio Grande), consolidated with Indians from Old Pecos. The Temes Indians call their pueblo Walatoa. *Piro*, spoken by the Indians of Sinecú, or Sinicú, a few miles below El Paso del Norte. This dialect has no guttural aspirates, and a few nasalized vowels only, a circumstance which is attributed by Mr. J. R. Bartlett, who took an unpublished vocabulary there, to the habit of conversing in Spanish. It possesses a sound which is written *hr* by him. Through the addition of the emphasized *é* all terms of the vocabulary become oxytonized.

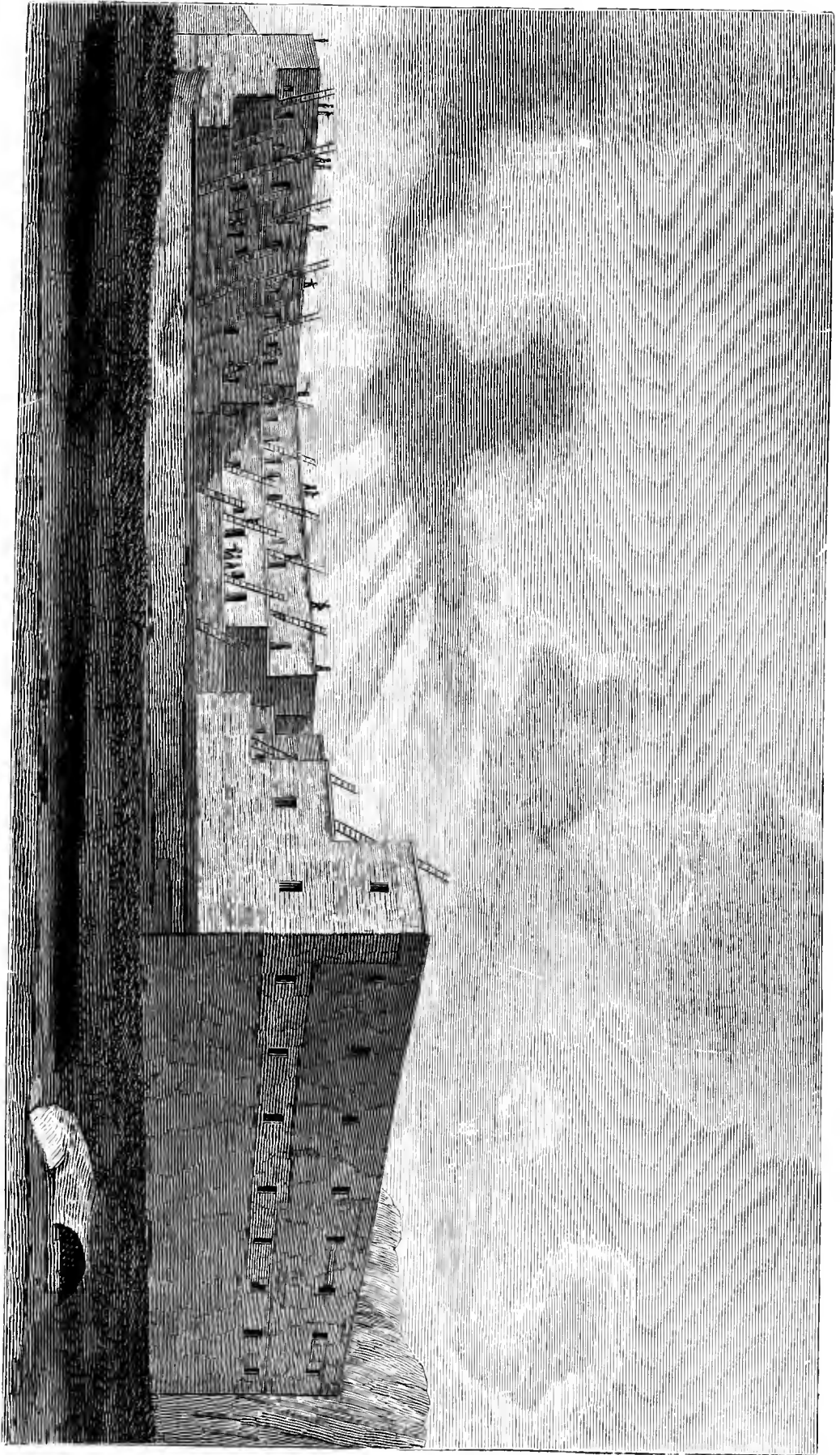
KERA.—The dialects of this family are spoken west of the Rio

Grande, on San Juan River and its tributaries; nowhere but at San Domingo Kera Indians have settled east of the Rio Grande. The pueblos of this family are: The Kawaíko pueblos on the San Juan River: Laguna,<sup>9</sup> Acoma, Hasatch, Povuate, Moquino; the Kera or Quéres pueblos on or near the Rio Grande, northeast of the Kawaíko pueblos: Santa Aña and Cía, both on Temes river, Silla or Tséa, San Felipe, San Domingo, Cochití. To judge from the specimens, these dialects do not differ much among themselves, so as to be mutually intelligible. The phonetics differ entirely from those of the Rio Grande idioms.

Kera abounds in sibilants, gutturals and aspirants (h), but lacks b, d, f, l and, we may add, r, the latter sound almost entirely wanting. Words and syllables frequently end in -m, -n, tch, -t. The language possesses a dual in the noun and in the verb. Affinity of Kera with Aztec or any other Nahuatl idiom is out of the question.

ZUÑI.—This is spoken in the Zuñu pueblos, located near the boundary of New Mexico and Arizona. Many ruined towns are found in the vicinity, Zuñi and Ojo de Pescado on Zuñi River, a tributary of the Colorado Choquito, and El Moro, east of them, being the only ones inhabited now. All words of this language end in vowels, and many of them are largely polysyllabic. In this they differ from the language of the Rio Grande Pueblos, as well as in their quinary system of numeration. The Zuñi language kept itself remarkably free of the intrusion of Shoshoni elements.

MOQUI.—The Moqui or Móki towns of Arizona are speaking a Shoshoni (or Numa) language; this fact can be regarded now as certain, being fully evidenced by a number of vocabularies recently obtained. But the great diversity of their language from Pai-Uta, Uta and the Californian branch of Shoshoni, proves that the Móki seceded from the main stock many centuries ago. Móki is only a nick-name given to one of their towns, which had declined to give battle to some enemy: it means "dead," in the sense of "cadaverous, stinking." The people calls itself Shínumo. The language being of the Shoshoni stock, I have no need to present its peculiarities. I conclude by giving the names of their pueblos erected on four high mesas or bluffs formed by erosion. On the northeastern mesa lie Tsitúmovi, Hualvi (also called Obiki) and a Tehua or Tewa pueblo; on another mesa, south of this, are Mushán-ganevi and Shebaúlavi; southwest of this, Shongópavi, on a third mesa; and on the westernmost lies Oraívi, containing about one half of the whole Móke population of 1,790 souls.





To establish linguistic families from the dialectic material on hand is sometimes an easy, sometimes a difficult task. Success depends as well on the correctness and fullness of the material, as on the ethnologic and linguistic knowledge of the investigator. All historic and sentimental bias of every description must be entirely got rid of in making inquiries of this character.

To establish distinct families of languages is tantamount not only to establishing the ancient state of nationalities, but of racial discrepancies among tribes. Radical difference in language always proves an original diversity, more or less strong, of bodily constitution; but, on the other side, racial difference is *not*, empirically speaking, *always* accompanied by radical linguistic diversity. There are rare instances recorded in history where one race was forced or prevailed upon to adopt the language of another. The disparity of linguistic families shows conclusively, that the respective tribes or nations have formed their idioms in countries distant from each other, and in most instances, widely distant, isolated from each other and in mutual ignorance of each other. Thus the Yuchi tribe, whose ancient habitat is the country extending between the Chatahutchi and the Savannah Rivers, viz., the central parts of Georgia, were always regarded as a peculiar people by the Maskoki surrounding them; their language entirely differs from the Maskoki idiom, and if the national legend of the latter tribe, which pretends that they were originally Trans-Mississippians, has any foundation in fact, it would form an argument to prove that the Yuchi inhabited the Gulf territories east of the Mississippi long before the Maskoki. If this was so, the Yuchi then probably occupied a much larger area of territory than they did in the eighteenth century.

Wherever we see linguistic families covering a small area only, we are entitled to assume that the people speaking them resisted with success, through the course of centuries, wars, inroads, famine and other disturbances which have exterminated many other communities. Must we ascribe the large number of these families on the Western slope to a more peaceable disposition of the coast tribes, because they lived on fish rather than on game, or is the cause of it the protection afforded by high-towering mountain ridges? For both causes reasons can be adduced, and many other causes may have operated also.

A comparative study of the languages and dialects of a country leads to inquiries into the radical portion of the idioms compared. To trace the derivation of a word, is to trace its history and that of the

ideas which became connected with it in the lapse of centuries. We are brought to distinguish between loan words borrowed from other idioms and words pertaining to the language itself. Loan words are most important for tracing international commerce, social intercourse, the spread of certain ideas concerning law, philosophy, religion, art and science. The loan words from Sanscrit and Zend discovered in Genesis and other Hebrew texts of Scripture have proved the existence of commercial relations between the Hebrews and the coasts of Persia and India. A large number of loan words in the Latin language, of which we mention *alauda*, *tenca*, *lar*, *lucumo*, *classis*, *gubernare*, *pulcher*, *purpur*, *burgum*, *ambactus*, *tunica*, *ambubaia*, show conclusively that there existed in historic and prehistoric times connections of the people of the Latium with the Gauls, Etruscans, Greeks, Germans and Semites. Discoveries comparable to these will be made concerning Indian inter-tribal commerce, as soon as our scientists can be brought at last to comprehend the importance of these researches.

Linguistic studies undertaken for the purpose of advancing *ethnographic knowledge* may bring forth results not less important. The curious fact that *sun*, *moon* and *month* are called by the same term in many, if not in the majority of Indian languages, must raise within us the query, "Why is this so?" The Timucua term for the moon is *acuhiba*, "*the one who tells.*" In the Klamath language of southwestern Oregon *sun* and *moon* is *shápash*, "*the indicator,*" and here the moon has another name besides, *ukaúkōsh*, "*the broken one, the one going to pieces;*" in Klamath myths the Moon is the Sun's son. Analogous to this "indicator of time" is the English *moon*, originally *man*, the "measuring one," the measurer of time.

No less instructive for historic ethnology are the terms for *woman*. In English both *wife* and *woman* (*wip* and *wip-man* in Anglo-Saxon) mean "the weaver, the weaving person," the latter being merely a compound of the former; originally *wife* had no reference to the married state. The Latin *femina*, the Greek *gynē* have reference to child-bearing, but in the Pit River language *wife* is *tēlúmē*, *iteluma*, "the worker," from *italúmi*, to work; in the Ara or Károk language on the Klamath River, Northern California, *woman* and *wife* is *ashiktáwa*, "the carrier;" in the Klamath of Oregon *woman* and *wife*, in the singular number, is *snawédshash*, "adorned with neckwear." Not devoid of signification is the circumstance that in many western languages the *same* word is used for *wife* and *woman*.



Similar inferences on ancient customs and ideas of our Indians can be drawn from the fact, that in some of their languages a chief means *rich*; a wigwam, *intertwining* (of branches or sticks); tobacco, an intermixture, *commingling*, and that meat is sometimes called after the *deer*, while at other times it is found to be a derivative of the verb *to boil*. I conclude this article by calling attention to the mode by which religious ideas were formed, and religious worship inaugurated, among some ancient nations, through the constant use of certain *epithets* given to elementary powers of nature.

ALBERT S. GATSCHE

NOTE.—The foregoing article is a sequel to the author's article on the Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories, published in the Magazine of American History, March, 1877. [I, 145.]  
A. S. G.

<sup>1</sup> The Nestucca call themselves Já-ga-hosh.

<sup>2</sup> Horatio Hale's Ethnology and Philology of the U. S. Exploring Expedition, Philadelphia, 1846.

<sup>3</sup> The inhabitants of Lagune call themselves Sitsimé; the Indian name of the pueblo of Santa Aña is Tomiya, that of San Felipe, Kalistcha,



A MAIDA GIRL.

## ROGER LUDLOWE: THE FATHER OF CONNECTICUT JURISPRUDENCE

Among the New England fathers who laid the foundations of our Republic was one who bore the unfamiliar name which stands at the head of this paper. Certain peculiarities of temperament, rather than of character, seem to have made him unattractive to contemporary recorders, and what appears that concerns him in later history is fragmentary and more or less tinged with prejudice and error. In justice to his memory, we have taken some pains to gather within a brief and fair narrative the strangely meagre accounts of his career.

Roger Ludlowe was a resident of Dorchester, Dorsetshire, England, when history with briefest ceremony in the year 1629 introduced him to American affairs. His age then was not far from forty. He was a lawyer by profession, and, it is said, was of noble lineage.<sup>1</sup> His religious and social standing are indicated from his being chosen as an Assistant of the Massachusetts Bay Company. This company paid £15,000 for its charter, and was the first corporation receiving royal sanction to operate in New England, being made up of men who, like Ludlowe, represented the best Non-conforming element. On the 20th of March, 1630, the company ventured its first ship—the *Mary and John*—with one hundred and forty souls, for New England. This ship is described as “Mr. Ludlowe’s vessel.” The voyage ended May 30th, on the coast of Massachusetts, at Nantasket, and Ludlowe promptly secured a favorable site for a settlement up the Charles River, which, in touching old-home reference, he called Dorchester.

On the 23d of August the company held its first Court of Assistants, and appointed Ludlowe leading member of the Corps of Magistrates. In the spring of 1632, Captain John Mason came over, and at once attached himself to Ludlowe’s settlement. Here we have a remarkable trio—Endicott, Mason, Ludlowe! It is a suggestive fact, that this companionship, if not intimacy, was never interrupted by those family jars which Ludlowe was inclined to create.

It was at the second General Court, where a discussion arose in regard to some new election regulations, which he suspected had been made beforehand—after the manner of the modern caucus—that Ludlowe’s impetuous personality began to show itself; for, as is recorded, “he thereupon grew into passion and said then we should have no government, continued

stiff in his opinions, and though the matter was cleared in the judgment of the rest, protested he would then return to England" (Winthrop i., 158).

Ludlowe possessed a large intellect, but little self-control. England's Universities had thoroughly trained him in the manual of letters; he was especially well drilled in jurisprudence, and brought to the chaotic Colonies clearly defined notions of legislative polity. Stirring and brave, he was equally ready to avert danger by expedient, or face it by intrepid action. In these essentials no one of his associates was better equipped to confront the stern problems of the times. But, on the other hand, he was self-willed, and often self-asserting to a repelling degree. He utterly wanted the *suaviter in modo*, or the unruffled affability especially demanded of a popular man of affairs. Instead of objecting with consideration, he opposed with effrontery: his persistence made enemies, when repression would have won friends. Thus, at the critical moment, when loss of balance meant the upsetting of well-digested plans, his oft-time infirmities of temper would outweigh the product of a keen, comprehensive mind, and men of less natural force, but greater self-control, would secure popular favor and master the situation. He, himself, was the sentinel that opened the door for the enemy.

Ambitious, he ever aspired to the first place; and when, in 1634, Haynes was elected Governor, himself being Deputy, he protested that "the election was void for that the representatives had agreed upon the matter before they came;" and his frequent dictation to the General Court during the year became so obnoxious that, at the expiration of his term of office, his name was stricken from the roll of Assistants and the Company altogether. In this latter misery he had whatever consolation there was in congenial company. Endicott, his brother-in-law, was also at this time deprived of his office, his offence being the notable one of cutting the cross from the royal banner.

In 1635, Ludlowe, bristling with new projects, organized a company to settle in Connecticut; and in March was appointed by the Bay Company, who still recognized his abilities, one of a "Commission to govern the people of Connecticut for the space of a year now next coming." On the 15th of October—the pleasant month when New England pays her homage to the Eastern world by donning an Oriental costume—Ludlowe's company, of about threescore, began the journey to the Connecticut, or *Fresh* River. The distance was one hundred miles. They were to traverse a region that for unknown centuries had whispered its secrets only to the heathen, and now reluctantly revealed them to Christian importunity. But the compass pointed an unerring line of march; the axe laid low the defiant tree, whose prostrate body then bridged the swollen stream.

Neither river nor mountain, tangled thicket nor treacherous swamp, stayed the pilgrimage of this stern people. It was a journey of curiously mingled light and shade. The solemn visage, the peaked hat, and sober garb contrasted quaintly with the bright hues and buoyant air of autumn; the sad gown but rosy face of the Puritan damsel were fitting accompaniments of russet and crimson foliage, song and plumage of wondering birds; and as the savage crept through the underbrush, his murderous whoop was checked as the bold colonist uttered the psalm, "His truth shall be thy shield and buckler; thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day," and he gazed in awe at the motley procession, the pioneers of the vast army that was advancing upon "that new world which is the old." It was a fortnight's rough travel, but not altogether cheerless; and ending at Windsor, a hasty thanksgiving recognized the auspicious smiles of Heaven.

The Connecticut settlements soon grew too large to continue under the governance of the Bay, and in 1638 they became a separate colony. We may be sure that Roger Ludlowe had an eye to the chief office. Strangely enough, at this time Haynes joined the new colony, and was elected its Governor. Ludlowe, although made Lieutenant-Governor—the first to assume that dignity—and also first justice of the peace, made no attempt to conceal his disappointment. That he should again be defeated by Haynes, and in a field of his own choosing, had an appearance of fatality. We cannot wonder that the high-strung Ludlowe gave violent expression to his chagrin, and made a stormy entrance into Connecticut politics. He entered upon the duties of his office, however, with that rare intelligence and vigor for which he was distinguished, and soon adapted himself to the environment with more repression than had been expected. Indeed, at this juncture there was little time to nourish spleen or brood over personal ills. The colony was confronted with many perils. The Indian tribes could, at any concerted moment, fall upon the settlers with four or five thousand warriors. Stirred up, as was suspected, by the Dutch traders, the Narragansetts were already on the war-path, and Endicott had just captured their fort at Block Island. Captain Underhill, the "Friar Tuck" of the New England greenwood, had just feasted his twenty merry men in the Dutch fort of Good Hope; and his grotesque exploit—the fort was empty—had further exasperated the people of New Netherlands. During the Pequot war which ensued, Ludlowe, who was soldier as well as scholar, accompanied the expedition against the Indian fort near Mystic, and shared in whatever glory attaches to that memorable holocaust.

It was while pursuing the remnants of the Pequots along the Connecti-

cut shore, west of Saybrook, that his attention was arrested by that favored tract which the Indians called *Unquowa*. With a sort of prophetic inspiration he at once named it Fairfield; and he determined at an early day to form a settlement there. The fertile and picturesque spot that had thus appealed to his cupidity as well as sentiment, was the same that, two and a half centuries later, received the graceful salute of the late Dr. Osgood: "Fairfield, that speaks to us to-day in a masterpiece of God's own handiwork, as it spoke to our fathers a quarter of a thousand years ago."

Late in the fall of 1639 (or as some insist, 1640), Ludlowe, with eight or ten families, removed from Windsor to Fairfield, which became his home and the centre of his varied activities for fifteen years. We would gladly chronicle that he brought to this fair region a more chastened spirit, but it is in accordance with historic truth that on the very threshold of his new home he precipitated a controversy. His cattle had been driven in advance and pastured on pleasant meadows whose ownership had not been officially defined. He was called to account by the Court for "undue haste in taking up Uncowa." In his defence, he said: "the hand of the Lord was upon him in taking away some of his cattle, which prevented him from selling some, and being under apprehension that others intended to take up said place which might be prejudicial to this Commonwealth, he adventured to drive his cattle thither" (Colonial Record). The Court fined him £50, administered a slight reprimand, and shortly after authorized the founding of the town. Space will not admit of analysis here. Ludlowe was no readier to relegate improvidences to the "hand of the Lord" than his associates. He shared the most of the peculiar views of contemporaries—even his exceptional intelligence was not proof against the prevailing belief in witchcraft. He was active, indeed, in convicting the notable Goody Knapp, and was present at the hanging of this victim of that epidemic of insanity, in Fairfield. He also contrived to get into personal trouble on the tragic occasion. Just before the execution, the "witch" had descended the ladder and made a confession to Ludlowe—so he insisted—which included an accusation against one Goodwife Staples as being also a witch. He did not hesitate to reiterate the charge; the husband of Mrs. Staples had him arraigned at the Court in New Haven, May 29, 1654, and Ludlowe, although there were many extenuating circumstances, was fined £25 (New Haven Col. Rec., vol. ii., p. 77) for "defaming the fair name of Goodwife Staples."

While at Fairfield, Ludlowe was three times Deputy Governor of Connecticut, several time representative to the Colonial Assembly, and, during his residence there, continually held responsible office. On February 26, 1840, he purchased of the Indians, no doubt with a view to another settle-

ment, that part of Norwalk which lies between the Saugatuck and Norwalk rivers. The price paid was : " 8 fathoms of wampum, 6 coates, 10 hatchets, 10 hoes, 10 knives, 10 sissors, 10 Jewse harpes, 10 fathoms of tobackoe, 3 kettles of six hands about, and 10 looking glasses," and afterward sold the tract with the proviso " that it should be thereafter systematically improved "—an agreement suggestive of the progressive public spirit of the man.

Neither history nor tradition opens a window through which we may glance at the fireside or touch upon the inner life of this many-sided man. For several years no notable public event interrupts the routine of his primitive frontier life, which, however, included every-day experiences freighted with hourly responsibilities. His duties as magistrate were grave and incessant. The Indians, too, lurked on the forest borders, or even in the long grass of the near pastures, and to milk a cow, or fell a tree, was to risk the swift and deadly arrow. They broke every treaty ; they hovered like grim spectres about the paths by day ; they drove sleep from the pillow at night. Writing to a friend—the letter is still partially preserved—he says : " the few that are left from the watches are not able to stand upon their legs ; what we plant is before our own doors, little anything else."

But the salient feature of Ludlowe's career, the grand achievement of his life, was his large share in originating and putting into practical operation the original laws of Connecticut. When, after the Pequot war, the General Court met to decide upon a frame of government, he was unanimously appointed to make the draft. Of this great paper it is not too much to say, briefly, that in its immediate application and far-reaching results it ranks with the best that have been formulated by the profoundest statesmen. It was not perfect : Ludlowe was not a perfect legislator ; but it approached so near completeness that Bacon said of it : " It is the first example in history of a written Constitution—a distinct organic law, and defining its powers." On April 19, 1646, the Court again selected Ludlowe to frame a State paper. He was " desired to take some pains in drawing forth a Body of Laws for the Government of this Commonwealth," and it was also further ordered that he " should, besides the paying of a hired man, be further considered for his pains." Of the enduring value of this second model paper—a model that has shaped the vast machinery of our national legislation—let Bancroft speak. He says : " Kings have been dethroned, recalled, dethroned again, and so many constitutions framed and formed, stifled or subtracted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue ; but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the government as established by their fathers."

We are bound in fairness to state, in this connection, that so reliable a historian as Dr. Palfrey "sees the statesmanlike mind of Haynes" as well as "the lawyerlike hand of Ludlowe" in this document. Without admitting or disputing that, as Palfrey infers, Haynes helped to round out this great work, we may venture the remark, that, in rearing a great structure, the builder may avail himself of the strongest material without detracting from his own skill, or future renown of the edifice. We may also add, that, by Palfrey's own showing, Ludlowe was hardly the man to call in the aid of so formidable a rival as Haynes. The worthy Doctor also hints that the work was "largely added to from the Massachusetts laws," which we do not deny; but the addition was made in 1650, and Ludlowe's Constitution was finished in 1647.

We submit that the Code, notwithstanding its subsequent additions, was as much the work of Roger Ludlowe as the United States Constitution is the work of its recognized authors. The General Court, sitting in February, 1651, ordered "compensation for his great pains in drawing out and transcribing, concluding and establishing the same in May last." It was, moreover, by universal consent called "Ludlowe's Code," and by it the author gained the well-merited distinction of "The Father of Connecticut Jurisprudence."

In 1604 the Colonists, especially those of Connecticut, alarmed at inroads of the Indians, whom, they still persisted, were instigated by the Dutch traders, appealed to the General Courts for protection. In a "spirit of self-preservation and not of sedition," they urged the subjugation of the New Netherlands as the only avenue to permanent peace. Ludlowe warmly espoused the appeal to arms, but Massachusetts declined to enter upon war, though she permitted a company to be recruited in Boston, and through her influence Connecticut, while admitting the emergency, refused her official sanction. The agents of Cromwell, too, who was then on the eve of war with Holland, urged on the Colonists.

Favored by Cromwell, backed by the people, and indignant at the apathy of the Courts, Ludlowe had never before met with such opportunity for the full play of his talents and fiery zeal. The planters in the vicinity of his home boldly determined to declare war on their own account. They gathered at Fairfield, appointed him commander-in-chief, and only awaited his order to march on the New Netherlands. Beset by the hot-headed Connecticut colonist on this side, and by the foremost champion of Puritanism on the other side of the Atlantic, the thrifty Hollanders were in danger of annihilation. But it was otherwise ordered. England conquered with the pen, and the news of her bloodless victory cooled the ardor of her children in America.

Ludlowe, suddenly yielding to popular reaction and the inexorable logic of events, sheathed his ambitious sword. Perhaps, with his turn for the classics, he was inclined, like the defeated Roman, to fall upon its point; he certainly committed political suicide. The people of Fairfield were called to account by the General Court; and although Ludlowe, personally, was unmolested, it was clear that he was implicated with an armed insurrection, and forever disqualified for government office in Connecticut. With unfeigned regret he concluded to withdraw from the scenes of his brightest hopes and bitterest disappointments.

The mystery attending his voluntary exile has not been a popular one. The colonial historians do not appear to have troubled themselves to solve it. Barber, Trumbull, Hollister, Palfrey, and others, despatch him to Virginia and unbroken obscurity, as if, like the Spartan law-giver, he had bound the people to a code of laws until his return, and then disappeared forever. He did not, however, "pass his remaining days in Virginia and in obscurity," although he had disposed of his lands and announced his intention of sailing with his family and effects for Virginia, in a vessel owned by one Captain John Manning. This vessel, however, was seized by the authorities at New Haven, and her owner brought to court, April 26, 1654, to answer a charge of contraband trading. Ludlowe appeared in court and "informed the Governor how inconvenient and what a damage it would prove to him if the vessel was staid which he had hired to transport him and his family," and offered £100 security for Manning. But he afterward withdrew the bond; the vessel was condemned as lawful prize, and sold at Milford by *inch of candle*—*i. e.*, the bid was adjudged when an inch of candle had been burned. Ludlowe therefore changed his purpose, and sailed for England.

Nor did he ever return to Virginia, unless in such questionable shape as the Gray Champion of Hawthorne his restless spirit revisited the glimpses of the moon in the Old Dominion. That he ended his days in obscurity is so wholly at variance with the irrepressible force of the man as to invite doubt of the statement, and investigation justifies the doubt. He is known to have been conspicuous in England, in 1656, when, as one of a Board of Commissioners, he reported to the Privy Council at Whitehall. He is also heard of at Holyhead in 1658, just after Cromwell's death, having "newly returned from Ireland."

More than one historian has, without giving authority, charged Ludlowe with "taking off with him the Town Records, of which he was custodian," when he left Fairfield; and it has long been the popular belief that he was guilty of this petty larceny. Independent of the fact that the charge has



no better backing than vague tradition, it would seem wholly irreconcilable with his probity during twenty-four years of office ; and the small intrinsic value of the property, the absence of motive, and the sensitive pride of the man, would all argue against it. Fortunately, research reveals the fact that the " missing records were afterwards found " ; their absence from the present Town Records may be explained by many easy analogies.

In conclusion, we think we may express astonishment that a charge so groundless and cruel should so long obscure the renown of one who laid the foundation of our Government. We are amazed, and must express it, that in the " Christian Commonwealth " whose groundwork he designed, in the very town he founded, this absurd charge should have general credence, even up to the hour of this writing. But this popular fallacy, like many another offspring of mythical tradition, fades in the searching light of truth. What the after-career of Roger Ludlowe was in the parent country we cannot at present ascertain, and are therefore unable to pursue our subject across the Atlantic until it loses itself on the misty borders of the " unknown sea " ; and perhaps it is as well that we now take leave while the light of research, like the gleam of a December star, pierces the wintry clouds of prejudice and obloquy, and brightens the path he trod in New England.

WM. A. BEERS

\* Lt.-General Sir Edmond Ludlow(e), in his Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 681, refers to him, doubtless, when speaking of " my cousin Roger Ludlow(e)."

## LONGFELLOW IN HIS RELATION TO AMERICAN HISTORY

Ample justice is now being done to the character of the late Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who merits the warmest eulogy that has been paid to his memory either as a poet, a scholar, or as a man. None but inferior minds can be moved with envy by the contemplation of his world-wide fame. It is well earned. The pure and healthful pleasure which his varied works have afforded would alone entitle him to universal regard. He has proved both a literary stimulus and a source of moral inspiration. A poet of absolute purity, there is not a phrase in one of his many compositions that either he or his reader could desire to have blotted out. His mind reflected what was beautiful and true and of good report, while his themes were treated in accordance with methods suited not only to the higher and the average capacity, but to the great class of plain minds. Philosophy sought without avail to draw him out of the life of the people to follow her abstruse moods. The scene of his activity lay among every-day mortal men, whom he visited at their firesides with a song and story capable of touching all impressible hearts. As a poet, Longfellow entered into the sweet home affections, while souls smitten with sorrow could turn to his sympathy and find relief. He was the poet of the people, being, indeed, the most popular of all modern writers of verse. Since his lamented decease the statistics have been spread before the public in various forms, showing the number of his readers in different lands. In winning the ear of the masses he surpassed all his rivals. In England, even, his constituency, we are told, outnumbered that of the Poet Laureate; while oriental languages, with all their affluence, have been taxed to make his conceptions a part of the popular thought of highly cultivated people in warm, imaginative and poetic lands.

A degree of popularity like this, achieved, too, within so short a time, indeed excites surprise, leading many to regard the columns of figures and bibliographical accounts of translations as so many pledges of enduring fame. Time alone, however, can reveal the true place of Longfellow in the public estimation. As Americans, we all could wish to see his supremacy as a popular poet maintained; yet other poets, in time, will come, men of equal power and of similar tastes and sympathies, making their appeal to the same human nature, and winning, perhaps, the same share of popular regard. They and he may be forgotten. Possibly it may require even but a short period to dismiss any poet of this class to the realms of forgetfulness and shade. Who can say?

If universal good-will could render any man immortal, the name of Longfellow would of necessity be regarded as one of those names destined never to die. Nevertheless, nothing is more uncertain than popularity, while many readers, as they look into the poet's productions, fail to discern many of those great intellectual elements required to insure the lasting remembrance and homage of thoughtful minds. Mr. Longfellow was not a "great" poet. He never rose in any sustained flight to the height of "In Memoriam," while no one asks how he appears in contrast with still higher minds. But let us turn to inquire if his writings have any special connection with the history of our country that is likely to insure them a permanent place.

Mr. Longfellow was not a national poet. Little that he ever wrote can be identified with the greater aspirations of the American people. While possessing all those patriotic impulses that dignify the citizen's private life, he seldom exhibited in his writings that sparkling exuberance which overflows in the works of a class of men, and constitutes their verse a source of national inspiration. At the end of his poem on "The Building of the Ship," the imprisoned patriotism found vent, though it generally remained sealed. On provincial themes he was not so silent, yet in connection with New England he was far from ardent, and, upon the whole, was chary. In one place, speaking of Plymouth, he quotes the saying that three kingdoms had been sifted to get the seed for that particular planting, but he does not say much about the crop. On the other hand, in his Tragedies, "John Endicott" and "Giles Corey," he draws a picture of early New England that for repulsiveness need not be excelled; a picture, indeed, which coming from the hand of a stranger, would have been regarded as the offspring of a mind bent upon blackening New England's fame. There is little in his writings to indicate enthusiasm on the part of the poet for a class of sentiments that the panegyrist holds so dear. He never gave currency to those stock ideas so precious in the eyes of a Hemans or a Sprague; much less did he approach the chromo style of the Plymouth Rock oration. Whatever he may have thought on some subjects, he kept his own counsel so far as the public was concerned, neither in the case of Pilgrim nor Prelate finding any particular reason for unbounded praise. As the result, he is no more thoroughly identified with New England traditions than those of the nation. He found his "Native Land" in that Country sung in the rich verse of Bernard of Morlaix. Yet while in thought his soul aspired to scenes lying beyond the Cosmos, he loved the terrestrial world, and the whole of it. He was not provincial. His mind harmonized with the undertone of mankind at large. Still he was not without a pronounced fondness

for the older portion of the world. Indeed, it might possibly be said that with him it was always *outré mer*. There is nothing in his apostrophe to the "Union" that, on poetic grounds, might not have been addressed to the British Constitution. His sympathies were with the elder, mediæval world, with the legendary days, with the monk in his cloister, rather than with modern statesmen and aggressive reforms. He was reverent and religious, dwelling upon Love instead of Law. He would view heaven through the cathedral windows, rather than in the lurid page of the catechism of the iconoclast who broke the windows. He admired, as who does not, the many rare aspects of New England life and landscape, but, as a rule, his mind attained its fullest glow when dwelling upon days that are dead, and men and things he never knew. The great Catholic festivals also had their charm, and he was at home among monasteries and crypts. He was familiar with church steeples and belfries, bells, baptistries, and fountains of holy water. Nothing was alien to him that was human. He was an eclectic, and championed no particular cause. He indeed wrote strong words about the slave, but he printed them prudently, which was well. In fact, his anti-slavery poems told powerfully with some classes, and form an essential feature in that department of his writings classed as Americana. His feelings, however, as reflected in his verse, were not essentially, or, at least, enthusiastically, American, and it must be remembered that we have nothing to do with him outside of his published writings. This is not referred to as a fault. Both as a man and as a poet he had a perfect right to choose his own theme and his own way of viewing it. Nevertheless, it is perhaps reasonable, that a more pronounced union between his life-work and the national life, would have strengthened his hold upon the people, provided the union of the States is to be permanent. On the other hand, is the question whether or not the interest now felt in distinctly New England themes will always prevail. We assume that this interest will continue, and that in the future, the history of New England, contrasted with that of the country at large, will not appear simply a curious episode, like the story of "Brooks Farm," compared with the history of modern Massachusetts. These, however, are topics that can be dealt with only in a general way.

As we have seen with respect to Longfellow, the national sentiment is not a pronounced thing, yet American ideas, to some extent, prevail. They are found especially in connection with the so-called aboriginal American who comes before us in the poem of "Hiawatha." In dealing with this theme Longfellow had a fair opportunity, but how well he improved the opportunity it is the province, not of his immediate admirer, but of the student of Indian history to say. That it is generally true to essen-

tial features of Indian life and tradition, we cannot deny ; but that he did the best that it was possible to do for the Red Man is far from being evident to many minds. The subject is treated by Longfellow in accordance with the inferior traditions, and is not in harmony with the account most consistent with known facts. It may indeed be said in reply, that the poet is not bound by any truths of history, and that he deals with the realm of imagination. This is sufficiently correct ; yet it may nevertheless be argued that the exercise of the imagination in subordination to well-known truths is not inconsistent with fancy's highest flight, and that a poem which enshrines some great imperishable truth has a better chance of being remembered than a work of equal poetical merit which ignores or contravenes truth. The latter, in some degree, appears to be the case with the poem called "Hiawatha." Schoolcraft, certainly a very competent authority, testifies that the legends upon which Mr. Longfellow has based his poem represent the Chieftain Hiawatha, upon the whole, as the impersonation of evil, and actuated by cunning, weakness, and petty ambition. Consequently, it has been said : " We find that the character which the poet represents continually reminds us of its origin. Certain qualities may be depressed, and some may be exaggerated, while others may be left out altogether ; and yet the feeble trickster is always there, holding himself up to view amid all the affluence of rhythm and imagery and art, as a compound of opposite, and often contemptible, qualities." As the same research goes to prove that Hiawatha was a historic character, who " formed the American Amphictyonic League ; who gave the Iroquois legislation and laws ; who, by the power of his genius, blended the Five Nations into one ; and who, by the force of his example and the purity of his precepts, cemented the great fabric which stood for many generations in the heart of America as a refuge to those people not exactly included within the League, but who, nevertheless, as history declares, found it as refreshing in their day as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The Iroquois Republic, founded near the thirteenth century, was not established upon a myth, but upon a person, a man of genius and power. That man was " Hiawatha," who lived before the black-robed chief of the pale-faced race appeared among the Indians, and whose introduction by Longfellow, as a Jesuit missionary, forms a pure anachronism. Upon the whole, it can hardly be affirmed that Longfellow made the best possible use of his material, or that he employed those ideas in the construction of " Hiawatha " that demand recognition in connection with the character ; and, if his poem is read in the distant future, it will not be studied in the conviction that the author detected the most vital and enduring qualities in

Indian history and tradition, and wrote with a supreme veneration for historic truth.

Turning next to the poem of "Evangeline," which, together with "Hiawatha," it is said, we owe to the vigorous and somewhat unsparing criticism bestowed by critics upon his earlier pieces, we find the same structural defects, so far as history may be concerned, the poem of "Evangeline" forming almost a travesty. This is a sufficiently small matter to a class of minds, yet it is worth considering, especially at a time when research into antiquity is resulting in increased reverence for more than one great composition, by showing that the basis is formed of essential fact, and that the poet is a kind of historic guide. Longfellow had a perfect right, as a poet, to assume that the facts were against the English and in favor of the French, and he was justified, as an artist, in painting a termagant neutral as a "pious Acadian peasant," who unjustly suffered all manner of cruelty and hardship at the hands of his English persecutor. In this deliberate choice, however, he must look to the "æsthete" for sympathy rather than to the student of history; to the lover of sun-flowers rather than the admirer of true flowers of poesy; for the pious Acadian peasant was as rare in Acadia as Indian summer following the September gales. It is not the purpose of this article, however, to point out mixed astronomy, nor to note the poet's inattention to a natural phenomenon. If he sees fit to array the nude, leafless "Summer of all Saints" in robes of scarlet and yellow, and cause each tree of the forest to flash like the plane-tree the Persians adorned with mantles and jewels, we must submit. Nevertheless, this is not in the spirit of Corot, whose lecture to one of the pupils in his studio was written in a single word on a scrap of paper, "Conscience." Besides, there is nothing in such a treatment of a semi-historic theme to insure lasting popularity; while the permanent reputation of no poet is likely to be injured by the subordination of fancy to well-known facts.

On the other hand, Longfellow, by setting forth an unreality, sometimes helps what is real. In his note to the poem entitled "The Skeleton in Armour," he makes sport of the Old Mill at Newport, quoting Sancho, who says, "God bless me! Did I not warn you to have a care of what you were doing, for that it was nothing but a wind-mill; and nobody could mistake it but one who had the like in his head." Yet in the poem itself, while speculating over the relics of some Narragansett Indian, he assumes historic character of the Northmen's voyages to America, and this poem has probably done more to fix those voyages in the public mind than many a ponderous essay. At the same time, the error flies on the poetic wings that bear the truth. Hence, especially as Longfellow enjoys such unbounded

popularity and influence, is this the more to be regretted, for unhistoric ideas thus gain the widest currency, and pass for veritable facts, rendering it well nigh impossible to write the errors down.

Historically considered, then, poems like those mentioned are somewhat deficient. It would prove an easy task to dwell upon another class of errors that might be described as "technical," like several already mentioned. For instance, the poem on "Sir Humphrey Gilbert" opens :

"Southward with fleet of ice  
Sailed the corsair Death ;  
Wild and fast blew the blast,  
And the east wind was his breath ;"

while Sir Humphrey was lost in the autumn, not in the time when the ice fleets are sailing southward. Whenever lost, he was not lost in the ice. Much less did he sail "Eastward from Campobello," as he shaped his course from near Sable Island and went down off the Azores. In fact, the technical errors are so abundant that this poem might be set down as structurally false. It would nevertheless prove profitless to follow in the line of Margaret Fuller, who tripped the poet for taking "Bishop's Caps" out of books to sow in New England. What has been said is sufficient to justify the concession that Longfellow departed from facts "very considerably."

In closing, attention may be called to a few points in the "Courtship of Miles Standish," where Standish is introduced on the eve of the sailing of the Mayflower for England, April 5, 1621. The Leyden colonists arrived at Plymouth the preceding December, and this was the earliest time when she could be spared, as during the winter there were only a few huts on the shore, which were insufficient to accommodate the people. When the ship left they had barely succeeded in securing shelter ; yet, even at this time, Longfellow represents Plymouth as a "village," outside of which, at some distance, lived Priscilla, whom John Alden visits and finds engaged in spinning, though there was no wool in all New England to spin. It was the brain of the Pilgrims that was spinning in the fight with disease and death. One of the victims of the winter's privation was Rose Standish, who, at the sailing of the Mayflower, had been dead only about eight weeks ; yet the poet sets the disconsolate Miles at once on the track of a second Mrs. Standish. He also sends Standish to Weymouth to slay the Indians several years before there were Indians needing any slaying, and he boasts of his "brazen howitzer" mounted upon the roof of the church at a time when they had no "brazen" howitzer, and, in fact, no howitzer at all, and no church roof to mount one on. All this, too, regardless of the saying put in the mouth

of Miles, "No man can gather cherries in Kent at the season of Christmas." The first winter and spring at Plymouth contained nothing idyllic, and the Mayflower went home bearing only a tale of woe. Historically considered, "The Courtship of Miles Standish" is mixed.

Mr. Longfellow himself finally came to entertain a vague suspicion that he had dealt too freely with facts, and, in the prefatory verses of his "Tragedies," he makes an apology, saying :

"Nor let the historian blame the poet here,  
If he perchance misdate the day or year,  
And group together by his art  
That in the chronicles lie far apart."

This attempt, however, to break the force of criticism will not be likely to go far in the face of the now rapidly growing taste for accuracy in American History. With all of one's respect and affection for Mr. Longfellow, there remains, therefore, the regret, that in treating historic themes he has not shown more devotion to the letter of our annals, especially as he is represented as having a superior knowledge of local and general history. In a general way, however, we may accept the following, spoken under circumstances when the voice of friendship could not have said less: "He took the saddest of our New England tragedies, and the sweetest of its rural home scenes: the Wayside Inn, the Alarum of War, the Indian Legend, and the Hanging of the Crane in the modest household, which his genius has invested with enduring charms and morals. Wise and gentle was the heart which could thus find melodies for the harp, the lyre, and the plectrum in our fields and wildernesses, wreathing them as nature does the thickets and stumps of the forest with flowers and mosses. While all his utterances came from a pure, a tender, and a devout heart, addressing themselves to what is of like in other hearts, there is not in them a line of morbidness, of depression or melancholy, but only that which quickens and cheers with robust resolve and courage, with peace and aspiring trust." Nevertheless, with all of the writer's personal regard, he cannot add, with unqualified approval, the statement that "the scenes and incidents and personages which most need a softening and refining touch, receive it from him without prejudice to the service of sober history."



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## NEW YORK PENDING THE REVOLUTION

*Letters from Thomas Ellison, Jr., Merchant at Coenties and Old Slip, to his father, Col. Thomas Ellison, of New Windsor.*

[The following extracts are from the letters of Thomas Ellison, Jr., who was the successor of one of the oldest mercantile houses in New York, his grandfather, John Ellison, having located in 1703 "without the north gate of the city," where he was the owner, in 1728, of one of the four wharves on the west side of the city. The observations upon current events are from a mercantile view.]

July 8. 1762. Yesterday afternoon we had a terrible gust of rain, wind, thunder, and lightning, the severest ever known. For about half an hour, it was one continued peal, during which, the steeple of the old English Church (Trinity) was set on fire, just under the ball, or partly within it, which was happily extinguished by some daring men, who ripped the shingles from the lath, and so went up on the outside of the steeple to the ball.

Feb. 4. 1765. Extremely cold weather. The river entirely frozen over, and people crossing on the ice.

Sept. 5. 1765. By report, there is a great disturbance in Boston, about the Stamp Act, &c. It is said, they have pulled the Lieut. Governor's house down, taken what money and plate he had in the house, and destroyed all his papers they could come at, and have ransacked two other houses. They have also pulled down two other houses, at Rhode Island. The flames seem to be coming westward,

and there is a good deal of talk in town.

Sept. 11. 1765. The authorities are carrying provisions and ammunition into the Fort, and the Governor's family (Gov. Colden) are moving in. There has been nothing done here, but there is a good deal of talk, and I do not think there will be any disturbance unless it be when the stamps arrive. It is reported there are two men of war, lying at the Hook, to guard the ship up, that brings them.

Oct. 23. 1765. Captain Davis has come at last, who has the disagreeable stamp papers on board. Most of the vessels in the harbor, had their colors half hoisted. She was guarded up, by two men of war, who have carried her in the North River, to land the stamps at the Fort.

Nov. 4. 1765. The Governor, by advice of the General, has consented to deliver the stamps to-morrow morning, to the Corporation. If they will receive them, it will settle the minds of the populace, in some measure, which have been greatly excited by fortifying the Fort, in so strong a manner, and spiking all the guns on the Battery. The Governor has made a great many enemies, by this proceeding, and it is dangerous to say anything in his behalf. The City Hall bell is now ringing to call the inhabitants together, to have their advice, and ascertain if it be agreeable, that the Corporation should take them, (the stamps) under their care.

Have just heard that a letter was sent to the Treasurer last night, to deposit a sum of money, in a certain place, or take the consequences.

Nov. 6. 1765. I have already written you an account of the disturbances in the city, and the extraordinary fortifying of the Fort, even on the tops of the houses, which greatly excited the minds of the people. The most of the people living near the Fort, have removed their effects, and there would have been a great disturbance in the city last night, had not the stamps been delivered to the Mayor and Corporation, who have placed them in the City Hall. It is believed now, there will be no trouble with regard to the stamps, unless the new Governor, when he arrives, should endeavor to put them in force, which would be impossible, with what troops there are here.

Nov. 13. 1765. Governor Moore arrived this morning, and his commission was published by one o'clock. I suppose, in a few days we shall know some of our new master's sentiments, as the Assembly met yesterday, though not in sufficient numbers, to make a house. The man of war has orders from Lord Colin to stop or seize all vessels that are not cleared on stamped papers, which puts a stop to trade, though hope it will not continue long. The Sons of Liberty are not satisfied, nor I suppose, will they be, 'till business goes on in the usual way.

April 24. 1766. Yesterday afternoon the Packet came in, which brought the news that the Stamp Act was actually repealed, which occasioned great joy. Candles were put up at every house, and about 2 o'clock in the morning, all the bells began to ring, and colors were hoisted on almost every vessel, and in many other places in town. The bells

kept ringing till the mail came up, about 8 o'clock this morning, when by the letters, it appeared that the repeal had but just passed the House of Commons, which put a stop to our rejoicings. It is reported that nine regiments of troops are coming over, the authorities at home, disliking very much the tone of the last remonstrances from New York.

Jan. 18<sup>th</sup> 1770. Our city is yet in a ferment and last Saturday night, a party of soldiers attempted to cut down, or blow up the Liberty Pole. Last night they effected it, which raised the resentment of many of the people, who met in the field [now City Hall park] this day. They separated however, without any riot. The officers ordered all the soldiers to remain in their barracks, many of them remaining to see their orders obeyed. The citizens, in their enthusiasm, notified the Common Council, of their determination to erect a Liberty Pole opposite St. Paul's Church, but the authorities objecting, it was erected on private grounds.

Dec. 30<sup>th</sup> 1773. Last night there was a dreadful fire. The Governor's house, in the Fort, was burnt, and not the least thing saved. The Governor, lady, and daughter, escaped almost naked as they jumped out of bed. The fire was discovered just after 11 o'clock, and though the sentry was, in a manner, around, it was not discovered, until it appeared out of the chimnies, when it soon burst out of the windows. The Assembly has made the Governor a present of £5000 towards his loss.

April 9<sup>th</sup> 1774. There was, yesterday afternoon, very great seizure made of 36 Chests of tea, a number of cases of gin

and other liquors, amounting in value to £5000.

May 16<sup>th</sup> 1774. The Merchants had a meeting, in order to consult what means should be taken to effect a repeal of the duty on tea. A non-importation act is talked of, which if it should be resolved upon, the next step would probably be the stoppage of our Port, as in the case of Boston. Nothing was concluded on, at the time, but to choose a committee to correspond with the sister colonies, and to transact business. Subsequently, a large meeting was held by the inhabitants of the city, at the Coffee House, to approve of the nomination of fifty merchants, chosen as such Committee.

Jan. 27<sup>th</sup> 1775. Yesterday, the question came up before the Assembly, whether they should take up the proceedings of Congress. After a warm debate, it was decided against so doing, 11 to 10. Many here think the Assembly should take no notice of what the Congress has done, but petition themselves, which would be the most likely means of healing the unhappy breach. This morning (the 31<sup>st</sup>) the Packet arrived, bringing the King's speech, which is unfriendly to our proceedings, especially at Boston. I have seen it, and it is said, the address from the Commons echoes the same sentiments, being determined to enforce the authority of Parliament, over all the British dominions. It is said there are 4000 more troops coming over to Boston, and that Sir Jaffry Amherst, and Sir W<sup>m</sup> Draper are coming over to take command, in place of General Gage. Two ships arrived this morning, from Scotland. Our Committee meets this evening, and they will probably be sent back, without

landing their goods. This will make this Province, in as bad order [odor] as the others.

Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> 1775. One of the Scotch ships went down to the watering place this morning, on her return to Scotland, where she still remains, requiring some repairs. It is said some people were in favor of her coming up, though very few. Should she return it will kick up a dust, for there was some altercation on the deck, upon her leaving. I heard a noise before I was up this morning, and soon ascertained it was an informer they had got on a cart, and were administering a coat of tar and feathers to him. It seems he had informed against a lot of hemp that was lodged in a cellar. He was carted almost around the town, before the magistrates could collect; they rescued him however, and have got two of the acting persons in jail, and seem to be spirited in suppressing such conduct.

Feb. 11<sup>th</sup> 1775. The January packet has arrived, and brings favorable accounts. It is said the King has received the petition from the Congress, and intends laying it before Parliament. The supporters of the measures of the Congress, attribute great merit to them, and the merchants in England, who have their connections here, are waking interest to have our grievances repealed, and are going to petition the King. I sincerely wish they would, and that many thousands of others would join to obtain our redress, upon a lasting foundation; but still, I can't be without fears, that we shall not have every redress our sanguine expectations could wish; therefore would have all constitutional measures still pursued, to effect a lasting reconciliation.

Feb. 27<sup>th</sup> 1775. By the newspapers you will see the people to the eastward are exercising, and fitting their men, for war. It is suspected that there will be some sudden thing done in the spring, by the troops, as they have been preparing wagons, and field equipage.

March 2<sup>d</sup> 1775. This is the day the non-consumption of tea, was to take place. I believe a great many in the city, have broken the agreement, already. How it will be, at the Assembly this evening, I do not know. One of the delegates (Mr. T.) is one of the managers who has said there shall be no tea drank, on that occasion ; if so, it may make some disturbance. It was expected there would have been some parade this day, in burying the tea canister, and burning some of the remains of the tea, but there was nothing. By the paper, you will see there was a great majority for the Provincial Congress, to elect delegates to the next Congress. The majority here, are for a Continental Congress, but that they should be instructed. Mr. Isaac Low, chairman of the present committee, has declined serving as a deputy, nor will he go as a delegate to the next Congress, so we suppose we shall have new ones.

April 9<sup>th</sup> 1775. The Boston post brought us, last night, disagreeable news respecting our public affairs. The Parliament have voted the Bostonians in actual rebellion, and the other Provinces aiders and abettors—260 against 80, so that there was a great majority against those who will support his Majesty with their lives and fortunes. It is said all the ports on the Continent, are to be blocked up with men of war, and we are to be permitted to trade only with Eng-

land, and with no foreign port. It is reported as a certainty, that there are six regiments of foot, and two of light horse, coming over immediately, and also, twenty small men of war, to block up all the ports. Saturday afternoon, Captn Sears was arrested, and taken before the Mayor, when, refusing to give bail, was taken to jail, but on the way, and going up the steps, was rescued by a number of people, and carried through some of the streets. In the evening, there was a meeting in the field [now City Hall Park] when he took the sense of those present, as to whether he should give bail. Some were for, and some against his doing so. A handbill is in circulation, signed by Ralph Thurman, who has offended many, by packing some straw in trusses, that was purchased for the troops in Boston. Accordingly many of those who were in the field on Saturday evening, went to Thurman's house, to cause him to make concessions to them, which he refused to do. His brother stood in the door, with a pair of pistols, with upper (half) door open, and declared if any entered, he would fire. None attempted to enter, and after staying till 9 or 10 o'clock, dispersed without obtaining any satisfaction.

April 25<sup>th</sup> 1775. You will see, in yesterday's paper, the melancholy account from Boston, which is this day confirmed, by the way of Waterford. I fain would hope it is not so bad, as represented, yet I fear there is too much in it. If any lives are lost, it will be attended with bad consequences, and no doubt will raise America unanimously, against the troops, for who could see their countrymen butchered, and not endeavor to

prevent it. Should the troops have made the attack on the people, it will unite every man against them. There were two sloops at our dock, loaded with flour, etc, for the army at Boston, which were immediately unloaded, though Sunday. There was also a ship loaded for the same place, which had fallen down to the watering place, [lower bay of N.Y.] which they intended also, to bring up and unload, but the man of war heard of it, and sent some men on board, and yesterday morning saw her safely out of the Hook, which will be the last they will get from here, should any part of the account be true. This news raised the spirits of the people so highly, that on Sunday evening, they went in a large body to the City Hall, and took out the province arms, about 500 stand. Should the accounts from Boston be true, it is probable that as soon as the Congress meets in Philadelphia, a non-exportation act will be agreed upon, in order to prevent the troops being supplied with provisions.

April 29<sup>th</sup> 1775. Ever since the news from Boston, the city has been in tumult, and confusion, but has subsided some, and hope we shall soon be in order, as people of every turn, warm as well as moderate, will join in establishing it. The Committee have again met, and held up the same 100 men, nominated and appointed an election for them on Monday next: when they are chosen, they will enter into proper regulations. There is a spirited association set on foot, and will be signed, I believe, by every man in turn, the purport of which is, to support the measures of the Continental Congress, and also of the Provincial Congress [of New York] and the proceedings of the

Committee, which will be a means of keeping peace in the city. I heard Mr. Oliver De Lancey will sign it, if it be not inconsistent with his oath, and Judge Livingston has already signed it. By the latest accounts from Boston, it appears the Regulars have lost,—killed and taken prisoners,—332, and the loss of the Bostonians 30 or 40. There is a report in town, that a cessation of arms is agreed on, which may be confirmed. We hear that the Bostonians have sent all their men home, except 18 of each company, who are kept as an army of observation, lest the troops should make another excursion.

Our city, which was divided about the mode of redress, is united now, and of one way of thinking, that spirited measures will be most likely to bring on a reconciliation, as we cannot bear the thought of being dragooned into measures we disapprove of. Our Custom House will probably be open next week, but we expect all our ports will be closed, as soon as the Congress meets at Philadelphia, unless we have more favorable accounts, which will not probably be the case, as we hear the three Generals expected, have arrived at Boston. Since the affair at the latter place, it is necessary to act with more spirit than before. Those who were in hopes it might have been settled without spilling of blood, will join heartily now, in more spirited measures, which will be the means of preventing the effusion of more blood. You will see the names of the Association in the papers,—which is universally signed, and hope yourself and brother William will also put your names to it. As civil government is very weak, it is necessary com-

mittees should be appointed to keep order, and prevent running into confusion, till these troubles can be settled. All those refusing to become members of the Association here, are to have their names retained by the Committee.

The Connecticut Assembly have agreed to raise 6000 men at once, and have appointed their generals and other officers. I am glad you and my brother have acted with decision in these troublesome times, as nothing but a spirited behavior will save us. I have heard that your committee had written to ours, that you were in want of arms and ammunition, and requesting them to advance the money, which was declined, and recommended when they wanted anything of the kind, to raise the money by subscription. I cannot hear of a quarter cask of powder for you, to be had in the city. Several of our principal men, are going to England immediately,—Mr. John Watts, Henry Cruger, Roger Morris, Col. Maunsel, and many others. A vessel has just arrived from Liverpool, having spoken six transports to the eastward, with troops, and reports that fifteen or sixteen hundred regulars are coming here, from England.

April 27<sup>th</sup> 1775. Since my last letter to you, there has been a meeting at the Liberty Pole, and a great majority were for shutting up our port immediately; and from thence they went to Mr. Elliott's house, a great number with arms, and demanded the Keys of the Custom House. We have no later accounts from Boston, and fear the next will be of a general battle. We are now involved in a civil war, and must sink or swim with the other Colonies.

Nothing can save us but the closest union of the whole. Should we divide, it would make an opening for civil war among ourselves, which would be much worse than with the soldiers. I was for moderate measures, but the face of affairs is now changed, and to-morrow a general committee is to be chosen, of 100 men, my own name being on the list. On Friday at 12 o'clock, they began to choose committee men, but soon after, stopped, as some dis-approved of it. Just now a report has come to town, that the men of war have seized all the vessels at Salem, and are coming here, and to Philadelphia to do the same. I hope your county will be prudent, and not become divided, as a spirited opposition to the acts of the army will be necessary. Our Committee have again met, and erased some of the names from the list, that were objected to—De Lancey's, Thurman's &c. They have also agreed to have an Association, to be signed by the inhabitants, in defence of their rights, and liberties, which will be universally agreed to. It is conceded if a fleet and army come here, it will be impossible to hold the town,—therefore they have concluded to carry all the Cannon &c up to King's bridge, and fortify a place there, and some of the cannon are already on their way. It is said, there are 700 or 800 men from Connecticut, on the march here, and some of their officers are already come to town.

May 15<sup>th</sup> 1775. Just now an express has arrived from Albany, with advices that the Connecticut provincials, about 270 men, have taken Ticonderoga, without any opposition. In the place, it is said, they found 200 pieces of cannon of

different sizes, and it is said, 200 bbls of powder. They sent down to Albany for 500 men, and provisions, but the Committee of Albany would do nothing, without consulting New York, and the Committee here, do not choose to act, without consulting the Congress, to whom an express is going, this evening. There were a Captain, lieutenant, and 42 men in the fort, which they have sent prisoners to Albany. We fear this will be the means of creating an inland war, with the Canadians and Indians.

May 19<sup>th</sup> 1775. There is little news just now, save what appears in the papers of the day. Our Committee have agreed to send the Connecticut men notice, that they are not immediately wanted here; there is also a report that a 64 gun ship is coming here from Boston. This morning (the 26<sup>th</sup>) the *Asia*, a 64 gun ship came in the harbor from Boston, and lies directly opposite Coenties' dock. The Captain has gone to the Governor's, at Flushing. Our Committee are going around the Wards, to see if they can raise ten thousand pounds, by subscription on loan, to be repaid by the Province. They subscribe from £20 to £200. I have put my name down for £30. I have heard it mentioned, that our Congress had partly determined on the number of men to be raised, which is 2800.

June 7<sup>th</sup> 1775. There is a report, that the people of Rhode Island have taken a 20 gun frigate, by stratagem (without the loss of a man) and brought her to dock, and taken out her guns, and ammunition. What can't Americans do!—though it will be well, if we do not pay for it.

June 13<sup>th</sup>. 1775. Our Committee

meetings are not yet over, for after the Provincial Congress had published the order to keep the peace, and not disturb the King's store, and had got those things replaced, that were removed at Turtle Bay; last Sunday night they were taken out again by some New England men, put on board a sloop, and carried up the Sound. The King fisher (man of war) went in pursuit, but is returned without meeting her.

The Congress has fixed Thursday, 20<sup>th</sup> of July, as a day of fasting, and abstaining from labor, and it is thought our non-importation act will go into effect on that day,—if it does, it may be said we *shall cease from our labors*,—with a good deal of propriety.

Last Wednesday we had an account from Norwich, of another fight at Boston, and that the Provincials were obliged to retreat, with considerable loss. By the accounts of the action at Cambridge, it is uncertain which has gained the day, and it is probable there will be skirmishes every week, in which many lives will be lost. I send you the account of a motion, made by our agent Mr. Burke, for leave to bring the Remonstrance from our Assembly, to the table, which you will see, was defeated by Lord North. This being the mode of redress recommended by Lord North, and now rejected will, no doubt, turn every American in opposition, and convince them that nothing but absolute submission to Parliament will suffice, or decide it by the sword; which last alternative must be the case, as America never will, unless compelled, submit. They have begun this day (July 4<sup>th</sup>) to enlist men, and it is said they are coming in very fast.

July 20<sup>th</sup> 1775. This day has been observed, as a solemn fast, and sermons were preached in all the churches, suitable to the times. There never was a time, when fasting and prayer, were more necessary, for we are living upon a volcano, which at any time may burst forth.

Sep. 4<sup>th</sup> 1775. The City has been pretty quiet for some days past, though two boats have been burnt, supposed to have belonged to a sloop from Staatsburgh, with provisions for the man of war, though one of them belonged to an armed tender of the latter vessel. People still continue moving their effects out of town.

We fear having very troublesome times here, the accounts from home are unfavorable, and the men of war have very strict orders to enforce obedience, the Ministry being determined to support Parliament, though, it is thought, internal taxation will be given up.

It is said the Governor has sent the Mayor an extract of a letter from Lord Dartmouth, informing him that orders are sent to all men of war, to prevent all forts and batteries from being erected, and, if they should attempt to build any, or the inhabitants should move any of the cannon, &c which belong to the King, to fire on the towns and cities, until they desist. I hear they are going on with the fort at West Point, and my carpenter, John Adams, has gone up as head workman.

[There is a journal by Montessor, who also gives many very interesting details of events in connection with this period, which, however, he views with a military rather than with a mercantile eye.]

## TRANSLATIONS

EARLY FRENCH VOYAGES TO NEW-  
FOUNDLAND

Translated for the Magazine of American History

[The following article is by no means exhaustive, yet it gives interesting facts, especially with reference to the survivors of the Colony on Sable Island. As early as 1507 Aubert of Dieppe was in the Bay of St. Lawrence with his ship, the *Pensee*; while in 1527 eleven sail of Norman vessels were at St. John's, Newfoundland.]

During the first years of the 16th century the merchants of Rouen seemed to think of nothing but maritime voyages; the tales of the distant enterprises of Bethencourt and others were not forgotten, and their memory seemed to arouse the ambitions of our merchants and sow in their minds the seeds of projects the execution of which was sooner or later to enrich them; but too prudent to wish themselves too far in the track of the discoverers toward the island as yet little known, they confined themselves to voyages to Newfoundland to fish for cod. From the year 1508 some vessels attempted this voyage; they were of a tonnage varying from 60 to 90 tons; among others I name the *Bonne-Aventure*, Captain Jacques de Rufosse; the *Sibille* and the *Michel*, belonging to Jehan Blondel, then the *Marie-de-Bonne Nouvelles*, fitted out by Guillaume Dagnincourt, Nicolas Duport and Leys Luce, tradesmen who had formed a company; the command of the vessel was entrusted to Captain Jean Dieulois. But after the year 1527 it seems that our merchants gave up their attempts in this direction. To restore their hope and



courage nothing less than the effort to colonize Canada and other neighboring islands entrusted in 1540 by Francis the First to Jean Francois de la Roque sieur de Roberval. In fact after the month of January and February, 1541 (1542), more than 60 vessels set sail not to aid in the colonization of New France but simply "to go to fish for cod in the new found lands." In 1543, 1544 and 1545 this ardor continued, and during the months of January and February about two vessels a day went out from Rouen, Havre, Dieppe and Honfleur. But after 1545, the French government failing in its attempt and our merchants no longer finding the security necessary to their traffic, the movement almost wholly ceased. It began again in 1560, and I have counted 38 ships which left the little ports of *Jumièges*, *Vattaille* and *la Bonille* during the months of January and February "to make the voyage to the new found lands." The tonnage was already larger, and although ships of 70 tons were still to be found, the greater numbers reached 100, 120, 140 and 150 tons.

It was perhaps this renewal of the relation of our merchants with Newfoundland that inspired the French government with the idea of a new attempt to colonize and lay hands upon Canada in 1564. The proof of the attempt is found in an act recorded by the notaries of Rouen the 18th April of this year. This was an agreement by the terms of which "Robert Gouel of Rouen, sells to Messire Guillaume le Beau receiver General of the Finances of the King in his marine, to wit :

"50 ladles (louchets) at 12 sous each ;  
 "50 houzeaux at 10 sous each ;

"25 manes ;

"25 axes at 12 sous each ;

"50 bill hooks at 6 sous each ;

"The whole to be taken to New France *where the King is now sending for his service.*"

A few days before the 7th April noble man Jehan Garnier sieur de Vestry, lieutenant of the company of Captain Lagrange, had given "receipt to same Guillaume le Beau for a sum of 400 livres to be employed in the purchase of Arquebuses and supplies necessary for the French infantry which *it is the pleasure of the King to be now sending to his New France for the defence thereof* and for the service of his said Majesty under the orders of Sieur Lagrange, Colonel of the French infantry."

These two acts until now unknown are very important, because they prove that notwithstanding the check of 1541 to 1543, France did not lose sight of the colonization of Canada.

History, however, not mentioning the new attempt of 1564, we are tempted to believe that it did not result in anything.

Thirty-two years more passed in complete inaction ; but in 1597 Henry the Fourth, freed from his struggle against the League, took in hand the conquest of Canada. He charged Messire Treslus de Mesgonets, Marquis de la Roche, to organize a fleet for this purpose, and by letters-patent of the 16th January, 1598, he invested him with the title of his "Lieutenant-General of the Sable Island, Newfoundland, Canada, Ochillaga : Labrador, the river of the Great Bay of Norumbega and adjacent countries, and this with the power to build, equip,

command, govern," etc. (Parliament of Normandy, Act of the 2d March, 1598).

Still, notwithstanding the ardent desire of the King, the fleet was not in a condition to put to sea until the month of January, 1599. The Marquis de la Roche, after long deliberation with the Parliament, finally sailed with a group of colonists composed of two hundred and fifty men and women condemned to the galleys, but on their arrival at Sable Island the colonists revolted, and with the exception of fifty, refused to disembark, and compelled de la Roche to bring them back to France. His mission expired some time after.

As for the fifty unfortunate creatures who had consented to disembark, they were not long in repenting of it. Abandoned, without a guide, without provisions of any kind, without ammunition and almost without arms, badly clothed and without shelter, they were immediately engaged in a struggle with all kinds of distress at once. In the heart of winter they had nothing to protect them against the cold, the wind, and the rain. Obligated to provide their own nourishment, they had no other resource than fishing and hunting. The land, not having been cultivated, could supply them no food. Four years were passed in this way, during which the fifty suffered every imaginable ill ; many succumbed, but the more robust, little by little becoming familiar with misery, employed their industry to ameliorate their lot. They set themselves to hunt the beaver and the seal, and after clothing themselves with the skins of their first victims, they continued the chase, and as they thought of a possible deliverance and of their return to France, they

collected skins in the hope of then drawing a profit from them.

When leaving Sable Island, the Marquis de la Roche was well aware of the sad lot which awaited the fifty unhappy creatures whom he left behind him. This idea at last so beset him, that he could not resist the desire to succor them or bring them back to their country. To this end he made a bargain with a ship captain named Thomassin Chef d'hostel, and engaged him to go to Sable Island to the relief of these unfortunates, and to bring them home if they desired it.

In September, 1603, Chef d'hostel reached Sable Island, but in place of the fifty men disembarked in February, 1599, he found no more than eleven ; thirty-nine had succumbed in this interval of four years and six months.

The names of these eleven men of Rouen merit preservation ; they were :

Jacques Simon, called la Rivière,  
Olivier Delin,  
Dichel Heulin,  
Robert Piquet,  
Mathusin Saint-Gilles,  
Gilles le Bultel,  
Jacques Simoneaux,  
François Prevostel,  
Loys Deschamps,  
Geuffrin Viret,  
François Delestre.

To the Marquis de la Roche was succeeded the quality of Lieutenant of the King in Canada, Pierre Chauvin Seigneur du Tontuit, resident of Honfleur. He had capital in commerce as the associate of Henri Couillard, also of Honfleur. They owned two ships, the *Don-de-Dieu* and *l'Espérance*, with which on joint account with Gion Diez they had made, for

several years, frequent voyages to Canada. Besides this, Chauvin du Tontuit was associated in the commercial operations of Jean *Gouverneur* seigneur de la Villepoix, of Jean *Martin* seigneur de la Guerandaie, of Jean *Sarcel* seigneur de Prévert, and of several other merchants of the town of Saint-Malo, all concerned with Canada.

Chauvin du Tontuit, who cared little for the colonization of New France, but who wished, however, to preserve the greatest possible amount of influence there, and having been acquainted at Saint-Malo with a worthy man by the name of *Gravé*, called de Pont-Gravé, who was anxious to aid in the conversion of the savages and the colonization of this rich country, attached him to himself and had him named in his place Lieutenant-General of Canada, with the *exclusive privilege* of the fur trade.

With a man of the character of M. du Tontuit the good intentions of Pont-Gravé could not arrive at any result; but in 1603 he died, and left Pont-Gravé free to follow out his generous inspirations; however, after the death of the Marquis de la Roche, the King limited himself to maintaining a simple lieutenant in Canada. Upon the death of du Tontuit, he appointed Aymar de Chastes, who had for a long time been Governor of Dieppe, his lieutenant-general over the whole colony. Unfortunately, this governor hardly entered into possession of his command, for, appointed in 1602, he died at the beginning of 1603.

It was at this moment that Champlain, arriving from the Antilles, entered into an understanding with de Chastes for an extensive expedition to the river Saint

Lawrence; but, in consequence of the death of de Chastes, the affair went no further.

To succeed de Chastes, Henry the Fourth selected the Sieur de Montz, a capable and worthy man, but a Protestant; the Parliament for this sole reason endeavored to refuse to register his outfit, but the King held firm and the Parliament had to yield.

During all these deliberations, de Montz was at Rouen, organized a fleet there, and formed a commercial association with the merchants of the cities of Rouen, la Rochelle, and Saint-Jean-de-Lux, who were represented by an agent named *Samuel Georges*, a trader of la Rochelle, and by a *Sieur Macain*. For his share in the association, de Montz paid ten thousand livres into the hand of Corneille de Bellois, merchant of Rouen. The act of association is very long and quite interesting. It is dated at Rouen, 10th February, 1604, and bears the signatures of Pierre Dugna, de Bellois, Georges, the notaries, and the witnesses.

Gravé or de Pont-Gravé being at Rouen at the same time as de Montz, they left together in March, 1604, on the ship *la Bonne-Renommée*, which was commanded by Captain Morel; arrived in Acadia they found Champlain there, and all three entered into an understanding to give to the commerce in beaver and seal skins the greatest possible extension.

The fisheries also were to play a large part in their speculations. But discord soon divided the associates and delayed the colonization dreamed of by Champlain, de Montz and Pont-Gravé.

The death of Henry IV. completed the

disorders which had reigned in Acadia since 1606, for the country had been left without a governor and its future entrusted to lieutenants who without any purpose governed each one according to his own views.

In 1612, however, King Louis the Thirteenth entrusted the Government of New France to the Count de Soissons, who, dying before he could enter upon his government, was succeeded in November of the same year by the Prince de Condé, who, in 1620, was succeeded in his turn by the Duke de Montmorency, who was named Viceroy of Canada and New France.

It seems to me unnecessary to follow the history of the Government of Canada any further. By what has preceded I have only sought to show that the City of Rouen was, after and even much before the attempt of Roberval, the common centre, the general counting-house where the affairs of the interests of this colony were discussed. To be satisfied of this it is only necessary to cast the eye over the numerous acts of the scriveners and on the acts of Parliament, upon the affairs of the associates, the persons interested, and the Governors. Up to the appointment of the Duke de Montmorency five commercial associations had in competition with each other, undertaken the trade of New France, but after his appointment one single one absorbed them all and obtained thereby a privilege of fifteen years, which gave rise to a great number of law suits; this was the famous Montmorency Company. These suits reveal to us names which it is perhaps well for us to collect. They are Daniel Boyer, Guillaume Lebretton, Mathieu d'Insterlo, Pierre Fernel,

Jean Pepin, Guyonne Pepin, Julien Arthur, François Porée, Richard Boullain, Thomas Porée, Guillaume Decaen, Jean-Jacques Dollu, Amault de Nouveau Roqueur, Honel, Lattaignaut, Dablon, Duchesne, Catillon, and still others.

[From "Documents Authentiques et inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Marine Normande et du Commerce Rouennais pendant les XVIe et XVIIe Siècles. Par E. Gosselin. Imprimerie de Henry Boisel. Rouen, 1876."]

THE SECRET SERVICE—With reference to the recent article [VIII. 95] on the Secret Service of the Revolution, the following letter, copied from the original, in the possession of Mrs. Andrew Norwood, may be of interest:

“HEADQUARTERS, WEST POINT,  
“Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1779.

“D<sup>r</sup> Sir: It is very interesting at this moment to be well informed of the Enemy's shipping which may take place in the sound. I wish you therefore to station an intelligent officer in such a situation as may be perfectly adopted for this purpose. He is to be careful in observing the size and number of all vessels and whether there may be troops on board, either in coming to or going from New York, and in transmitting you every two or three days a diary of his observations. But when any extraordinary appearance of vessels take's place he is to make his communication to you without waiting these periods, which you will transmit to me as soon as possible.

“I am with regard

“Y<sup>r</sup> most obe<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON.

“MAJOR TALLMADGE.”

## NOTES.

CONGRESS AND MONUMENTS — It is doubtful if any session of Congress has had so many resolutions before it to assist in the erection of monuments as the present one. 1. *Monmouth* is presented by New Jersey, as Saratoga has already been successfully urged by New York. Jersey citizens have subscribed \$10,000 for a monument on the historic field, and the State, which will have the matter in charge, has added \$10,000 more. Congress is now petitioned to appropriate \$20,000, and will doubtless do so, the condition being that the monument shall be completed for the \$40,000 thus secured. Senator McPherson, of New Jersey, made an eloquent speech in behalf of the project on March 16. 2. *Newberg*, N. Y., is anxious to have Congress erect a memorial column at the Washington headquarters in that place, and to assist in defraying the expenses of the celebration to be held there in 1883. Representative Beach has introduced a joint resolution to this effect. 3. The memory of *Francis Scott Key*, author of the "Star-Spangled Banner," is sought to be embalmed by the Maryland Legislature, and that body requests Congress to take part in the erection of a monument in his honor. 4. *André's Captors*: Mr. Hutchins, of New York, has introduced a bill authorizing the erection of a monument to their memory, and a petition has been presented to the House for an appropriation to "purchase lands adjacent to the spot on which André was captured." 5. All obstacles to the title of the ground having been removed, the proposed monument over *Jefferson's*

grave, to cost \$10,000, will now be pushed forward. 6. Mr. Geddes, of Ohio, introduced a joint resolution, March 14, for a monument at *Wyandot Mission*, upper Sandusky, Ohio.

But how much attention some of these projects will receive is unhappily foreshadowed in the fact that nothing has been done in favor of the bill introduced two years ago by Mr. Singleton, of Illinois, to put a monument over Daniel Morgan's grave at Winchester, Va., and also by the recent report of the House Library Committee to dismiss the consideration of a bill presented some time since in favor of assisting in the erection of monuments on all the battlefields of the Revolution.

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THE ANDRÉ SHAFT—The three attempts to destroy the André monument, erected by Mr. Cyrus W. Field at Tappan, are perhaps less noticeable than the apparent indifference of the public or the press respecting what would be commonly styled an "outrage." Denunciation would have waxed high over any similar attempt to mutilate the monument in honor of André's captors, standing on the opposite side of the Hudson. The Tappan shaft is represented as being on the verge of falling, the base having been badly shattered by the explosions on the nights of March 31 and April 1.

So far from deterring Mr. Field from erecting more monuments, it is to be hoped that he will now urge with all the more vigor the too long deferred project of a memorial to Nathan Hale. Had that gone up first, and in handsome shape, possibly the André stone, erected after-

ward, would have escaped the notoriety it is otherwise rapidly acquiring.

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 THE RICKETTS FAMILY—This family, which had large estates in the island of Jamaica, intermarried with the Waltons, of New York, and a daughter was the mother of Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, the Tory officer about whom inquiry is made in the Magazine [II. 500].

There is a ghost story concerning the Ricketts family and a house they once occupied in Hampshire, which may be found circumstantially narrated in the memoirs of Ingoldsby Barham. With Captain Ricketts (who was afterward Lord St. Vincent) the subject, we are told, was a very sore one to the day of his death. The alliance of this family with that of Walton probably came about through the latter's being largely engaged in trade with the West Indies and Spanish Main. C.

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 THE WHEATFIELD NEAR BEMUS' HEIGHTS, OCTOBER 2, 1722—Mr. John H. Myers, of Saratoga, has taken considerable pains to investigate regarding the statements of the speakers at Bemus' Heights and Schuylerville, that a portion of "Burgoyne's army went into a wheatfield, October 7, 1722, and began to cut the straw." He has found among some of the oldest inhabitants there a well authenticated tradition that Burgoyne led his army that day into a field of wheat, which its owner had abandoned without harvesting on the approach of the British army in August, and as it was between the two armies it was still standing, more or less, October 7. This probably was the fact, and may be taken to verify the

statements made by John Austin Stevens at Bemus' Heights (September 9, 1777), and William L. Stone at Schuylerville, on the authority of Adjutant-General Wilkinson. IULUS

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 THE ANCIENTS IN AMERICA—M. Paul Gaffarel has completed a series of elaborate articles dealing with the question of a supposed discovery of America by the ancients. The conclusions at which he arrives are that the Greeks and Romans discovered the Canaries, and perhaps some other groups of islands to the west of them, but that they never set foot upon American soil. He ridicules the alleged discovery of Greek coins in America, and the speculations as to the Greek or Aryan origin of the Quichera language. The ancients, nevertheless, possessed some knowledge of the existence of America, for the "Indians" mentioned by Pliny and Pomponius Mela as having been cast upon the shores of Northern Europe, and sent to Metellus Celer, the proconsul of Gaul, were American "Indians," and not Asiatics. These articles will be found in the *Revue de Géographie*. J. C. B.

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 THE AMERICANISTES—As a practical result of the recent American Congress at Madrid, it is proposed to publish, under the title of "Biblioteca de los Americanistas," a series of works connected with the history and the languages of the New World. Some of these have been printed long ago, but are now excessively rare; others are still in MS. The list contains about thirty volumes dealing with history, and about twelve dealing with languages. Each will have a short

bibliography, notes, and an index. The first to appear, announced for the end of December, will be the "Recordacion florida of Capitain Fuentes y Guzman" (MS. 1690). The edition will be limited to 500 numbered copies, and intending subscribers should address themselves to D. José Santalò, calle de la Colegiata 6, Madrid.—*The Academy*, Nov. 19, 1881.

J. C. B.

GEN. MONTGOMERY'S FARM—To be sold at Vendue, on the second day of October next, on the farm of Mrs. Montgomery, at Rhinebeck. A considerable quantity of household furniture, of the genteelst and best Kind, together with the stock on the said farm, consisting of horses, cows, sheep, oxen, and young cattle, with a number of carriages, and a variety of other articles.

N. B.—Said farm, together with a very genteel dwelling-house, to be let, either with or without household furniture, stock and implements of husbandry.—*N. Y. Journal*, Sept. 29, 1777.

Some days since a Negro man with a sleigh and two horses, the property of Mrs. Montgomery, were lost at Rhinebeck, by falling through the ice.—*N. Y. Packet*, January 21, 1779. W. K.

BOSTON TAVERNS—Taverns were early mentioned by names more or less personal and peculiar. One of the first mentioned is the State Arms, where the magistrates usually dined and drank, in King Street, 1653; Ship Tavern, in Ann Street, 1666; Bunch of Grapes, in King Street, 1724; King's Head Tavern, near Fleet Street, 1758; Queen's Head, in Lynn Street, 1732; Ship in Distress, an

ancient tavern opposite Moon Street; and of the "ordinaries" spoken of by Cotton Mather were taverns; they were numerous enough, and were known as ale-houses, or, as Mather says, "hell houses."—*Whieldon's Curiosities of History*.

MASSACHUSETTS IN HOMESPUN—We have the pleasure of informing the public that several of his Majesty's Council and many of the house of representatives, now sitting, appear compleatly clothed the manufacture of this country; a number of the clergy are also clothed and cloathing themselves therewith.—Such examples cannot fail to excite the imitation of others at a time when it is universally agreed that the political salvation of this Continent depends upon promoting frugality and manufactures.—*Extracts from Boston News Letter*, January 25, [1768] *from an English newspaper in the "Chatham Clippings."* IULUS

QUERIES

THE MAYFLOWER—The beautiful flower which bears this name, and known to science as *Epigea repens*, is found along the Atlantic seacoast from Maine to Virginia, never growing inland far from tide-water. Can any one tell how long it has borne this name, and by whom it was first applied? Was it so named at Plymouth with reference to the ship which brought the Brownists over from Leyden? In Massachusetts this flower is in its prime in April, I believe, and I do not think it took its name from the month.

MAY

CAMOENS—About two years ago the Portuguese celebrated with much spirit the festival of their great poet, and many publications were brought out in connection with the subject. Can any one refer the writer to any publication in the American press referring to the anniversary or to any translation of Camoens published in this country? AÇOR

—  
 PORTRAITS, LETTERS—Do portraits exist of Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, Mass., who helped notably in bringing matters to a crisis in 1775; of Brigadier-General Enoch Poor, of New Hampshire, who died in 1780; of Major-Gen. S. H. Parsons, of the Revolution, afterward prominent in Ohio matters; of Col. Isaac Sherman, of the Connecticut line; of Col. John Brown, who fell at Stone Arabia in 1780; of Captain Kirkwood, who commanded the Delaware battalion in the South and who was killed in St. Clair's defeat; or of Brig.-Gen. John Paterson, of Massachusetts, who after the war settled in Central New York and was elected to Congress?

A gentleman preparing certain memorial sketches is anxious to ascertain whether letters are preserved written by or to the following subordinate officers of the Revolution. They were mainly of the Connecticut troops: Cols. Giles Russell, Thomas Grosvenor, John Chandler, Ebenezer Gray, Captains William Colfax, Henry Champion, Thomas Y. Seymour, Richard Sill, Ezra Selden, and David Bushnell. SELDEN

—  
 COST OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO FRANCE—Does any published record exist showing how much money France ex-

ended in maintaining her American alliance in 1778-82? How far are we responsible for running her into the frightful bankruptcy that brought about her own Revolution? Definite figures would be interesting.

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 PENTERARESE'S—On a plan of Fort Bedford, Pa., outside of the fort and close to Juniata Creek, are two buildings marked Penterarese's. What is the meaning or signification of the word?

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

—  
 SALT RIVER—The defeated party in a political campaign, especially in a Presidential campaign, is usually spoken of as sent "up Salt River." What was the origin of this phrase? \*

## REPLIES

FRENCH DISCOVERY OF THE MISSISSIPPI [VIII. 139, 226]—Moved by the distress caused by the recent floods, the people of New Orleans gave up the pleasure of celebrating the bi-centennial of La Salle's discovery of the mouths of the Mississippi, April 9<sup>th</sup>, but are not likely to give up his claim of being an original discoverer. "Delta's" doubt as to whether any Frenchman—La Salle or the Jesuit Fathers before him—can be regarded as the true discoverer of the Mississippi is founded upon the prior explorations of our coast along the Gulf of Mexico by the Spaniards, and the fact that early Spanish maps show a river, the "Rio de S. Spirito," which is assumed to correspond to the Mississippi. Un-



doubtedly the Spaniards skirted the Gulf coast long before the French even set foot in Canada and must have known something of the streams that flowed southward. But how much did they know? There's a piece of history to unravel. Early charts are valuable as indications, but as evidence of actual exploration not always infallible.

Now as to the French, did they go hunting for the Spaniards' Mississippi or explore it as their own discovery? Here "Delta" indulges in the very positive statement that "Joliet, La Salle, and the rest of the French explorers beyond question were familiar with the well-known 'Histoire Universelle,' and when they found themselves on the Mississippi, they knew perfectly well that they were sailing on the waters of the 'Rio de S. Spirito.'" If this is a fact, it is certainly interesting, but all the more should it carry with it the assurance of proof. "Beyond question" after all may be a question. One thing at least is puzzling, if "Delta" is right. The early Jesuits seem to be entirely silent about the doings of the Spaniards down at the Gulf. If they were looking up the Rio de S. Spirito and trying to find its source in the north, they must have speculated in regard to it, and the name of the Spaniard must have frequently appeared in their writings, whereas, on the contrary, he is very rarely mentioned. It was the Indian, not the Spaniard, who first hinted at the existence of a mighty stream running through the continent to the Gulf. This is clearly the burden of the well-known accounts or "Relations" of the Jesuits. Take the "Relation" of 1660, for instance, where we probably have the

first mention of the Mississippi. There the pious Jesuit records that through the Indians it is learned that beyond the Lakes was to be seen a noble river, or as he describes it, "une belle riviere, grande, large, profonde, et comparable, disent-ils, a notre grand fleure de S. Lawrens." Later "Relations" continue in the same vein—a river about which the Indians say much. So, still later, when Charlevoix wrote his history of New France, he had this to say on the subject: "It was known in general by the reports of the Indians that there was in the west of New France, a great river, called Mechassippi by some and Micissippi by others, which flowed neither north nor east; hence no doubt was entertained that by its means, communication might be opened either with the Gulf of Mexico if it ran South, or with the Pacific, if it flowed west to empty there; and whichever course it took, great benefits were expected. The intendant did not wish to leave America without throwing light on this important point; he confided this exploration to Father Marquette, who had already traversed almost all the countries of Canada, and who was highly esteemed by the Indians." No query anywhere as to whether this was the Spanish river, supposing the French Fathers ever saw the Spanish map, but plenty of doubt as to where it emptied.

Much more might be quoted to the same effect. Marquette and Joliet, the first Frenchmen to sail down the Mississippi, fail to allude to the possibility of its being the Rio de S. Spirito, and went no farther than to assure themselves that it flowed to the Gulf. It was all a new discovery to them, as new as it was

to De Soto or Cabaca de Veca more than a century before. La Salle completed the exploration to the mouth, and when he undertook his second expedition to the same point, he sailed around into the Gulf and attempted to find the mouths through which he had descended three years before. The maps of the expedition thus show Spanish names—such as the Bay of St. Esprit—along the Gulf coast.

Another reference in this connection is both curious and pertinent—an extract from the report (1686) of the English Governor Dongan at New York to the Home authorities, respecting French encroachments in the West. He encloses a map showing the frontier posts and adds: “Alsoe it [the map] points out where theres a great River discovered by one Lassal a Frenchman from Canada, who thereupon went into France, and as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle them which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us, but to the Spanish alsoe (the River running all along from our Lakes by the back of Virginia and Carolina into the Bay of Mexico), and its believed Nova Mexico cannot bee far from the mountains adjoyning to it, that place being 36<sup>d</sup> North Latitude.” The governor then says, with an eye to the same claim to the great West, “If your Lo<sup>ps</sup> thought it fit I could send a sloop or two from this place to Discover that River.”

If “Delta” succeeds in fixing the fact “beyond question” that, notwithstanding the above, the French knew they were discovering nothing new in sailing down the Mississippi, but were following

out a “well-known” Spanish river, some chapters of early Western history will have to be remodelled. ALPHA

BATTLE OF THE KEGS [VIII. 143]—In the *New Jersey Gazette* for January 21, 1778, there is a spicy letter, giving an account of this matter, which purports to have come from Philadelphia. It is said therein that a suspicious looking keg floated down the Delaware to the city about New Year’s time, 1778, which exploded and injured some boys who had rowed out in a boat to examine it. Later, on the 5th, more kegs made their appearance, whereupon the British men-of-war opened a furious cannonade upon and demolished them. The tale is highly wrought, and probably contains more humor than fact, the *Pennsylvania Ledger*, of February 11th, for instance, stating that the kegs frightened nobody, and that they were saluted with but a few shot, fired by some of the transports. Neither account states where the kegs came from, but both Colonel Humphreys and Surgeon Thacher say that David Bushnell, the torpedo inventor in 1776, started them down from some point above the city for the purpose of blowing up one or more of the enemy’s ships. “About Christmas, 1777,” says Humphreys in his “*Life of Putnam*,” “he [Bushnell] committed to the Delaware a number of kegs, destined to fall among the British fleet at Philadelphia, but his squadron of kegs, having been separated and retarded by the ice, demolished but a single boat.” As to the time when the kegs reached the shipping in any number, the Philadelphia letter says: “Monday, the 5th of January, 1778, must ever be

distinguished in history for the memorable Battle of the Kegs." Readers familiar with the songs of the Revolution will recall Hon. Francis Hopkinson's witty ditty inspired by the event. TORPEDO

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THE BATTLE OF THE KEGS [VIII. 143] happened early on the morning of January 7, 1778. The kegs, which caused such great alarm, were constructed and set adrift at Bordentown by some Whig citizens for the purpose of destroying the British shipping moored in a long line in the Delaware in front of Philadelphia. The kegs were filled with gunpowder, and were to be exploded by a spring-lock when they came in contact with the vessel's bottom. To enable them to go under the ships the kegs were suspended at a considerable depth under water to buoys; the kegs could not be seen, but the buoys were visible. It happened, however, that the night previous the vessels were hauled into the docks to avoid the floating ice, then rapidly forming, and thus escaped mischief.

Bushnell, the inventor of the keg torpedoes, had, in 1776, invented a "Marine Turtle," an account of which will be found in "Lossing's Field-Book of the Revolution," ii., 608, and in Sparks' "Life and Writings of Washington," ix., 134-135.

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

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THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA [III. 232]—Professor Green, in his article under this head, quotes from a letter of Washington to Heath, of 25th [ ], a passage which shows his anxiety as to the unfortunate consequences of an early return

of Burgoyne's captive army to Great Britain—a further letter to Heath shows to what lengths he was willing to go to delay that event to the last possible moment. Writing from his headquarters at White-marsh, on November 5, 1777, he said: "I do not think it is to our interest to expedite the passage of the prisoners to England; for you may depend upon it that they will, immediately upon their arrival there, throw them into different garrisons, and bring out an equal number. Now if they sail in December, they may arrive time enough to take the places of others who may be out in May, which is as early as a campaign can be well entered upon. I look upon it that their principal difficulty will arise from the provisions for the voyage; and therefore, although I would supply them with every article agreeable to stipulation, I would not furnish an ounce for sea-store, nor suffer it to be purchased in the country."

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BENEDICT ARNOLD, JR.—"Campbell's Life and Writings of DeWitt Clinton" contains a private journal kept by Clinton in 1810, in which, writing of Amsterdam, N. Y., he says: "In this place we saw a sign, Benedict Arnold & Co.'s Store, in large characters, and another, B. Arnold, who appeared to be a chairmaker. I was informed that the traitor, Gen. Arnold, has two sons resident in this country, who behave well." In Arnold's "Life of Benedict Arnold" it is stated that, "He died October 24, 1795, at Iron Shore, on the north side of the island of Jamaica." If the last statement is correct, as I presume it is, who was the Arnold at Amsterdam in 1810?

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

THE PROPOSED DUEL—W. K. [VII. 65] is in error in locating the proposed Gates-Wilkinson duel at “Yorktown, Westchester Co., N. Y.” The challenge was sent and received, and the duel was to have taken place here (York, Pa.), where Congress was then in session, and Gates in attendance as President of the Board of War. The “English” (Protestant Episcopal) Church, in the rear of which the parties were to meet, is still standing on North Beaver Street, and used as a place of worship.

But W. K. further states that a meeting actually occurred between the parties on the 4th of September following, “at the same place.” Was the same place York, Pa., or Yorktown, Westchester Co., N. Y.? As W. K. remarks, there is no mention of this meeting in Wilkinson’s memoirs.

M. S. EICHELBERGER

ANOTHER WASHINGTON LETTER—In your February number of the Magazine [VIII. 141] I notice a Washington letter, dated from same place, at nearly the same time one in my possession was written. I copy below.

H. P. ALBERT.

“To Jabez Hartington Esq<sup>r</sup>

“Sheriff of the County of

Windham Conn<sup>t</sup>

“Sir

“Gideon Evans, now a prisoner and confined by military warrant in the Gaol of said County, you will hereby deliver in charge to the Corporal’s Guard.

“G. WASHINGTON.

“Headquarters

“New Windsor

“April 9<sup>th</sup> 1781.”

## SOCIETIES

### THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

At the April meeting, Mr. Henry C. Van Schaack, of Manlius, read a paper on the Literary Ubiquity of Shakspeare, which embodied very interesting facts in connection with the presentation of a copy of Shakspeare’s plays to Captain Thomas Morris, by an Indian of the Northwest, in 1664. An article on Morris will appear in the Magazine at a future time. At this meeting, a paper was presented by William Allen Butler, on behalf of the Executive Committee, relating to the decease of Henry W. Longfellow, and the paper was approved by a vote of the Society.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—At the last meeting of this society the following petition was reported, embodying a statement respecting the Pueblo Indians, which ought to be considered :

“To the Honorable the Senate of the United States—Your petitioners, the members of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, would respectfully represent : That there are in the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona twenty-six towns of the Pueblo Indians, so called, in all containing about 10,000 inhabitants ; that the number of their towns was once very much greater ; that those remaining are the remnants of very ancient races in North America whose origin and history lie yet unknown in their decayed and decaying antiquities ; that many of their towns have been abandoned by the decay and extinction of their inhabitants ; that many of their relics have already

perished, and so made the study of American ethnology vastly more difficult; that the question of the origin of the Pueblos and the age of their decayed cities and the use of some of their buildings, now magnificent ruins, constitutes one of the leading and most interesting problems of the antiquarian and historian of the present age; that relic hunters have carried and scattered wide through America and Europe the remains of these extinct towns, thus making their historic study still more difficult, and in some particulars nearly impossible; that the extinct towns, the only monuments or interpreters of these mysterious races, are now daily plundered and destroyed in an almost vandal way; that, for illustration, the ancient Spanish cathedral of Pecos, a building older than any now standing anywhere within the thirteen original States, and built two years before the founding of Boston, the metropolis of New England, is being despoiled by the robbery of its graves, while its timbers are used for camp fires and sold to relic hunters, and even used in the construction of stables. Your petitioners therefore pray your honorable body that at least some of these extinct cities or pueblos, carefully selected, with the land reservations attached, and dating mostly from the Spanish Crown of 1680, may be withheld from public sale, and their antiquities and ruins be preserved, as they furnish invaluable data for the ethnological studies now engaging the attention of our most learned, scientific, antiquarian, and historical students."

After remarks by Dr. Barrows, it was unanimously voted that the memorial be signed by the president and the corresponding secretary and forwarded to one

of our senators for presentation to Congress.

Mr. Edward Winslow, of Boston, then read a paper on "Rev. Joshua Moody and His Times." He came to this country when a lad, with his father, William Moody, and graduated at Cambridge in 1653. He first settled in Portsmouth, N. H., but in 1684 he became an associate with Rev. Mr. Allen, of the First Church, Boston. As he could not consent to act with other ministers and judges in the condemnation of persons accused of witchcraft, he returned to Portsmouth in 1692. He died in Boston, July 4, 1697, while on a visit here for medical advice. He left one son and three daughters, whose marriages and descendants were stated, the author of the paper being one of the descendants. An interesting account of the rescue, by Mr. Moody, of two worthy people confined in jail in Boston on the charge of witchcraft and in danger of execution, was stated.

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THE AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At the meeting of the American Geographical Society, in Chickering Hall, on the evening of April 13, Chief Justice Daly read a paper on "Spain and the Straits of Gibraltar in 1881." The paper was illustrated by stereopticon views, and was the result of Judge Daly's personal observations. While in Madrid he had a copy made of the most reliable known portrait of Christopher Columbus, and at the close of the reading, he presented it to the society. Judge Daly is possessed of a small box which once belonged, it is said, to the great discoverer. It is of silver, and bears his name and representations of the three ships of Columbus

worked in the old *repoussé* style of the early part of the 15th century. It was purchased from a lateral descendant of the Admiral in Valladolid. It was the most valuable relic of Columbus seen by Judge Daly in Spain, and he saw all that are publicly preserved. The meeting of the Geographical Society was largely attended. General Cullum, one of the Vice-Presidents, occupied the Chair, and twelve new fellows were elected.

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GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, at Hodgson Hall, Savannah, on the evening of the 3d of April, General G. M. Sorrel, one of the Vice-Presidents in the Chair, Captain J. D. Johnston read a paper on "Admiral Buchanan and the Confederate States Steam Ram Tennessee." It was full of interest, and the society requested a copy for its archives, and advised that measures should be taken for its publication. Mrs. M. A. Goerz presented to the society a piece of Georgia currency of 1777, of the value of one shilling. The sword of Capt. Wm. Bee was presented to the society, by his son Mr. Bernard E. Bee. The blade is of Damascus steel, and on it may be seen a hornet with his sting through a peacock, a reminder of the novel battle between the Hornet, Capt. Lawrence, and the Peacock, in 1813. Beneath the hornet is represented an American eagle in juxtaposition with a scared British lion. The sword was worn by Capt. Bee in nearly all the Indian Battles of Gen'l Jackson, Emucksfair, Horseshoe, and others. The sword afterward had an adventurous history, being lost for many years, and not coming to light again until the breaking out of the

recent war. Fourteen members were added to the society by election, and it is in a prosperous state.

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THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—A large audience met on Saturday evening, April 15, in the Hall of the New York Academy of Medicine, President Henry T. Drowne, presiding, to take part in the thirteenth anniversary meeting of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society. The Hon. Isaac N. Arnold of Illinois, a Member of Congress during the war period, and at present the President of the Chicago Historical Society, delivered an able address entitled "Reminiscences of Lincoln and of Congress during the Rebellion," which was full of interesting anecdotes and incidents of the speaker's recollections of that very memorable time. In the course of his address he said he believed that in time to come the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses would be regarded with the respect and patriotic affection which is paid to the Revolutionary or Continental Congress, for upon them devolved the great duties of calling into the field and sustaining the great armies of the Union, of perfecting and adopting the system of finances which made it practicable to carry on the war, and, finally, of perfecting and passing the legislation which completed the work of emancipation and made the land forever free.

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THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This Society held its ninety-first annual meeting April 13th, when the session was devoted chiefly to the memory of Longfellow, a member of the Society

since 1857, though he belonged to the silent section. In the absence of President Winthrop, Vice-President Ellis took the chair and spoke of the deceased poet in a most feeling and appreciative manner, paying a beautiful tribute to the poet and the man. Poet Holmes followed in a strain peculiar to himself, full of loving admiration, and showing that, with multitudes, Longfellow had made a reputation with half a dozen of his short poems, such as "The Psalm of Life," "Excelsior," and "Resignation." It would appear from his remarks that the secret of Longfellow's success lay in his appeal to the affections, though Professor Norton seemed to be thinking of something more when he observed, with reference to the poet: "He was fortunate in the time of his birth. He grew up in the morning of our republic. He shared in the cheerfulness of the early hour, in its hopefulness, in its confidence." Mr. William Everett also spoke; and the occasion proved one of deep and even memorable interest. Perhaps no literary man of the age has enjoyed a truer estimate than that indicated with respect to Longfellow.

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### LITERARY NOTICES.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. XVIII., 1880-1881. Published at the charge of the Peabody Fund. Pps. xx, 449. Boston: PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY, 1881.

The value and interest of this volume will be taken for granted, and therefore we may proceed without delay to enumerate a portion of its contents, embracing, as it does, the proceedings of thirteen meetings, two of which were annual meetings, though in our mention we will not follow the order of the contents, which begin with May, 1880. The first notable piece is the Diary

of Edward Taylor, kept on his voyage from England to this country in 1668. It contains some curious entries. Afterward comes an interesting letter, written by Professor Rask and addressed to the late Henry Wheaton, on the Icelandic Sagas relating to America. In this letter he maintains the difficulty of fixing the site of the Vinland colonies astronomically from the length of the shortest days. The letter was written before the publication of Rafn's "*Antiquitates Americanae*," and the view expressed on the *eykts* is supported by the recent Icelandic Dictionary; though Rask was confident that the site of the colony might be fixed from the general description of the country. A full memoir of the late Governor J. A. Andrew is one of the most notable of the following pieces, and we soon come upon the remarks of Mr. William Everett, who desires "to call the attention of the members to a scheme which is assuming somewhat serious proportions; in which, if it is really judicious, the Historical Society ought to help; against which, if it is otherwise, it is our duty to protest. I mean the scheme for erecting a monument to some person called the first discoverer of New England; not, however, John Cabot, or Sebastian Cabot, or Verrazzano, but an indefinite Northman, to whom, if I may be allowed a bad pun, it is proposed to put up a Leif statue." Mr. Everett might have apologized, also, for his incorrect characterization of Leif, who was hardly an "indefinite Northman;" but he goes on at once to say, that "this scheme is espoused by several of our citizens, who, it is hardly unfair to say, are more enthusiastic than critical; largely stimulated by the patriotic fervor of a Norwegian gentleman living among us, most eminent for a genius of a peculiar order, but hardly an authority on matters of history." This sentence forms a thrust at the celebrated Ole Bull, who probably can blunder. There is also an allusion to some of the members of a newly formed antiquarian society of Boston. As the latter are not individualized, those aggrieved must look to their own cause; but on this it may be said, granting that the persons in question are "more enthusiastic than critical," it would not follow that in suggesting a statue of Leif they must of necessity be wrong. Some person more enthusiastic than critical might suggest a statue of William Blaxton, yet it would not prove that Blaxton or Blackstone was not the first white inhabitant of the peninsula. There is, however, nothing more "enthusiastic" on the part of Ole Bull's friends than the declaration of Mr. Everett where he says, "It is absurd, while Cabot and Virginia Dare stand uncommemorated, to erect a statue with anything resembling an historical motive to Leif or Eric or Thorwald;" for there is no proof that Cabot ever saw the coast of New England, while history has yet to tell us what Virginia Dare did to deserve commemoration, or even mention in the same breath with Cabot.

Mr. Everett's remarks are not particularly clear. In one place he is speaking of the claims of Leif as the discoverer of New England, but changes to the general subject of the voyages of the Northmen, saying, "Dr. Palfrey has put the story excellently in his second chapter," immediately adding, "It [*sic*] is purely romantic, interpolated in the *Heimskringla*, which is most commonly given as the authority, promulgated originally by the fervid zeal of Professor Rafn, and discredited (as I am informed by Professor Haynes) by the best modern antiquaries of Denmark." Perhaps the speaker means that it is the particular *interpretation* of the Sagas which gives Newport as the headquarters of the Vinland expeditions that some Danish antiquaries shake their heads at. If Mr. Everett meant to say more than this, the observation may be ventured that he was not correctly informed. Issue must also be taken where he says "It is purely romantic." Mr. Palfrey, who is quoted with approbation, has done something more than to "put the story excellently." He studied the whole matter carefully, and finally wrote of the Sagas, "their antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established, nor is there anything to bring their credibility into question, beyond the general doubt which always attaches to what is new or strange." The observation that the account is interpolated where it occurs in the *Heimskringla*, edited by Peringskiold, is true, but the *Heimskringla* is referred to by some intelligent scholars simply for convenience. It is well understood that Sturleson, the author of *Heimskringla*, did not treat the subject, as he was writing of the kings of Norway. This discovery of land at the west was nothing to him; while the Saga interpolated was not a forgery, but one of those documents whose "antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established."

In discussing this question, we should not be diverted from the real issue; nor proceed upon the assumption that those who vindicate the Sagas have windmills in their heads, and are bent upon destroying "the irrefragable glories of Columbus and Cabot." The voyages of the Northmen are now almost universally accepted, and reasonable men are quite content, in the spirit of Humboldt, who firmly believed in the historical character of the Sagas, to follow the principle of every man in his own order. Columbus never pretended to the beliefs that are now put into his mouth, while the Northmen who sailed to the land at the West, which they called Vinland, did not claim any discovery. What they say contravenes this, and shows that, in their opinion, they had been anticipated by the Irish. Any other view of the matter is "moonshiny" indeed. This speech by Mr. Everett, while it has good points, appears, like the essays of Ole Bull, a little late; while if a "real" man besides Leif is needed, one has been already suggested, one who has the

merit of having done "something for New England."

Mr. Deane, whose judgment is almost invariably to be followed, is represented as sympathizing with Mr. Everett on one point, and as saying that the Sagas are "shadowy and mythical in form and often uncertain in meaning." Some of the utterances in this volume, however, are far from clear, and the same mode of argument which would put the Northmen off this continent would banish them from Greenland. The subject of statues is proverbially irritating.

From the Sagas, however, Mr. Deane passes to the Popham question, striking solid ground, and presenting, for the consideration of the Society, the Journal of the Expedition of 1607-8, which Mr. Palfrey had declared "lost," but which nevertheless reposed all the while on a shelf in the Lambeth Palace Library, where New England searchers had failed to find it, though the clue was plain enough.

Another noteworthy contribution is that on the Early Subjects for Master's Degrees in Harvard College, in which the disputants decide affirmatively respecting monarchy. There is also a very interesting bit of reading in the letter of Dr. Rufus Ellis on "The English Homes of Some of the Progenitors of the Commonwealth." President Winthrop offers an interesting paper in explanation of the course of the Settlers of the Bay in abandoning the Church of England upon their arrival in this country, which is usually attributed to a lack of consistency. Mr. Winthrop, though not satisfied with his own theory, seems, upon the whole, to excuse their action upon the ground of necessity. A warmer theme is found in the arraignment of the poet Whittier by Dr. George E. Ellis for his false teaching in his poem entitled "The King's Missive." Mr. Whittier makes a vigorous reply, and the discussion reveals a growing disinclination to allow the versifier to distort the facts of history at his own sweet will. These subjects, however, simply form samples of the contents of the volume, which is interspersed with biographical sketches of general interest, including memoirs of thirteen deceased resident members. A heliotype of the crossed swords of Linzee and Prescott forms the frontispiece of the volume, by which we are informed that Prescott was in "command of the Provincial forces at the battle of Bunkerhill, 17 June, 1775," though the question is one that has been debated at great length, one party claiming the command for Putnam. There is also a portrait of Governor Andrew, a facsimile of the title-page of the manuscript relating to Sagadahoc, and portraits of Robert M. Mason and the Rev. Charles Brooks. The volume is handsomely printed, and is the work of a society which includes members drawn from the busiest professions and vocations, together with representatives of the class who enjoy a life of lettered ease.



**THE TRUE STORY OF JOHN SMYTH, THE SE BAPTIST**, as told by Himself and His Contemporaries, with an Enquiry whether Dipping were a New Mode of Baptism in England in or about 1641, and Some Considerations of the Historical Value of Certain Extracts from the Alleged Ancient Records of the Baptist Church of Epworth, Crowle, and Butterwicke (Eng.), and Claimed to Suggest Important Modifications of the History of the 17th Century, with Collections toward a Bibliography of the First Two Generations of the Baptist Controversy. By HENRY MARTYN DEXTER. 4to, pp. 106. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1881.

Dr. Dexter in this work makes an inquiry into three separate points in the Baptist controversy: Was the Rev. John Smyth a Se Baptist, and were he and his followers baptized by immersion or by affusion? Was dipping a new mode of baptism in England in or about 1641? Are the alleged ancient records of the Baptist Society at Crowle genuine, and worthy of credence? To the first question he answers that John Smyth was a Se Baptist, but not an immersionist; to the second he says dipping was a new mode in England in 1641, and to the third that the ancient records were forgeries. He supports his conclusions with a great deal of learning, and will doubtless give the Baptists no little trouble to do away with the impression which the proofs and facts, until answered, will make. It is not ours to compose the strife, but Dr. Dexter's book has a bearing upon our early New England history. Many of his authorities were the men of the Mayflower, Bradford, Winslow, and others, and in the alleged "ancient records" they are represented as the chief actors. Carver, Bradford, Prince, Winslow, Brewster, Morton, Oldham, and many other names are found in connection with alleged facts of more or less importance in the years from 1599 to 1620. Here is recorded the determination to go to Holland, and afterward the selling of their estates that they might "goe to Merica;" here we read of their persecutions, and how Governor Bradford "from Austerfield, wished to speak at Crowle Crosse, but ye parson prevented him, & flogged him with his horse-whip and set his bull-dogg at him; but he awed ye brute off with his staff." If these records were genuine they would be of great value. To this question Dr. Dexter has addressed himself in an exhaustive examination. He has considered the internal and the external evidence; has compared the records with the contemporary history; he has summoned every known witness on the one side and on the other, and his deliberate conclusion is that the Crowle Records are an unmitigated mass of rubbish, and "a howling wilderness

of lies," and, as Macaulay might do, he has in his essay placed them upon a gibbet of infamy from which they cannot be easily taken down. We have little interest in the Baptist controversy, whether immersion or affusion prevailed, or whether "wee baptise man and woman, not babys." Our concern is to preserve in their purity the sources of American history. When, therefore, we are told that Bradford, Brewster, and others signed a paper before going to Holland, agreeing to have "no commune with Robinson," because "wee baptise man and woman, not babys," it is impossible to come to but one conclusion. Dr. Dexter, besides disposing of the "Crowle" record, gives a valuable bibliography of the Baptist Controversy in England, which is characterized by his customary patience and industry.

**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.** Vol. III., pp. 512. Edited by WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Corresponding Secretary New Jersey Historical Society. Newark, 1881.

The first and second volumes of this valuable series of papers cover the early or proprietary period of New Jersey, from the year 1631 to 1703. The present volume includes the documents connected with the administration of the Colony under those crown governors who were intrusted with the affairs of New York as well as of New Jersey—a period which the editor distinguishes as the "Union Era." The fourth volume will continue this era from 1709 to its close in 1738, when the separate Provincial administration will be reached and brought down from the governorship of Lewis Morris through that of William Franklin to the Revolution.

Of the "Union" governors appointed by the crown, the memory of the first, or Lord Cornbury, is the least savory. A cousin of Queen Anne, he seems to have presumed upon his royal connections to conduct himself in a high-handed and shameless way, both publicly and privately. Chalmers, in his "History of the American Colonies," states that he was "illiterate, frivolous, and poor," his poverty being induced by extravagances at home; and that he grew to be unjust, oppressive, and corrupt in his public station is more than confirmed by the documents now before us. He fell out with the Jersey Assembly, with the Quakers, with popular leaders, demanded a high salary, received bribes, lived in New York most of the time and made "Extraordinaire charges" for travelling back and forth between his two provinces. Appointed Governor in 1703, we find the Jersey Legislature petitioning the Queen, within four years, to relieve them of his "malign administration," and in 1708 he was recalled. His vices and debts had as much to do with his removal as his public misconduct.

Cornbury's successor, the young Lord Lovelace, did not live long enough "to feel the mortification of popular contest or the misery of dependent greatness." He died May 6, 1709, "of a cold of sickness he caught aboard the *Man of War upon the Coast*." But two or three new documents respecting his rule appear in the present volume.

Lovelace was followed by Ingoldsby, his own and Cornbury's Lieutenant-Governor, and we have documents here illustrating the grievances and difficulties he had to make and fell into until the next governor, Hunter, was appointed, Ingoldsby himself failing to receive the appointment. Vol. IV. will be devoted to Hunter's times and those of his successors until Morris's administration. The papers of this series are collected from public and private sources, and will furnish the future historian of New Jersey with a fund of fact, incident, and reflection not within the possession of previous writers. The satisfaction of having done this service must be one of the rewards enjoyed by the editor, Mr. Whitehead, as compensation for the labor of compilation.

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CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT GROTON, CONN., ON THE HALE MEMORIAL DAY, September 7, 1881. By EDWARD E. HALE. Pp. 22. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co.

The story of Nathan Hale will never cease to be one of the tenderest interest, and it was no more than an act of patriotic, almost pious remembrance on the part of the people of New London and Groton, at the centennial of Arnold's raid and massacre held last year, to devote one day of the exercises to the memory of the young martyr-spy of 1776. It was at New London that he was teaching school when the war broke out, and where he formed his resolution to enter the service. It was upon New London that Arnold wreaked his vengeance—a good place, then, to contrast the unselfish devotion of the one and despicable treachery of the other. It fell, fittingly, to the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, a grandson of the Captain's brother, to make the principal address on the occasion, and we find it the story of the hero's life and sacrifice, told in a touching way. There was not much new to bring out—although we must except a valuable little journal kept by Captain Hale's brother, to which we hope to refer again—and yet the reader cannot but feel a new interest in the subject as treated in the pamphlet. It will be noticed, among other criticisms made by Mr. Hale, that he puts no faith in one of the stories current at the time, that the Captain was betrayed by a Tory relative who recognized him. "The fact," says the writer, "that the disgrace was now attached to one cousin, now to another, shows almost certainly

that it belongs to neither." This address is one to be preserved.

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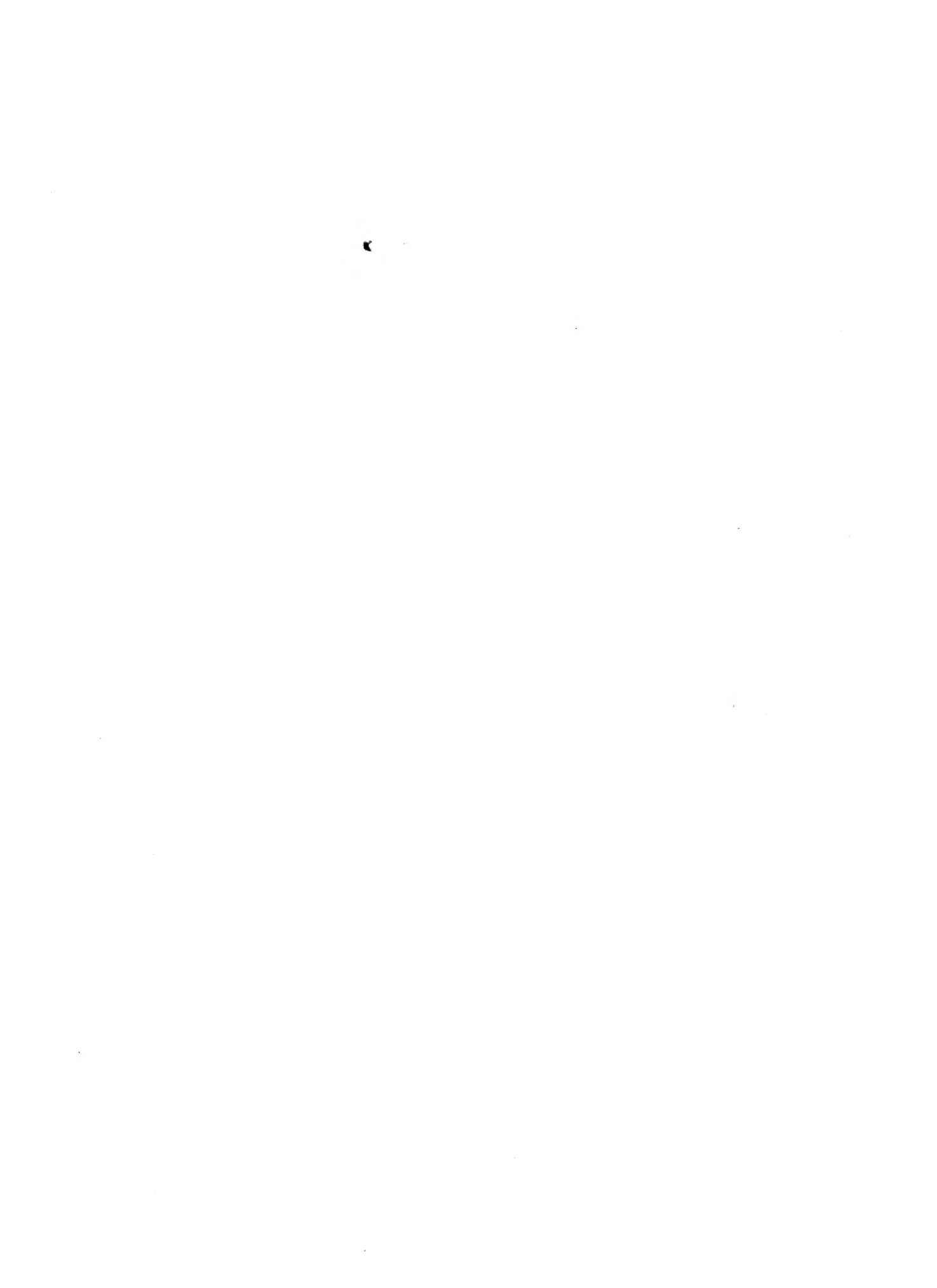
NEW JERSEY CONTINENTAL LINE IN THE VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN OF 1781. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, Adjutant-General of New Jersey. 8vo, pp. 45. Trenton, N. J.

General Stryker's contributions to New Jersey history, which are well known to our historical writers, have brought out the fact that, for some unexplained reason, the records of that State from quite early times have been preserved in an unexpectedly complete shape. Can any of the original thirteen States, for instance, compile a full list of all its officers and men who served in the Revolution, as New Jersey has done through General Stryker? Probably not one, unless possibly Massachusetts. In the present pamphlet we have another evidence of well-kept records, as it contains a roster of all the officers and men who represented New Jersey at the surrender of Cornwallis and in the previous operations in Virginia under Lafayette. The two Continental regiments, commanded by Colonels Matthias Ogden and Elias Dayton, were there in force, mustering together 662 men and 43 officers, and in addition, a Light Infantry detachment of 145 men and 13 officers, which formed part of Lieutenant-Colonel Barber's Light Battalion under Lafayette. A list of the killed and wounded at the siege of Yorktown is also appended, making, so far as the documentary portion alone is concerned, a valuable contribution to the records of that famous campaign. The pamphlet, however, is far from being an array of names, General Stryker having lightened it with a clear and accurate account of the campaign, in which the particular service of the Jersey troops is noticed at every stage. It is to be hoped that the Trenton archives contain much more like material, which may be utilized in the same satisfactory way by the same pen.

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THE ANDREDS WEALD; OR, THE HOUSE OF MICHELHAM. A Tale of the Norman Conquest. By REV. A. D. CRAKE. With illustrations. 16mo, pp. 448. New York: J. B. YOUNG & Co.

The history of England, from the time of the accession of English Harold to the throne, including the battle of Hastings and the conquest by William the Norman, which purports to be told in the diary found clasped in the hand of Father Oswald, a monk of Saxon, or, as he prefers to be called, English lineage, who sought death in vain with his kindred at Senlac, and found it after seventy years at the foot of the high altar in the abbey erected on the spot where Harold's standard fell. The story is well told.





ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE

From a Photograph of the Original Engraving

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## ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE OF ROUEN

**A**FTER describing the splendors of old Rouen, M. Elesée Reclus, our national geographer, says: "We know that the great Corneille was of Rouen, and among the sons of the Norman city we may also name Fontenelle, Boisguillebert, Boieldieu, Géricault and Cavalier de la Salle, who discovered the mouths of the Mississippi. No statue honors the memory of the great voyager, who died in obscurity upon the plains of Texas."

There is nothing in Rouen to recall the memory of Cavalier de la Salle. Within twelve years his name was hardly known to the savants of the city, and there was scarcely a vestige of his history. One of the two or three most distinguished men of the 17th century was entirely forgotten in the home of his nativity. In 1847 M. Pierre Margry was told that he was not a native of Rouen, but happily that unwearied investigator discovered the certificate of his baptism. That taught a great lesson, and we can understand the enthusiastic words which the young savant wrote to the Mayor of Rouen: "The life of Robert Cavalier is a grand epic. Nothing is wanting to it, neither the force of character which wills to accomplish them nor the greatness of the results, nor even that fatal quality of ancient tragedy which, leading its hero through successive misfortunes, ends by dashing him, after he has spent all his energy, against himself."

This man, who gave to France the finest colony in the world, was born at Rouen, in Herbland parish, and probably in the street of the Grosse-Horologe, towards the 20th of November, 1643. It was not far from the little house in Pie street where Pierre Corneille wrote his chief works, and it may be that the verses of the great tragedian were not without influence upon Cavalier de la Salle. Loftiness of conception, like strength of body, is a gift of nature, but the elevation of soul, energy and love of glory, which we find in every page of his correspondence, have their source in the study, and above all in the continuous reading of great authors.

At twenty-three, La Salle entered upon his career. From that day until his death, which took place three years after that of Corneille, his life is a poem. The coldest writer and the most methodical must, as M. Gayrre remarks, necessarily give to his history the form of romance. One might say that he created the material for the poems of his great compatriot. For two centuries his enemies alone have had liberty of speech; to-day La Salle is allowed to speak for himself. Let us follow his career, but rapidly, as the necessities of our space require.

Jean, Cavalier's elder brother, a priest and doctor of the faculty of Paris, was in Canada. That circumstance, probably, had a large influence upon his decision. Robert reached Montreal in 1666. The south part of the isle was frequently ravaged by the Iroquois, and the husbandman was compelled to carry on the labors of the field with weapons in his hands. An advanced post was necessary, near the falls of Saint Louis, in the path of the savages, to give the alarm and to sustain the first attack. The commander of the post must be gifted with the highest courage and prudence. M. de Queylus, superior of the seminary of Villemarie, gave La Salle this very perilous post. The young man from Rouen founded a village, which he called by the name of St. Sulpice, but which soon after took that of La Chine, which it bears to this day. Gradually he made grants, put the land under cultivation, built dwellings and enhanced the value of his fine domain, which was, by the act of January 11, 1669, erected into a *fief noble*, of which he was suzeraine. There was nothing to hinder a tranquil life, and with the skill which was never wanting in him, he could enrich himself by traffic with the Iroquois. But it was the useless, obscure existence of a country gentleman, the golden mediocrity of the poet. It had nothing in common with his dreams. What was necessary to his adventurous spirit was to enlarge the boundaries of the world, to open to our commerce a new way to the mysterious countries of the extreme Orient.

He understood the Iroquois and seven or eight dialects, had studied the narratives of explorers, made short voyages into the neighboring country and had conceived the plan of new discoveries. Giovanni and Sebastian Cabot, Christopher Columbus, Jacques Cartier, the Recollets, Jean Nicolet, the Jesuits, and others besides, had dreamed of China. They had sought it by the Isthmus of Panama, by Davis Straits and Hudson's Bay, by the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, and had sought in vain.

La Salle had been informed, during the winter of 1668-69, by the Iroquois Esonnontouans, that a great river had its source in the country

of the Five Nations, and flowed towards the sea, and that in following its course in eight months he would arrive at its mouth. He believed it was the passage to China so much desired. He went to see Remy de Courcelles, the governor general, and Ealon, the Intendant, communicated to them his enthusiasm, and obtained authority to make the discovery at his own cost.

To procure boats, arms, provisions, rowers and a surgeon, he sold all his goods, and as they say burned his ships. He thus put all that he possessed into a very uncertain enterprise, but whose success would bring great honor to his country, and open an immense horizon to the commerce of France. He was then twenty-six years old, and already he had attained to the height of one of the heroes of Plutarch.

In the meantime the Sulpicians proposed an expedition into the west. They had received authority, but it was on condition that they should join Cavalier de la Salle. That would have made the affair neither one thing nor another. Dollier de Casson and Brehant de Galinée sought the conversion of souls, Cavalier sought a passage to China, and now all accepted this combination.

They started from Saint Sulpice on the 6th of July, 1669. The expedition was composed of twenty-two French and seven boats of Iroquois Esonnontouans. They ascended together on Lake Ontario to the village Asonnontouan and to Eenaouata on Lake Erie. There they separated. The Sulpicians went to the north, and La Salle to the south, About six or seven leagues below Lake Erie he came to the river Ohio, and descended to the falls of St Louis. Compelled to take to the land, he followed a rising ground. Some savages told him that the river lost itself far away in that vast flat land, and was reunited in a single bed. As the labor was great, the twenty-three or twenty-four men who accompanied him deserted in a single night. He thus found himself alone, 400 leagues from the French habitations, to which he returned, living by the chase, or upon what the savages gave him, sleeping beneath the beautiful stars or in the wigwam of some Indian.

In the spring of 1670 he was at Ottawa. In 1672 he resumed a second time his way to the Mississippi, but instead of descending the Ohio, he went by the great lakes, discovered the Illinois, descended it to the 39th degree, entered into another great river, which flowed from the northwest to the southeast, and followed it to the 36th degree of latitude, where he stopped for want of sufficient force, but was sure that this river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico.

Note here two most important points. It is upon the 39th parallel

that the Illinois empties into the Mississippi, and at that place the Mississippi flows from the northwest to the southeast. It was then the Mississippi which he had found. Moreover, he could not, having embarked upon the Illinois, and descended to the 36th degree save by the Mississippi.

It is objected that the author of the Relation is not friendly to the Jesuits. Is that a reason to be considered? Cannot one be a man of honor without loving the Jesuits? M. Margry believes that the Abbe Renaudot is the author of this memoir. The Jesuits reply that it cannot be the Abbe Renaudot, and that, if it were he, the honor would be impaired. Between M. Pierre Margry, who has glanced over these articles, and the author, to whom I allude, my choice is made. I believe that it is the Abbe Renaudot, and I persist in regarding this savant as worthy of respect. Why do they say nothing of Louis Joliet, who in his map indicated the Ohio and the Illinois as the routes taken by La Salle to reach Mexico?

In 1673 the Iroquois, the Ottawas and the English threatened our commerce. The Count de Frontenac resolved to ascend Lake Ontario, as M. de Courcelles had done in 1672. He charged the Jesuit missionaries and Cavalier de la Salle to visit the Five Nations of the Iroquois, and to induce them to send representatives to Quinte on Lake Ontario. At the moment of starting, the seat of the conference was changed from Quinte to Cataracoui at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Gifted above all with diplomatic skill, the Cavalier de la Salle persuaded seventeen nations to be represented at Cataracoui. The representatives, in token of their confidence, came with their wives and children. Already the savages knew Cavalier de la Salle well enough to be sure that he was incapable of deceiving them. The dignity, the grand manners, the skilled diplomacy of Count de Frontenac insured entire success. He obtained from the Iroquois all that he desired. For awhile these fierce savages would have labored at the fort which was to hold them in check.

In the autumn of 1674, Cavalier de la Salle came to France and presented at court his petitions and plans. The King gave him letters of nobility, the grant of Fort Frontenac, and an immense territory on Lake Ontario. It was the record of the great services he had already rendered the colony.

At the moment, when Cavalier de la Salle demanded Fort Frontenac, the government hesitated even about the preservation of the Fort. The Governor proved that, with a single ship, which was in pro-



cess of construction, and a Fort upon the Niagara, we would be masters upon the great lakes, and that the commerce of the North would come to the French settlements instead of going to the English. The Jesuits, whose plans he had counteracted, insinuated a thousand reasons on the other side. La Salle gained his cause. Fort Frontenac was the point of attack in the chain of Forts which La Salle would construct in the vallies of the Illinois and the Mississippi, the bulwark of our power in the West.

The grant of Fort Frontenac gave La Salle a right of lordship over the isles and neighboring forests, and over a strip of territory four leagues in length and a half league broad. He was the commander of the garrison, the founder of the mission, the patron of the church, and the sovereign of one of the finest domains in Canada.

Seeing him thus the favorite of fortune, his family came largely to his help. It would seem from the family papers which M. Mario de la Quesnerie has kindly communicated to me, that they advanced to him not less than from 500,000 to 600,000 livres, or from 2,000,000 to 2,400,000 francs.

If La Salle had desired simply to increase his wealth, he would have been on the high road to it, for he could have put his hand upon the best part of the traffic of Canada, and thus with little trouble made for himself 25,000 livres of income. But commercial profits were for him a means, not an end.

No sooner was he possessed of his lordship than he rebuilt in stone the wooden fort of Count de Frontenac, having cleared the allotment, made villages both for the French and the savages, constructed boats, provided rowers, opened a school, common one for the French and Iroquois' children, and in the midst of all these duties, he studied the course of the Mississippi.

Fort Frontenac was surrounded by enemies, Hurons and Iroquois? No, Frenchmen! Louis Hennepin and Zenobe Membre were advised of the snares spread around Cavalier de la Salle. Would they choose to raise even a corner of the veil the enemy is so powerful? At any rate the ray of light, which penetrates between their fingers, permits us to distinguish the group who were lurking in the darkness, and we could put a name upon each of the shadows who prowled around the fort.

La Salle baffled all their manoeuvres with marvellous dexterity. There was one, however, of whom he had no suspicion, and who nearly put an end to his plans and his life. Nicholas Perrot, the traveller,

attempted to poison him. La Salle has declared in a letter that the Jesuits were innocent of the crime of their protege. They were his enemies, and therefore he the more believed he should defend them when accused of such a crime.

At the end of 1677, La Salle, having gone to France, reduced to nothing the calumnies spread against him, and obtained authority to discover at his own cost the mouth of the Mississippi. He returned to Quebec the 15th of September, 1678, with thirty craftsmen and the brave Henry de Conty.

As soon as he arrived he sent men forward to trade and to prepare the ground. Others ascended Cayuga Creek, beyond Niagara Falls, to build a fort, and the first vessel which should navigate the great lakes. All this was not accomplished without great difficulties. The Iroquois were at work in an underhand way; a man named Deslauriers, recommended to La Salle by the Jesuits, urged the men to desert, others proclaimed that the enterprise was a folly, and almost succeeded in seizing whatever La Salle possessed at Quebec and Montreal. He made reply to all by departing for Niagara, whence he had but just returned on foot, in the snow, almost without food, and with a dog for his only companion.

Arriving at Fort Conty, he completed the armament of the vessel, and, contrary to all expectation, he entered and crossed Lake Erie, the Straits of Detroit and Lake Huron, and, on the 27th of August, arrived at Michillimachinac.

The influences opposed to him at Quebec, Montreal, Frontenac and Conty, were felt also at Michillimachinac. The men sent to trade deserted while carrying the goods of La Salle. He sent the vessel back to Conty loaded with merchandise, and the vessel was plundered and destroyed by those in charge.

La Salle embarked on Lake Michigan or Illinois. There were fourteen men and four boats. After a voyage of great hardship he arrived November 1st at the small river Miami, where he built a new fort in order to connect that of Conty with those which he had planned upon the Illinois. The 3d of December, the whole party being reunited, sixty-three men, they embarked upon the Miami, passed the Kankakee or Divine, (the nom de guerre of Madame de Frontenac), arrived at the Illinois, and stopped for a while at the small lake Peoria, where were camped 4,000 Illinois, with whom they made an alliance. Upon this lake he raised a new fort, Crêvecœur (a name of deep signification), and began the construction of a vessel in which to descend to the Gulf of Mexico.

On the night of his arrival he was denounced to the Illinois Indians as a friend of the Iroquois ; that is to say, as a dangerous enemy, whom it was needful to slay. The men were seized with a panic, and some deserted, after having put into his saucepan a heavy dose of poison. They escaped by means of some antidote, says Conty, which had been given him by his friends in France.

According to Zenobe Membre, the deserters had been corrupted at Michillimachinac. Conty, Hennepin, and the same P. Membre accuse the French to the Illinois with having denounced La Salle. The documents recently published by M. Margry are still more explicit. La Salle foresaw an end to his enterprise, but the idea of retreating even partially was not to be thought of. He sent Michel Accau du Gay, called Picard, and Hennepin, the monk, to explore the sources of the Mississippi. Ten days afterward, March 4th, 1680, he went with four Frenchmen, and Nika, his faithful chaouanon, in a most rigorous winter, over deep snows in which they sunk to their knees, to seek at Frontenac rigging, furniture, and provisions which he needed in order to continue the expedition.

On returning at Fort Conty, he learned of the loss of the vessel which he had sent to Michillimachinac, and of a vessel from France, on which he had 2,200 livres. But this was not all. Of twenty-two men whom he had engaged in France, eighteen were detained by his enemy, the Intendant, Duchesneau, and upon news of his death four were sent out anew ; still more, his men had deserted with his goods and his boats. In the meantime the force of Conty had dispersed, forts Crêvecœur and Niagara were laid waste, and the magazine at Michillimachinac had been plundered. It seemed, to use his own expression, that all Canada had conspired against his undertaking.

Who in his place would not have owned himself vanquished ? Who would not have renounced so dangerous an enterprise, in order to enjoy calmly at Frontenac the pleasures of a noble position ? La Salle did not even think of pleasure. He hastened to Montreal, arranged matters with his creditors, who made him new advances, arrested a party of his deserters, and started on his way with twenty-five men, workmen and soldiers, by the Humber, Lake Simcoe, the Severn, Lake Huron, and rested five days at Michillimachinac in order to obtain provisions. He left again with twelve men, revisited the ruins of the Fort Miama, and passed on to the Illinois. The seventeen villages which he had seen upon this great river, his Fort Crêvecœur, his vessel, all were in ruins. The whole shore, even to the Mississippi, presented a fright-

tul spectacle. The Iroquois had burned the villages, disinterred the dead, killed and eaten the living. The dogs, wolves and ravens even now fed upon the remains.

Upon a tree on the banks of the Mississippi, he made a representation of himself, carrying a pipe of peace, and he left a letter for Conty. After incredible fatigue, he reached Fort Miami, and made it his winter quarters. He studied the situation anew.

The skillful intrigues had placed across his path the terrible Iroquois. All that he had done would be without practical result; at least he would hardly shut out this savage horror from the west. He remembered, however, that a commercial and military centre was necessary between the basins of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. Fort St. Louis, which he built upon Starved Rock, and the rich prairies of Illinois, seemed to him to be equally fitted for the necessities of war or the needs of commerce. His plan conceived, he began immediately to execute it, that is to say, he plunged into diplomacy without limit. He visited all the neighboring tribes, induced them to make peace and to settle around Fort St. Louis, under the protection of the King of France, in order that they might live, calm and happy in the abundance which Europe would supply, without fear of the Iroquois.

What speeches, what subtleties, what compliments! It is necessary to see these papers published by M. Margry. His efforts were crowned with success. He could see, before leaving Canada, around Fort St. Louis, the villages of twelve nations who recognized him as father of the King of France. As Lord of the country, by virtue of his letters patent, he granted concessions of land to the French. It is well understood that this great work brought him the detractions of all his enemies, beginning with the aged La Barre, the unworthy successor of Count Frontenac. With the culmination of coldness, came the movement to complete the discovery. La Salle returned once more to Frontenac, obtained credit for fresh advances, made his deposition, took with him Conty, the Recollect, Zenobe Membre, Jaques Metairie, notary of Fort Frontenac, twenty French, eighteen Abenakis or Mahingins, who carried with them ten women and three children, and started on his route. The 6th of February he arrived at the Mississippi, on the 12th he embarked upon the stream; March 14th, at the Arkansas, he planted the cross and arms of France; April 7th, he arrived at the mouth of the stream, and on the 9th, in the name of the King, he formally took possession of Louisiana. At the same time he traversed fifteen hundred leagues of desert, not having any provisions, except the product of the chase,

having the compass for his guide. This discovery is the most important of the age, but we shall see how General de la Barre viewed it.

The intention of La Salle was to build a fort at the mouth of the Mississippi, but the lack of provisions forced him to adjourn his project to the following year. He retook, therefore, his route for Canada. At his coming all the tribes on the border of the river had given him a good reception; at his return, many desired to slay him. To what is it necessary to refer this fickleness of Indian character? Upon arriving at Fort Prudhomme, which he had constructed with the Chickasaws, he suddenly fell sick; and when, after being confined to his bed forty days, he returned to Illinois, it was not to be glorified, as he deserved, but to be persecuted. La Barre, who was only a puppet in the hands of his managers, denied boldly, not only the result of the discovery, but the discovery itself. Yet he did not rest with this. He authorized not only the pillage of the canoes of La Salle, but even his murder, while P. Allouez blessed the bullets of his deserters, assuring them that they might break (pierce) the head of the honest and valiant Conty. Against all law, La Barre arrested the men whom La Salle sent to seek, in Canada, the merchandise and munitions of which he had need. He refused to send to Fort Frontenac the soldiers that were asked for. In fine, he confiscated the Forts of Frontenac and St. Louis, compromised the results of the discovery, ruined Cavalier de La Salle and those associated with him in the enterprise.

La Salle returned to France, went to find Seignelay, convinced him of the foolishness of La Barre, who was immediately recalled, proposed to return by sea to the mouth of the Mississippi, and to capture the mines of Santa Barbara. The reports and memoirs furnished by Cavalier La Salle, both on his own discoveries and his projects, carried conviction into the mind of Minister Seingelay. In accordance with his request, July 24th, 1684, he set sail for the Gulf of Mexico. This fleet was composed of four ships, and was commanded by Le Gallois de Beaujeu, Captain of the Line. Beaujeu left with the conviction, we may say, with the hope of failure, as one may see in his correspondence with Cabart de Villermont. "The devotion of Madame de Beaujeu to the Jesuits" was suspected by La Salle. The Minister warned Beaujeu, that, by this "difficully he would fail of success in the enterprise of La Salle." La Salle was suspicious of Beaujeu. This Captain, who believed himself to be the ablest Captain of the French marine, passed, without recognizing, the mouths of the Mississippi. This man who always spoke of his own impeccability,

forgetting his sojourn for nine months at the Tower of Rochelle, and his cassation, refused to comply with the demand of La Salle, who told him that he had passed their destination. But I do not desire to accuse him of the loss of the fly-boat *Aimable*, for which the Chevalier Aigron was imprisoned upon his return to France, but I am not able to repress the remark, that he did all that was necessary to defeat the enterprise, in order to justify his prejudices against La Salle. It suffices to say, that he debarked La Salle in the Bay of Matagorda, instead of landing him at the mouth of the Mississippi, that he gave him cannon without balls, because to obtain the balls which were intended for the expedition, it would be necessary to derange the storage.

His jealousy survived La Salle. When Le Moyne and Iberville were sent to find the mouths of the Mississippi, which they discovered by the indications of La Salle, Beaujeu did not cease to predict failure, and after success, to depreciate the value of its utility.

La Salle, abandoned by his companions, constructed forts, made attempt on attempt to reach the Mississippi by land. One should read in the Journal of Joutel of Rouen, the accounts of his prodigious efforts. He was about to succeed, when he was assassinated at the corner of a forest, March 19, 1687. He was forty-three years and four months old, and it was twenty years since he entered into our colonial domain.

Let us recapitulate the acts of the discoverer. He explored North America, north and south; he established a chain of forts from the entrance of Lake Ontario to the mouths of the Mississippi; he inaugurated navigation on the Great Lakes, by the discovery of the Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois and the Mississippi; he opened the commerce with the Gulf of Mexico; by his colonies of Frontenac and of Illinois, he fortified us against the English; by his point against the Spanish mines, he showed us the possibility, the necessity of conquering Texas. It is with much reason that the Americans have placed his great name upon the map of Texas and of Illinois; it is with reason that they have placed his portrait in the Capitol at Washington; it is assuredly a wrong that his native city has done nothing to honor his memory.

GABRIEL GRAVIER,

*Honorary President, and General Secretary  
of the Normand Geographical Society.*

# THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITY

## I.—THE DUTCH PERIOD

The most important prerequisite to the study of any institution is a correct view of the character of the people among whom they are found. The character of the settlers of New Netherland has not commonly been treated with justice, partly because their political institutions have disappeared, and partly because the present inhabitants are not in the main descended from them. Nor is it easier, in the face of Knickerbocker's History, to attempt a sober vindication of them, than to inspire respect for Amadis de Gaul or Don Beliarus in spite of Cervantes. Inevitably, the name New Netherland calls up before us the images of Oloffte the Dreamer and Walter the Doubter, of Abraham with the Ten Breeches, and Stuyvesant with the Wooden Leg, of doughty armies marching forth to engage in mimic wars or to parley with lank, nasal-voiced Yankees, of sleepy burghers with expressionless faces, and comfortable, placid dames devoted to knitting and scouring. Probably it always will. Certainly no one would have it otherwise, or agree with those solemn old Knickerbockers who deplored the sacrilegious attempt to poke fun at the fathers of New Netherland. The more Irvings we have in the world, the better. But while undoubtedly there is, in the history of the first beginnings of any great enterprise, from the time of Romulus to our own day, much that is ridiculous, we ought not to be so strongly influenced by a work of humorous fiction as seriously to imagine that the New Netherlanders are in that respect any worse off than the settlers of the other colonies; that the incessant smoking of New Amsterdam was at all more absurd than the incessant funeral-going and the savory discourses of Boston, or Governor Stuyvesant and Dominie Bogardus more ridiculous than valiant Miles Standish and "reverend and much-desired" Mr. John Cotton. Therefore, in considering the development of the municipal government of New Amsterdam, we should bear in mind that the disputes of Governor and burghers, however petty they appear at this distance, were to them far from ridiculous. Above all things, we should never forget of what nation they were a part. They were the countrymen and contemporaries of De Ruyter, the Van Tromps and the De Witts, and but a gen-

eration removed from the leaders of the war of Independence ; members of a heroic race, not half enough admired, whose love of liberty was as strong and as worthy of respect at New Amsterdam as behind the dykes of Holland, or on the grassy table-lands of the Transvaal.

While, with true Dutch tolerance, the settlers at Manhattan welcomed English Puritans, Huguenots from Rochelle, Waldenses from Piedmont, German Lutherans and Anabaptists, Swedes and Catholic Walloons, yet because whatever powers of self government they had were conceded to them by those who controlled them, and these were Dutchmen, the government of the settlement was in form and spirit almost completely Dutch. It is therefore necessary, in order to understand the development of the government of New Amsterdam, to study carefully first of all, the municipal institutions of the Netherlands themselves. This will serve to explain the history of the government of New Amsterdam as a chartered municipality ; while, to understand the history of the government of Manhattan previous to its incorporation, it is necessary to study the history, charter and character of the West India Company. First, then, the municipality of the Netherlands.

Although modern liberty is the remote result of the municipal revolution of the twelfth century in Europe, it should never be imagined that it was modern liberty which the towns of the middle ages demanded and secured. Of any liberty not feudal they had no conception. Feudalism pure and simple had provided no place for any classes but the *milites* and the unfree. What the towns demanded, and what they obtained, was simply a recognized position in the feudal hierarchy. Yet in the internal organization of the towns the elements favorable to the growth of social equality and freedom were more conspicuous, and the mediæval municipalities thus contained the germs of those forces which were to destroy feudalism, though they themselves were feudal in spirit and form.

It is especially necessary to remember the feudal nature of the municipal organizations in considering the towns of the Netherlands. For here the feudal conception of communal liberties as resting, not upon inalienable rights, but upon the strictly-construed text of charters embodying privileges conceded by the individual suzerain, in a word, "of liberties rather than liberty," prevailed till a very late date. Every Dutchman of the controlling classes in the town was a born strict-constructionist. The attachment of the burgher class to the letter of their constitutions was conspicuous in all their history. Hence it is not surprising that the tenacious conservatism of the Netherland towns kept



their governments in many respects the same from the middle ages to the French Revolution. One need therefore make no apology for beginning a review of the municipal institutions of the Low Countries at an early period in the feudal ages.

Though some of the Netherland towns survived from Roman times, the most originated much as the towns of Germany did. Close by a lord's castle, a church or a cloister, there was greater opportunity for trade, and there was better protection. This attracted traders and those who were oppressed elsewhere. It was for the interest of each lord to foster such settlements, and he usually agreed to protect them. Soon it became necessary that the relations of count and *poorters* should be more accurately defined. This was of course done in the manner natural to feudalism, by a documentary concession of privilege. The count granted a charter, showing explicitly his own rights and those of the townsmen. His rights were looked after by an officer called the *schout* or *baljuw*, who was the chief officer of the town. The interests of the people were cared for at first by a general assembly; but before long, through indifference, this was left to the burghers of most consequence (*de vroedsten*), who had come in a way to be hereafter described, to form the *vroedschaap*, or town-council.

At the head of both the judicial and the administrative systems was the schout. In the administration of justice he was aided by an indefinite number of assistants, called *schepens*. The schout organized the court, or *vierschaar*, which was composed of these schepens, whose number soon came to be definite, seven or nine, and certain of the prominent citizens, who in most cities were members of the town-council, already mentioned. Administrative matters were doubtless at first managed by the schout and schepens alone. But very early we find four *raaden* or aldermen, one from each of the four quarters of the town, whose position in town matters soon came to be that of recognized representatives of the burghers. A little later an important part in administration is taken by the *vroedschaap*, or municipal council, already mentioned. The manner in which this council originated is illustrated by the case of Dordrecht. In 1345 the magistrates (that is, the schout, schepens and raaden), invited the ex-magistrates to assist their deliberations. In 1370 these retired schepens and raadsmen received the name of the Oud Raad, or old council, and formed a body of burghers independent of the court, for they were not summoned by him, as the schout and schepens had been. This council, *vroedschaap* or *wysheid*, under, whatever name known, once established, and invested with the power of

making by-laws, increased in power constantly, till the advent of the Burgundian house.

Meanwhile, the position of the raaden, or representatives of the people, underwent a great change. At first they merely sat with the schepens in the courts. But finally the duties of the schepens became almost limited to the dispensing of justice, while the administrative duties were left in the hands of the raaden, who became known as *poortmeesters*, and then as *burgemeesters*. Gradually they grew to be more important officers than the schepens, and became the real heads of the community. Their number varied, being usually two or four.

It will be seen, then, that at the time when the Netherlands came under the dominion of the house of Burgundy, the controlling portion of the municipal governments consisted, in most cities, of four parts. First, the schout, or representative of the count and guardian of his interests, whose duties, which had gradually become chiefly judicial, were analogous in some respects to those of a sheriff of our day, and in some respects to those of a municipal chief-justice. Second, the schepens, who had now come to have nearly the position of associate justices in municipal courts, though they, as well as the schout, who with them constituted the "new magistracy," retained something of their former administrative position. The schepens were sometimes elected by the council or vroedschap, sometimes appointed by the count from a double list of names presented by that body.

This last method of selecting officers is a peculiarity very prominent in the institutions of the Dutch. Third, the old council, often called "the magistracy" *par excellence*. In most cases this was the actual legislative or senate of the town, and was composed of the retired members of the new magistracy; it had already in most cities become an aristocratic body. Fourth, the burgemeesters, two or four in number, the chief executive officers of the municipality. They were elected by the magistrates and council usually, but in many places the people still had some control over the election.

Just before the time of Philip the Good, a strong effort had been made to make this constitution less aristocratic in spirit. The old nobility and the richer class of poorters together formed an aristocratic body of great pride, controlling the municipal governments. Against this combination of the greater burghers, the lesser burghers, or artisans of the inferior guilds, contended for a share in the management of town affairs. They were on the whole successful, and accordingly introduced some new features into the town organizations, broadening their basis, but by

no means to the extent of popular suffrage. At Dordrecht, and probably in other towns, these innovations took a form which is of considerable importance to our discussion, because of its resemblance to a plan afterward put in practice at New Amsterdam. Eight men, called "the good people of the eight," were chosen by the count from a list of twenty-four presented by the deans of the guilds, and selected by them from the whole body of inhabitants. These eight could sit, but not vote, in the schepens' court, and had a vote in the election of the representative burgemeester.

Philip the Good caused the court (that is, the new magistracy), and the vroedschaap in each town to choose a certain number of notables, who should annually present to him a double list of nominations for schepens, from which he chose the required number. After 1519 the burgemeesters also were chosen by the notables. It will easily be seen that the notables soon came to furnish most of the members of the vroedschaap, since they elected the members of the magistracy, which gave admission to it. Finally, the notables and the vroedschaap became practically identical. Even the burgemeesters, whose office had originally been almost like that of popular tribunes, at length came to be members of the aristocratic class. Vacancies in their own number the notables filled by co-obtation. The schout, for a time designated by the Provincial States, later became the appointee of the magistracy. Thus the municipal constitutions of the Netherlands acquired a strictly oligarchical character, which they retained throughout the war of independence, and even down to 1795.

Perhaps there is no better way to indicate briefly the important features of the town governments at the end of the sixteenth century, than to quote the following passage from a letter of the States General to the Earl of Leicester, written in 1587, and preserved by Van Meteren :

"The city magistracies (*i. e.*, the vroedschappen, or old councils) consist of from twenty to forty, the most considerable persons in the city, and hold as long as they live and continue to be citizens. Vacancies by death or removal they fill themselves.

"These choose the ordinary magistrates, viz.: two, three or four burgomasters, and seven or more schepens. In some cities the election is absolute, in others by the nomination of a double number, from which the Governor General selects.

"The burgomasters have the management of the city, both financial and of police. The schepens administer justice in both criminal and civil cases.

"These colleges of magistrates have absolute government of the towns; the prince having no concern with them, unless in establishing some officer who shall in his name demand justice."—(*Histoire des Pays Bas I*, 290.)

The sketch which has been given of the Dutch municipal constitutions at the beginning of the seventeenth century, however lacking in definiteness of detail, is true of almost all the cities. But if the attempt were made to give further particulars, especially in regard to the mode of annually renewing the magistracy, the result would be only confusing. For what would be true of one town would perhaps be untrue of another, two or three miles away. It is this wonderful variety, preserved without change for centuries by the conservatism of the Dutch burghers, that makes the municipal history of the Netherlands so difficult a subject.

It remains only to describe briefly the judicial and financial arrangements of the towns. In the Low Countries, regulations in regard to jurisdiction and forms of civil and criminal procedure became fixed quite early. Within the town, the chief judicial officer was the schout, or Count's bailiff. He was assisted by the schepens, who were usually unaccustomed to legal proceedings and filled with the prejudices of the oligarchy. The *vierschaar*, or municipal court, judged civil causes in the first instance, appeal lying to the Count, or, in later times, to the provincial council. Most criminal causes they decided finally. The prosecuting officer in most towns was appointed by the Governor General of the province. The schout could ordinarily make arrests only on a burgomaster's warrant. As to the law followed, we are told by an English traveler whose book was published at the time of the first settlements in New Netherland, that they observed the particular by-laws of the town and the edicts of the States, but for cases not covered by these followed the provisions of the civil law. Evidently in no direction had the conservatism of the Dutch yielded so much as in that of jurisprudence.

In cities so devoted to commerce as those of the Dutch were, financial arrangements, of necessity, came early to have great importance. At first the Counts raised no taxes except from the *ascripti glebae*, but later their need of money caused them to adopt the practice of levying arbitrary taxes, called *beden* or requests. The burgomasters who in early times got little pay, while the schepens had good salaries, had the disagreeable duty of raising these extraordinary taxes. At the same time the Counts derived revenue from the "accyns," or excise, which was levied on all ordinary articles of consumption, and from taxes on various businesses. But gradually they sold to the burghers the right of wind, the right of brewing, measuring, weighing, etc., and the finances of the towns came to be managed by its own citizens. In the beginning of the seven-

teenth century the municipal taxes were heavy and ingeniously comprehensive. Beside the taxes, municipal loans were often raised. In their commercial policy, freedom of trade was the rule, at least so far that protective duties were rare; but many towns on the rivers enjoyed the "staple-right," or right of compelling passing vessels to stop and offer their merchandise for sale first of all in the market-place of the town or pay a duty, a custom which we shall see in New Netherland also.

Such were the municipal institutions under which the founders of the settlement on Manhattan had been brought up, and after which those of the latter were modelled. So far as any control from without was concerned, the Netherland cities enjoyed a singular degree of freedom, but within, their government was highly aristocratic, though in many towns the unrepresented class was struggling against the oligarchy. Such institutions could find existence only in a mercantile nation, little accustomed to speculate upon human rights and political relations, but taking a practical, commercial view of their liberties, as things obtained by bargain, and too valuable to be lost willingly.

Let us here turn to the interesting story of the founding of the West India Company. It has been related, though with a confused arrangement, by Dr. Asher, and by others less correctly. It need not here be recounted. Let us proceed at once to the year 1621 and the charter. Those provisions of the long document entitled "Charter, granted by the High and Mighty Lords States General to the West India Company, in date the third of June, 1621," which are of importance to the present study, may be quite briefly stated. They are the following:

"II. That, moreover, the said company may, in our name and authority, within the limits hereinbefore prescribed, . . . . . appoint, transfer and discharge governors, people for war, and officers of justice, and other public officers, for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade; . . . . . moreover, they may advance the peopling of fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of these lands and the profit and increase of trade shall require.<sup>1</sup>

III. Saving that they having chosen a governor-in-chief, and prepared instructions for him, they shall be approved, and a commission given by us; the officers taking an oath of allegiance both to the States General and to the Company."

Certain peculiarities of this charter were destined to have great influence on the development of New Amsterdam and its government. First, it will be noticed that it gives the governor or director-general of any province absolute power over all settlers, and allows them no political rights. Second, it imitates the least desirable feature of the

Dutch constitution, in making the powers of the board of nineteen delegates similar to those of the States-General, so that, just as the High and Mighty Lords States General could take no step without securing the approval of the Noble, Great and Mighty Lords, the States of Holland and the Noble and Mighty Lords, the States of Zeeland and each of the other provinces, nor the latter without the approval of the separate cities, so the actions of the XIX were constantly hampered by the necessity of consulting the five chambers and the directors and principal adventurers in the individual cities; and during the interminable process of discussing and referring and referring back the colonies went to ruin. Third, the Company, taking part in the war with Spain, like a State allied to the Netherlands, was far more interested in the naval victories of Piet Heyn or the conquests of Brazil, than in the trivial concerns of New Amsterdam. Fourth, it relied on the promise of assistance which the States General made, and which they had no more ability to get fulfilled by the Provincial States than the Continental Congress had to raise taxes. The disgraceful neglect of the Provincial States to support the company, which was fighting their battles, often brought it nearly to bankruptcy, and increased the difficulties against which New Amsterdam was struggling to such a degree that nothing but its excellent position for trade, and the energy and commercial enterprise of Dutchmen could have saved it from extinction. Next we turn to New Amsterdam.

Under a despotism political institutions can never have any but a very uneventful history. While the town meetings of Boston and Plymouth are earnestly discussing the common affairs, we hear nothing from the people of the Dutch post. The company appointed the director-general, and the director-general was the government. The rise of self-government here has a history of its own.

The College of the XIX gave the particular management of New Netherland to the Amsterdam Chamber. Cornelis Jacobsen May was appointed and sent out as the first Director-General, in the spring of 1623, and formally took possession of the Manhattas in the name of the Company. During the brief terms of May and his successor Willem Verhulst, the public affairs of the dwellers on Manhattan are not to be distinguished from those of the other settlers of the region. With the beginning of the rule of the third Director-General, Peter Minnit, in 1626, we see more definite outlines of a colonial administration. At the head of it was the Director-General, assisted by a council, whose members, as well as all other officers of the colony, were appointed by him

subject to the approval of the XIX. The Director and Council were the supreme executive, legislative and judicial body; but their actions were subject to the supervision and appellate jurisdiction of the XIX. The second officer in rank was the *opperkoopman*, or chief commissary of the Company, who was at once the keeper of its books and the secretary of the province, but had not ordinarily a seat in the council. But a greater degree of responsibility seems to have attached to the office of the *schout-fiscael*, sometimes called simply the *fiscael*. His duties were those of a sheriff and public prosecutor. He could make prosecutions in behalf of the Company only when requested by the council to do so, and could arrest only persons previously informed against, or caught in the act. He had no seat in the council, of which he was the chief executive officer, but was permitted, when asked, to give his opinion on matters of finance or police. He was also to examine the cargoes of all ships arriving, and enforce the Company's customs regulations.

On comparing this simple governmental arrangement with the municipal institutions of the Netherlands, and with the familiar constitution of the United Provinces, it appears to be formed, as we should expect, of elements already in existence in the Fatherland (but in the provincial quite as much as in the municipal institutions), modified by the necessities of the case in a colony of three hundred, whose purpose was commerce and profit to the Company. Hence it was, for instance, that the office of the secretary was so much raised, while that of the schout was made subordinate and considerably altered in a commercial direction.

The fourth Director-General of New Netherland was the famous Wouter van Twiller. Irving may have exaggerated his circumference and his powers of smoking, but he has scarcely exaggerated his incapacity as a governor. Of trade, however, he did know something, and accordingly what little he originated was intended to further the commercial interests of the Company. Van Twiller's one contribution to the constitution of Manhattan consisted in investing it with the feudal privilege of "staple-right," enjoyed, as already mentioned, by many Dutch towns. During these four years, the administration, though its form was as prescribed by the XIX in Minnit's time, was in character what Van Twiller chose to make it; his acts would impress us as very tyrannical, were they not so petty and so ridiculous.

Willem Kieft, who was selected as the successor of Van Twiller, was a man of greater ability and more education. But in his government, as is well known, he was not at all more successful, partly from lack of discretion, partly from arrogance and ambition. The opposition he

aroused, and the consequent admission of popular representatives to a slight share in the governments of the province and of the capital (for they were still much the same), are the chief political features of his later years of office. In the earlier years the form of government was the same as under Van Twiller, except that the council had usually the rather amusing form of a board of two, the Director, who had two votes, and Dr. La Montagne, who had one; but the spirit of Kieft's government was one of meddlesome activity in all directions. Beside matters properly provincial, the observance of Sunday, the hours of labor, the passage to and from the island, and many other matters of police, received the benefit of his attention.

But at last the people grew tired of this over-government, and began to make their influence felt even by the absolute Director. The occasion was the consideration of a question of external rather than municipal policy. One of the settlers having been murdered by an Indian, Kieft wished to make immediate war on the tribe. Desiring to share with the people the responsibility of such a course, he summoned a meeting of the inhabitants of Manhattan and the vicinity on the 28th of August, 1641, and submitted to this first popular assembly in New Netherland the three questions, whether, how and by whom the murder should be avenged. The meeting chose twelve men to consider these questions; they reported adversely, and war was deferred. The twelve men were not regarded as a part of the government, but only as a committee of a popular meeting consulted in regard to a particular question; yet they were considered as being permanently the representatives of the people. But when they asked for a reform of the local government, and reminded the Director that every village of the Fatherland had its board of schepens, he replied that he "was not aware that they had received from the people any further power than to give their advice in regard to the murder of the late Claes Smitz. He then dismissed them and forbade them to reassemble. In 1643 the prospect of another Indian war compelled Kieft to summon the commonalty again. The Eight men whom they chose, after expelling one member, filled his place by co-optation, as a vroedschaap in the Fatherland would have done; but their functions remained advisory only, though their boldness was increasing.

The next year the Eight Men were again summoned, but as they objected to an arbitrary excise which the Director wished to impose, they were treated in the same cavalier manner as before. Indeed, the Director's policy was, as they complain in a later Remonstrance, to



use them only "as a cloak and a cat's-paw." Finally, in the latter part of the year, the Eight Men addressed a plain but forcible remonstrance to the XIX., showing the lamentable state of the colony, and praying for redress. The paper shows the nature of their grievance and their belief in municipal self-government as the sovereign remedy. The vigorous protest aroused the Company to the necessity of doing something. The affairs of New Netherland were carefully investigated, many reforms were resolved upon, and Kieft was removed. The influence of the commons was beginning to make itself felt. When the administration of Kieft ended, in 1647, the mismanagement of the Company and its directors, and the Indian wars provoked by Kieft, had brought the colony to its lowest state. As a result of the mismanagement, the public spirit of the colonists had been constantly on the increase, and they had become quite ready for a more complete self-government. The people of Manhattan, in particular, could not but regard it as an injustice, that the largest settlement in the province (the population was about five hundred) remained without power to govern itself, while Brooklyn, Flushing and several other villages were already incorporated and had municipal governments like those of the Netherlands. But much was hoped from the new administration. The new instructions of the XIX provided that the government of the colony should be by a Director-General, Vice-Director, and Fiscael, who decided all civil and military affairs. In criminal matters the Fiscael was to act as prosecutor, the military commandant taking his place on the bench, to which "two capable persons from the Commonalty [should] moreover be joined from the district or Colonie where the crime or deed was committed," just as the Eight at Dordrecht or the earlier raede sat in the schepens' court. Thus at last the people of New Amsterdam were allowed a permanent representation in the administration, so far at least as criminal judicial matters were concerned.

But again the Company spoiled all by the choice made of a Director-General. For, though General Petrus Stuyvesant, sixth and last Director-General of New Netherland, was a far more able man than Van Twiller, and a far more honest man than Kieft, he was imperious, haughty and self-willed to the last degree, and a military life had still further inclined him to regard popular institutions of any sort with disfavor, to circumscribe their action and to exalt his own prerogative as far as possible. But his administration of municipal affairs was marked by great energy. Fire-wardens were appointed, church-services, the hours of taverns, and the sale of liquor to inhabitants

and Indians regulated, and Sabbath-breaking and drunkenness forbidden.

The movement to secure a chartered municipal government for New Amsterdam began about two years after Stuyvesant became Director. A few months after entering upon office, desiring to impose some special taxes, he had decided, on the recommendation of his council, to concede to the people a more regular representation, and ordered that the inhabitants of Manhattan, Breuckelen, Amersfoort, and Pavonia, should choose eighteen "of the most notable, reasonable, honest and respectable" persons among them; from among whom the Director and his Council were to choose nine to advise them. At the end of a year, six were to leave the board, the latter having first nominated twelve men, six of whom the Director appointed to the vacancies. He might attend and preside over their meetings; and three of them were to have seats in his council on court-days. This gave the people much more control over their own affairs than they had ever exercised before. It was not long before the Nine Men began to criticise the Director's conduct. He retaliated, and a violent contest ensued. The Nine Men then addressed to the States General a Memorial and Remonstrance. These very full and explicit papers are among the most valuable sources for the history of the administrations of Kieft and Stuyvesant. Among the reforms requested in the former, we read:

"Secondly. We humbly solicit permanent privileges and exemptions, which promote population and prosperity, and which consist, in our opinion,

"First. In suitable municipal governments, such as your High Mightiness will consider adapted to this Province, and somewhat resembling the laudable government of our Fatherland." (Col. Doc. I. 266.)

In the additional Observations appended to this document, the attention of the States is called to the governmental institutions and the prosperity of New England.

It is unnecessary to follow all the negotiations of the three delegates, the States-General, and the various chambers of the West India Company. The energy of Van der Donck and his companions led the committee of the States-General to draw up a provisional Order for the government of New Netherland, one article of which was, that there should be established, "within the city of New Amsterdam, a municipal government consisting of one Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens." This was in 1650. But for two years the Provisional Order

was under debate, the Amsterdam Chamber, Stuyvesant, and the municipal authorities of Amsterdam advising the States-General not to adopt it, while Van der Donck and the Nine Men in the colony urged its acceptance. Meanwhile, the government of the colony was carried on in as arbitrary a manner as before.

But at length the Amsterdam Chamber, finding the other chambers and the States-General all against it, resolved unwillingly to make a concession to the people of New Amsterdam, and in April of 1652 orders were sent to Stuyvesant that a municipal government should finally be granted. "To stop the mouth of all the world," say the directors, "we have resolved, on your Honor's proposition, to permit you hereby, to erect there a Bench of Justice, [i. e., a magistracy,] formed, as much as possible, after the custom of this city; to which end printed copies relative to all the Law courts and their whole government are sent herewith. And we presume that it will be sufficient at first to choose one Schout, two Burgomasters, and five Schepens, from all of whose judgments an appeal shall be to the Supreme Council. \* \* \* In the Election of the aforesaid persons every attention must be paid to honest and respectable individuals, who we hope can be found among the Burghers."

The Schout who was not elected by the people, was to serve as the executive officer of the Company and government; to preside in the meetings of the magistracy; to prosecute, but only on information given before the burgomasters, and on their permission; to preserve the peace; and to submit each year a copy of the municipal ordinances of the year to the Director-General and his council.

Thus a charter was gained. But New Amsterdam was not yet completely self-governing. For Stuyvesant, putting the narrowest interpretation on the unwilling and scanty concessions of the Company, kept the appointment of schout, burgomasters, schepens and clerk, as well as the city revenue, in his own hands, and reserved to his council the right to make ordinances for the city, which amounted to nullifying the concession. The magistrates, who entered into office in the early part of 1653, contended against this assumption. The contest began with a struggle for the right to regulate money affairs. This concession being at length procured by taking advantage of the Director's financial difficulties, a more liberal government and self-elected magistracy was desired. But Stuyvesant refused, and at the beginning of 1654 filled the vacancies in the magistracy by direct appointment. In 1656 a compromise was agreed to, but in 1658 the much-desired privilege was accorded,

and henceforward the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam nominated a double list, from which, according to the custom of the Fatherland, their successors were appointed. But it was not till 1660 that the city elected its own schout.

The Director had once conceded to the burgher government the excise on liquors consumed within the city, the control of which seems to have been at first more urgently demanded than that of the direct taxes; but in 1654 he resumed the control over it, alleging that the step was necessary for the defense of the province, and that the city had not fulfilled the conditions on which the concession had been made. Protestations and attempts at bargaining were useless, till, in the early part of 1664, the city government agreed to employ all its revenue and a sum of thirty thousand guilders, raised by a loan at ten per cent., to the fortification of the city and defense of the province; in consideration of this, the excise was granted them. This, with the power of levying direct municipal taxes, acquired by this time, made the power and independence of the city government finally as great as that of a city government in Holland; but this was only seven months before the city passed out of the control of the mismanaging and unfortunate Company and its proud and self-willed Director. In 1657 the institution of great and small burgher-rights was introduced into the city, the great burghers including the present and past municipal officers, the director and council, and any others who chose to pay the city treasury fifty guilders for membership. The small burghers paid twenty guilders. None but burghers could trade in the city. The distinction was short-lived, and the attempt to set up in America one of the worst survivals of the mediæval institutions deserves notice only for its singularity.

But the chief duties of the new government were intended to be, and were, judicial. We have seen that in the Netherlands the burgomasters had by this time come to be administrative officers, the schout and schepens forming the court of justice, and the "old council" or Senate of ex-magistrates the legislative body. In the simpler government of New Amsterdam, no such division of functions was made; the burgomasters and schepens sat together as one body for both the passing of municipal ordinances and the deciding of disputed and criminal causes. We do not find an "old council" existing, for, beside the greater simplicity of arrangements, such an institution manifestly required time for its development. Most cases which came before the court arose from offences against particular ordinances made by them or by the Director-General and Council; in other cases they followed the civil law as observed at old

Amsterdam, and their officers were directed to execute their sentences in accordance with the customs of the latter city.

It is sometimes asserted that the movement to secure communal liberties in New Netherland came from an admiration of the free town governments of New England, and was directed toward the imitation of them. The same seems to be implied by Bancroft when he says (I., 306) of the previous form of government in New Netherland: "The system was at war with Puritan usages; the Dutch in the colony readily caught the idea of relying on themselves." But surely no other motive for their desiring free governments need be sought, than the oppression under which they were suffering daily. The theory of invitation is completely disproved by the comparative view which has been given of the municipal institutions of the United Provinces and those of New Amsterdam.

Throughout the long and tedious struggle for liberty of self-government, Dutch models were present to the minds of the burghers, and the result was the establishment of a government in which the various officers bore the same titles and discharged as nearly as possible the same functions as in the towns of the Netherlands. We see in everything both the Dutch spirit and Dutch forms. Indeed the municipal government of New Amsterdam had already developed a tendency to follow the Dutch city-magistracies even to becoming like them fossilized and oligarchical; a fate from which the English conquest, iniquitous as it was, saved it. All men are more conservative of local institutions than of any others; and the men of New Amsterdam followed only the natural instinct of all mankind, when they desired a constitution "resembling the laudable government of the Fatherland."

NEW ORANGE.—During the Dutch reoccupation in 1673-4 the municipal government of the city, now called New Orange, and independent of the Company, remained as it was when Stuyvesant surrendered, for the appointment of three burgomasters instead of two was avowedly temporary, and was not repeated in 1674. The only innovation, though an important one, was contained in the order given by Colve in his Provisional Instructions, that an officer should be present and preside in the meetings of the magistracy in behalf of the Governor.

#### JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON

<sup>1</sup> The original text of the "Octroy" reads in this passage: "Voorts populatie van vruchtbare ende onbewoonde Quartieren mogen bevorderen ende alles doen dab den dienst der Landen," etc., "sal vereyssen." In appendix A of O'Callaghan's *New Netherland* (vol. I.) this is translated,

“moreover, they *must* advance the peopling of *those* fruitful and unsettled parts, and do all that the service of *those* countries,” etc., “shall require.” This represents it as obligatory on the Company to do what in reality it was simply permitted to do, if it chose; and makes a reference to definite “parts,” where the charter contained none. Any one familiar with the phraseology of the papers of their High Mightinesses, and noticing the context here, will further conclude, that “*der Landen*” refers to the United Provinces, and not to future colonies, for whose interests neither States nor Company would be likely in that age to take great care in advance. It is of some importance that the unfortunate and much-abused Company should be thus vindicated from the charge of breach of contract, added to the indisputable one of mismanagement, for upon the above mistranslation have been founded such statements in popular works, as the following from Miss Booth’s history: “In return the Company pledged themselves to colonize the new territories.”

The note at the foot of page 91 of O’Callaghan, which directs attention to this appendix, is as follows:

“For this charter, see Appendix A, also De Laet, *Hist. ofte Jaerlyck Verhael. Aitzema, Historie*, I., 62; Johan Thasseus’ [*sic*] *Zeepolitie*; ‘*een seer net ende curieus Boeck*,’ says Aitzema; Hazard’s *State Papers*, I., 121. *Groot Placaeb Book*, I., 566.”

Now the Octroy, edition of 1621, the Octroy mette Ampliatien, and Accoord of 1642, De Laet, Aitzema and Tjassens, all agreeing in giving the text as above. The mistranslations are, however, to be found, word for word, in Hazard, who also in the Accoord for Art. XI., which refers to the qualifications of principal adventurers, inserts by mistake the entirely irrelevant Art. XI. of the Octroy, which peculiarity we see repeated in O’Callaghan, I. App. B. This fact (strengthened perhaps by the slight inaccuracy of the quotation from Aitzema above), makes one think that Dr. O’Callaghan did not look at, or at least did not carefully examine, the Dutch authorities he cites, but that the translation, modestly placed after them, is the real source of his own translation, the same throughout as Hazard’s. Following O’Callaghan, probably Mrs. Lamb, like Miss Booth, says (I., 46): “In the newly drafted constitution of the West India Company was a clause by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory of North America.” Yet in the foot note at the bottom of page 47 she also refers to De Laet.

“XI. . . . that the . . . government [of the company] shall be vested in five chambers of directors; one at Amsterdam,—this shall have the management of four-ninth parts; one chamber in Zeeland, for two-ninth parts; one chamber on the Maze, for one-ninth part; one chamber in the North Quarter [of Holland] for one-ninth part; and the fifth chamber in Friesland, with the city and country [of Groningen] for one-ninth part.”

“XVIII. That so often as it shall be necessary to have a general Meeting of the aforesaid chambers, it shall be by nineteen persons, of whom eight shall come from the chamber of Amsterdam; from Zeeland, four; from the Maze, two; from North Holland, two; from Friesland and the city and country [of Groningen], two.”

“XXXIX. We have, moreover, promised, and do hereby promise, that we will defend this company against every person in free navigation and traffic, and assist them with a million of guilders, to be paid in five years.”

## PEEKSKILL VILLAGE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

A misunderstanding in regard to Washington's headquarters at this place has induced the writer to attempt a brief notice of a few of the many points in or near the old village, around which memories of the colonial days and the revolutionary struggle yet linger.

The Birdsall house, Washington's headquarters at Peekskill, has been gone for many years. It stood on the southwest corner of Main and Division Streets, a frame building, erected by Daniel Birdsall, shortly after the founding of the present village in 1764. After his death, which took place October 29, 1800, it was occupied by his son for more than half a century, during which time the interior arrangements of the house remained unchanged. After his death the house was torn down. It was here, in November, 1776, that Charles Lee came after the failure of his brilliant scheme to entrap Rogers the renegade, and here he had the difficulty with General Heath, told of by the latter in his Memoirs.

"I am going into the Jerseys for the salvation of America!" said Lee to Heath. "I wish to take with me a larger force than I now have, and request you to order two thousand of your men to march with me." Heath refusing to take the responsibility of doing any such thing, Lee said: "I will order them myself." Heath then produced Washington's letter, stating that no troops should be removed from the post. "The Commander-in-Chief," said Lee, "is now at a distance; he does not know what is necessary here so well as I do." He then ordered two regiments to march early the next morning. Thereupon Heath, anxious for his own reputation in the matter, asked Lee to give him a certificate that it was by Lee's own order that the troops were to move. Lee appears at first to have been unwilling to do this, but George Clinton, who was by, urging the reasonableness of the request, Lee wrote a few lines containing the desired statement, and gave them to Heath.

Early the following morning, however, Lee rode up to Heath's door. "Upon further consideration," said he, "I have concluded not to take the two regiments with me. You may order them to return to their posts." "This conduct of General Lee," says Heath, "appeared not a little extraordinary, and one is almost at a loss to account for it."

At a little distance from the site of the old headquarters, in the grounds of the Peekskill Academy on "Oak Hill," stands the huge oak

tree from which the hill is named, and on which STRANG the spy was hung. Strang, it appears from a short notice of him in Thacher, was found lurking about the army at Peekskill, and arrested on suspicion of being a spy. On being searched, a paper was found on him, written by Colonel Robert Rogers, who then commanded the Queen's Rangers, dated at Valentine's Hill, 30th December, 1776, authorizing him or any other person to bring in recruits for his Majesty's service, and stating the terms and rewards that were to be offered. Strang, who made no defence, was tried by court-martial and condemned to death as a spy. Washington approving the sentence, he was executed accordingly.

Time deals gently with the noble old tree. When we last saw it in the full glory of its summer foliage, it seemed as if it were yet as sound and young as it was on the day that witnessed the death of the Tory spy.

The importance of Peekskill as a military post, the key, as it were, to the lower gateway of the Highlands, had been recognized from the very beginning of the contest. As early as May, 1776, in the report of the commissioners sent to examine the fortifications of the Highlands, its position was remarked on as being in the near vicinity of the King's Ferry (then the principal means of communication between the Eastern and Southern States), and also as having a most excellent road leading from it into Connecticut. Henry Wisner stated to the New York Convention that there was a hill to the North of Peekskill so situated with the road winding along the side of it, that ten men on top by rolling down stones could prevent as many thousand from passing. "I believe," added Wisner, "that nothing more need be done than to keep great quantities of stones at the different places where the troops must pass, if they attempt penetrating the mountains."

The place to which he alluded was probably in the neighborhood of Gallows Hill, about three miles above the village, a high eminence looking down on all the surrounding country, and over the side of which the post road crosses. Near the northern declivity of this hill was Continental Village, destroyed by Tryon in October, 1777.

Hugh Gaine's Gazette, of the 9th of February, 1778, says: "Major-General Tryon, who was sent to destroy the rebel settlement called the Continental Village, has just returned and reports that he has burned the barracks for 1,500 men, several store houses, and loaded wagons." He did his work thoroughly. No vestige of the little hamlet now remains.

Gallows Hill derives the name from its being the scene of the execution, August 7, 1777, of Edmund Palmer. This man, who is described



as a person of education and respectability, was brought into camp by three militia men, who had arrested him on suspicion of being a spy and having enlisting orders from Tryon in his possession. He was tried by court martial under General Putnam, and being convicted, was condemned to die. He had a wife and children residing at Yorktown, and she, presenting herself before General Putnam, implored him to save her husband's life. But the old man was inexorable. On the following morning, on a spot still pointed out on the side of the hill near the summit, a rude gallows was erected of logs, and there the spy was hanged, meeting his fate, it is said, with great fortitude, in the presence of a large number of people who had assembled from far and near to witness the spectacle.

To the region of the hill the American forces retreated when Peekskill was sacked and burnt by the British, our advanced guard being stationed at the Van Cortlandt house in the valley below. This old mansion, in which General Pierre Van Cortlandt resided until his death, stands back at a little distance from the road, on the west side, among tall locusts. The house, which has been greatly altered in appearance of late years, is of brick, and was built by the Hon. Pierre Van Cortlandt in 1773. This gentleman was at the outbreak of the revolution the principal representative of this old and very distinguished family. President of the Committee of Safety, member of the first congress, and one of the framers of the constitution of the State of New York, he, from the commencement of the troubles, was foremost among those who sought to throw off the British yoke. In 1774 Governor Tryon visited him at his old manor house on the banks of the Croton and made him large offers from the government to abandon the American cause; but the proposition was rejected by Mr. Van Cortlandt, although Lord Gage was his cousin, and he was beset on all sides by the solicitations of Tory relatives. His eldest son, Philip, accepted a commission in the Continental army in June, 1775, and the family, in consequence, became at once marked objects of persecution by the Crown. Their broad lands were laid waste; and they themselves were forced to fly from their ancient abode in which they had dwelt peacefully since the days of William of Orange, from whom they derived their charter of manorial rule. Through all the long dark years of the conflict they remained true, although, unlike many of the actors in the strife, they had nothing personally to gain by its success, while its failure would have been their utter ruin. This mansion served as a place of refuge for the family amid the surrounding devastation, and here for a while Washington dwelt with them.

The house was occasionally subject to attack. In the spring of 1777 the British posted themselves on a height a little south of the place, but they were quickly dislodged, and departed, leaving three of their dead on the field.

At another time, a band of tories, under Colonel Fanning, came to the house. "We are looking for the old rebel," said one of them to Mrs. Beekman. "I am Pierre Van Cortlandt's daughter," answered she, "and it becomes not such as you to call my father a rebel." She bade them begone.

The Hon. Pierre Van Cortlandt died in May, 1814, at the age of ninety-four. From him the house passed into the possession of his son, Major-General Pierre Van Cortlandt, who, as already has been said, resided in it till his death in 1848, after which it was sold.

In the entrance hall of the manor house at Croton now hang three curious full-length portraits, which formerly were in the Peekskill mansion. The pictures represent Pierre (afterwards the Lieutenant-Governor) and his brothers, John and Abraham, as children, habited in the costume of the early part of the last century. John (who died in 1747) is dressed in a long blue coat, knee breeches, scarlet stockings and high heeled shoes; Abraham in a russet brown coat and red stockings: and Pierre himself in a scarlet coat and white stockings, with a greyhound by his side, and his right hand resting on a stag. The horns of this animal, one of those that once ran wild in Westchester county, hang beside the picture.

A few rods above the Van Cortlandt mansion the road splits into two branches, that to the left going over Gallows Hill, and the one to the right passing the old church. At the junction of these roads stands the Hallman house, a very old wooden building, once occupied as a tavern, the period of whose erection must long antedate the Revolution. Some little interest is attached to this house. At midnight on the 25th of September, 1780, a wild storm of wind and rain sweeping down through the Highland passes, Major André was brought from his place of confinement at South Salem, and, galloping fast through the night, the party having him in charge arrived here early in the morning, where they halted for a while before proceeding to West Point.

Hard by, on the summit of a knoll overlooking the road, stands the little Episcopal church of St. Peter's, a mere barn-like structure of wood, erected in 1767, and now, in spite of repairs, fast going to decay. The centenary anniversary of the building of this church was celebrated on the 9th of August, 1867. From a little pamphlet published

on the occasion, containing extracts from the parish register, it appears that the Revolution makes a gap in the records of the church, the last vestry meeting prior to that event being held September 18, 1775, and the next on April 5, 1790, nearly eight years after the close of the war.

This silence of the records during that long period tells more forcibly than any entries in them could have told of the troubles of those gloomy times. The sufferings of the poor inhabitants of the country around; the almost utter disorganization that society itself had fallen into, left little time to attend to the affairs of the church. Beverly Robinson endowed the united parishes of St. Philip's in the Highlands and St. Peter's in the manor of Cortlandt with a farm of two hundred acres. This property was afterwards sold under an order of the court of chancery and divided equally between the two churches. The large Bible belonging to the church bears an inscription on a fly leaf, stating that it was the gift of Susannah Philipse, wife of Beverly Robinson.

In the western part of the churchyard stands the monument marking the grave of John Paulding, the captor of Major André. This monument, which is of Westchester marble, thirteen feet high, was erected by the City of New York, in pursuance of a resolution passed in the Common Council, December 4, 1826, during the mayoralty of Philip Hone, and was completed on the 22d of November, 1827.

The landscape of this quiet and secluded valley has undergone but little change since the Revolutionary days. Standing at twilight in the old churchyard, and looking across at the purple hills, it requires but little exertion of fancy to imagine them covered, as they once were, with gleaming rows of continental tents. The ploughman on their slopes still occasionally turns up some warlike relic, some mute yet eloquent memorial of the days that are gone, reminding us too of what was the favorite project of the British government throughout the Revolution, namely, the possession of the Highlands, as the master-key by which they could control the navigation of the Hudson.

#### CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

NOTE.—Colonel Pierre Van Cortlandt the present proprietor of the manor house at Croton, has in his possession the original charter of the manor, beautifully engrossed on vellum and decorated with a portrait of the King. This gentleman is sixth in lineal descent from the famous Burgomaster of New Amsterdam. The intermediate marriages of the family show the names of Van Rensselaer, Livingston, Schuyler, De Lancy, Clinton, Beekman, Philipse and Kemble. In this elegant and most hospitable mansion are preserved many interesting relics, among them letters of Washington and Mrs. Washington, of Lafayette and the rest of the famous men of that day, a deed of a house given by the wife of Captain Kyd, quaint gold ornaments brought from the Netherlands, Indian relics, beautiful miniature by Malbone, and many more rare and curious things.

## CAVALIER JOUËT, THE LOYALIST

This wealthy New Jersey gentleman, a native of Jamaica, W. I., came early in life to Elizabethtown, N. J., the residence of one of his early Huguenot ancestors of the same name; married twice there, owned a large estate, and built, several years before the Revolution, a large and elegant brick mansion, which is still standing. At the Revolutionary trying time he espoused, with several of his fellow-citizens, the British cause, and was obliged to retire to England, not long after the Declaration of Independence. There he took orders, being a man of fine education, and became a parish minister in the Church of England. By favor of Zenophon Jouët, Esq., a great-grandson now living near Elizabeth, N. J., we have seen a printed discourse of his, printed in that country nearly ninety years since. The following is the title-page imprint :

“GIVING BETTER THAN RECEIVING.

A

“CHARITY SERMON PREACHED AT ST. BOTOLPH’S, BISHOPGATE (LONDON),

“ON SUNDAY, JUNE 17, 1792,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE CHILDREN BELONGING TO THE  
ST. ETHELBERG SOCIETY,

“BY THE REV. CAVALIER JOUËT,

“*Curate of Tolles Hunt Major, Essex.*

““He that hath pity on the poor, lendeth to the Lord.”

“LONDON :

“PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.”

By his marriage into the old Hatfield family of Elizabethtown, Mr. Jouët became a brother-in-law of the Hon. Abraham Clark, the signer of the Declaration, and by his second wife, Mary Hampton, the father-in-law of Governor Isaac H. Williamson, of New Jersey, who married his daughter, Anne Crossdale. Cavalier Jouët was descended from several distinguished English families, as well as from the historic Protestant Cavaliers of France. The “History of Elizabeth,” by Dr. Hatfield, records the public arraignment of this noted citizen and refugee for “treasonable practices,” and the confiscation of his estate.

W. H.

## AN OLD MOHAWK VALLEY HOUSE

In the year 1688 Heinrich Frey, a native of Zurich, left that city accompanied by his wife, and, passing down the Rhine, to Amsterdam, embarked in a Dutch ship for America. The Mayor of Zurich gave him an open letter, addressed "to whom it may concern," recommending "the bearer as a worthy and honest man and deserving of patronage." Unfortunately, this letter, and other papers brought with him, and which would, no doubt, more fully explain his reasons for leaving his native land, have been lost or destroyed, and family traditions, after a lapse of nearly two hundred years, have left some points uncertain and vague.

A serious misfortune overtook him at the very commencement of his voyage, for soon after leaving port the vessel encountered a severe storm, and was driven a wreck upon the shores of the Isle of Wight. Here he remained for some time, until he was able to secure a passage in an English vessel to New York. The Governor of the island had given him a letter to the Governor of New York, recounting his perilous voyage and shipwreck, and bespeaking for him a friendly reception.

Upon his arrival in New York, early in 1689, he presented his letters to Governor Dongan, who gave him a location ticket for a tract of land on the Schoharie Creek. He at once proceeded to the land assigned him, and began to build a home for himself and family. Here he would no doubt have remained, had he not been summoned by an agent of the Patroon Van Rensselaer to pay a quit rent upon the land which he had received from Governor Dongan. This was entirely opposed to his views. To be a feudatory tenant to Van Rensselaer was revolting to his Swiss love of freedom, and he accordingly abandoned the lands and the improvements he had made.

His course under these circumstances throws some light upon his character, and gives a clue to the reasons which led him to leave his home in Switzerland and brave the unknown dangers of a pioneer life. He loved freedom so well that even the free air of his native mountains was not enough for him: his very name, and the motto on his coat of arms, "Ich dien frei," were only expressions of that love of freedom which was with him innate. A somewhat uncertain tradition even gave him kinship with William Tell, upon whose life and exploits no iconoclast had at that early day cast doubts and unbelief. No feudal lord or Dutch patroon could make a vassal

or a tenant of such a man: rather would he push still further into the vast wilderness. He had heard reports of the fertility of the lands in the Mohawk Valley, so he turned his face to that region to seek out a new home.

Before following him, it may be well to glance for a moment at the state of the Mohawk Valley at that time. Schenectady was the western outpost of civilization. A few hardy men had penetrated a little further up the river, but beyond that was the wilderness and the Iroquois. Dense forests covered the hills, and reached far out upon the alluvial lowlands, only broken here and there by the palisaded villages of the Mohawks and their surrounding cornfields, while the banks of the stream were beautiful with arching elms; wild fowl clamored in the water; the beaver built his dam; the deer and moose cropped the grass on the plains, and no noise or clangor of trade broke the silence. It is true the Mohawks were friendly to the Dutch, and they had passed the zenith of their fame. They were neither as strong nor as fierce as they were when Champlain's folly roused them to relentless hate of all Frenchmen, as they were when they destroyed the Hurons, or carried death to the banks of the Mississippi. Fire-arms and constant war had reduced their numbers and crippled their strength, and rum and civilized appliances were enervating them and hastening their ruin. Still they were not pleasant neighbors. For a hundred years after this they filled a large place in Colonial history, and wasted and destroyed, with savage cruelty, hamlets and people without number.

Such was the state of things when, in 1689, Heinrich Frey came into the Mohawk Valley, and located forty miles west of Schenectady. It was in the midst of the Mohawk Nation; their middle castle was scarce a mile away; the smouldering ruins of their villages, burned by De Tracy in 1666, were close at hand. Here was the old "Jesuit Mission of the Martyrs," where Jogues and his fellows were so cruelly tortured and slain.

But notwithstanding this unpromising state of things, Frey quietly settled down among his savage neighbors, bought—no doubt of the Indian owners—three hundred acres of land, built his log house, and found the independence and freedom for which he sought. That he was just in his dealings with the Indians, is proved by the fact that he nor his property, nor any of his name, were ever molested during all the long years subsequent to his settlement among them—even during the stormy days of the Revolutionary contest, when all the other farms of the valley were laid waste. From time to time he added to his estates, both at his homestead and on the opposite side of the river; one tract of 3,200 acres is called Frey's Bush to the present day.

How long he lived after he became established in his new home is un-

certain ; all that is known of him is that he was prosperous, that he largely increased his landed possessions, living in peace and amity with his savage neighbors, and that he met his death suddenly, by being drowned in the Mohawk River near his home. There is no doubt that he was the first settler on the Mohawk, west of Schenectady, preceding the Palatinates by more than twenty years.

In 1739 his son Henry built the old stone house represented in our engraving, which represents it as it appears at present. It is in a good state of preservation, but as it has not been occupied by the family for seventy years, it has been shorn of some of the wings and appendages which before the Revolution were added from time to time as the wants of the occupants demanded ; these offices and out-buildings having all been taken away, leave the house in its original form. It is strongly built, with heavy oak frames for the doors and windows, with a steep roof and dormer-windows ; a row of loop-holes extending round the house rendered it easily defensible against any approaching foe ; the fireplaces, as usual in the houses of that early day, are very large, especially one that was in the cellar regions devoted to the slaves. This house is the oldest one standing in Montgomery County, the date of whose erection is certainly known ; it is claimed that there is one older, but as the date is not to be found upon it, the claim cannot be substantiated.

During the fifty years from 1689 to 1739, great changes had taken place : land grants of thousands of acres had been given by the crown to various parties ; the German Palatinates had settled Stone Arabia, Schoharie, and the German Flats ; roads more or less bad had been cut through the woods ; traders and artisans had come in, and the forest had already begun to fall before the sturdy blows of hundreds of axes. The Mohawks still maintained their national existence and characteristics, but they lived no longer in palisaded towns, and had forgotten the trades and handicrafts of their ancestors. During all these years the strife between Canada and New York, between France and England, had gone on, each one seeking by all means, fair and foul, to control the savage tribes, to secure the trade in furs, and to maintain a footing in the disputed territories.

It was about the time this old house was built, that the Rev. Mr. Dunlap opened his school at Cherry Valley, and several boys from the Mohawk were sent there to be educated. Among these were Hendrick and John Frey, grandsons of the first of that name who settled on the Mohawk, in 1689, and who were destined to fill a very prominent place in the local history of the valley for many years to come.

When they left school, and commenced the active duties of life, several

reasons combined to make them men of prominence. Their education, their family connections, and their mental endowments were of a superior order ; and, therefore, we find them active in all the civil life, and military movements of the French wars and the wars of the Revolution.

Hendrick Frey, or Colonel Frey, as he was called, according to the then existing law of primogeniture, inherited all the great landed estates upon his father's death. His wife was a sister of General Herkimer, and as there seems to be little known about the early history of this family, by historians who have written the story of Oriskany, it may be well to place upon record a few incidents that have not, as far as the writer is aware, before been published.

John Jost Herkimer was the first settler in what is now Herkimer County. He came with his wife from the Palatinate of the Rhine, bringing with them their first-born, a boy, who afterward became General Herkimer. The first Herkimer was a large and powerful man. He and his wife carried on their backs all their effects, including fifty pounds of wheat and their child, from the settlement at Schenectady to what was afterward the German Flats. Arriving at an Indian camp, Herkimer by gestures and signs indicated his desire to clear some land and sow his wheat ; but the Indians refused his request by a negative shake of their heads. This unexpected refusal greatly distressed Herkimer, whose countenance plainly indicated his feelings, seeing which, the Indians relented, and allowed him to build a temporary hut against the roots of a fallen tree ; withholding their consent, however, to his becoming a permanent resident for further consideration. One day they requested him to assist them in bringing a canoe to the river which they had hollowed out of a large pine, about a mile away. He came to the canoe, and raised one end of it to ascertain its weight ; this greatly astonished the Indians ; he motioned to them to take the other end, and in this manner the canoe was taken to the river. This display of strength established Herkimer's standing with the Indians, who patted him approvingly on the back, and called him the " Great Bear."

They gave him permission to clear as much land as he desired, and to sow his wheat ; he soon learned their language and joined them in their sports and hunts, and shared with them in all business transactions.

The wheat, the product of his land, was conveyed to Schenectady by canoes, where it was ground and the surplus disposed of. The English built a small fort on his lands, to which the troops and supplies were removed from the Frey place down the river, for at an early day the old Frey house had been surrounded by palisades, and used as a garrison. This new post was named Fort Herkimer, and Herkimer was appointed sutler. He



accumulated money rapidly, and finally became wealthy. During the Revolution the family exerted a great influence over the German population in the upper district of the valley.

Between Colonel Frey and Sir William Johnson there always existed the warmest friendship. They were closely associated in civil life, and in many a frontier fight and in the French and Indian wars they fought side by side. Upon the organization of Tryon County, in 1772, he was chosen a representative in the Legislative Assembly of the State. He was for many years a Justice of the Peace, when men of character and legal acquirements were chosen to that office; and he was one of the Judges of Tryon County, at the first court held at Johnstown, and for several years after. He was commissioned jointly with Sir William Johnson to administer the oath of office to all officers appointed in the County of Tryon, which embraced more than half the Colony of New York.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, he was holding high offices under the English Government, and had repeatedly taken the oath of office, swearing to bear true allegiance "to his Sovereign Lord, the King, and his Government." When war was finally declared, he attempted to maintain a neutral position. He refused to take up arms against his neighbors and countrymen, and his sense of honor would not permit him to give aid in rebelling against a government that had honored and protected him.

The intense bitterness of the Colonists against the mother country would not admit of a neutral position, and as he was suspected of being an adherent of the crown, by reason of his refusal to join the Colonists, the Committee of Safety caused him to be arrested and brought before them for examination. They at once interrogated him in regard to the position he intended to take on the momentous questions of the time. He had been a leading man not only in his neighborhood, but in the great County of Tryon, and those members of the Committee of Safety who caused his arrest were men who had been accustomed to look up to him as their superior.

To the interrogatories of the Committee he promptly replied that they were impertinent, and such as they had no right to ask, telling them that his affairs were no business of theirs. Upon this he was at once sent to Albany, and closely confined in jail, until released on his parole by his friend, General Philip Schuyler. No sooner had the Committee heard of this than he was again arrested, and sent to the Hartford Jail, where he was closely confined until the early part of the year 1783. His son, who was a lad at school in Schenectady, was also arrested and confined in the jail at Johnstown, but he made his escape, and, by the aid of Molly Brant, he succeeded

in reaching Canada, after many adventures. Colonel Frey's Whig neighbor's had, in the meantime, attacked his house and mills, stolen his horses and cattle, and killed one of his sons-in-law who was attempting to defend the property. From these circumstances, he has always been called a Tory. It may not be amiss, even at this late day, to say a word in vindication of his character. That he would eventually have sided with the Colonists, had it not been for the hasty, indiscreet, and pragmatic action of the Committee of Safety, there is little doubt; and it is not to their credit that they persecuted and vilified a man who was greatly superior to the most of them, forcing him to act as he did, and causing a reproach to rest upon his fair name.

Colonel Frey lived for many years after the Revolution, and died at a very advanced age; but he never felt pleasantly toward the people from whom he had suffered so much unmerited persecution and obloquy; nor did he forget a wrong done him by the Government, which, at the breaking out of the hostilities, borrowed of him \$2,000 to buy supplies for Fort Stanwix, a loan that never was repaid, and for which he was too proud to ask. Anecdotes and reminiscences are still told of him by the old people, and as one of the characters in the "Pathfinder" he still lives; but of his descendants none now remain in the Mohawk Valley, except Roscoe Conkling, the able and eloquent ex-Senator from New York, his father, Judge Alfred Conkling, having married a grand-daughter of Colonel Frey.

Major John Frey was one of the most prominent, active, and intelligent men in Tryon County during the Revolutionary struggle. He also had been prominently associated with Sir William Johnson, and had sat as a magistrate upon the bench with Sir John and Sir Guy Johnson. This influence might naturally have led him to side with the loyalists, but, on the other hand, he was closely allied to the Herkimer family, having married a niece of General Herkimer. Christopher P. Yates, one of the best-read men and one of the noblest patriots of the valley, also was his brother-in-law. But whatever was the influence that determined his action, he early espoused the cause of the Colonists, and was among the first to take an active part against the aggressions of the British Government.

In July, 1774, a public meeting was held in the Palatine District warmly seconding the action of Massachusetts in proposing the assembling of a General Congress. Major Frey was one of the delegates to this meeting, and was one of the members of the Committee on Correspondence chosen at that time. He was one of the first to join the Committee of Safety, which convened on the 2d of June, 1775, and of which he was chairman for some time. Upon the deposition of the loyalist Sheriff, Alexander

White, he was appointed High Sheriff of Tryon County. He was commissioned a brigadier-major, and participated in the battle of Oriskany, where he was wounded and taken prisoner under singular circumstances. He and his captor, an Indian, singled each other out at a distance, and simultaneously attempted to fire, but without effect for some time. They rapidly approached each other, when, finally, the Indian discharged his gun, the contents taking effect in the major's arm, breaking the bone at the elbow. He then attempted to defend himself with the butt of his gun, but the Indian evaded the blow, and finally seized him, assuring him that he did not intend to kill him.

The Indian hurried him away, and dressing his wound as well as he could, put a string of wampum around his neck, in token that his life was to be preserved. The major was taken to Canada by way of Oswego, and was treated with great inhumanity while a prisoner in Montreal. He was finally exchanged, and eventually landed at Providence, Rhode Island, in great destitution, being obliged to sell his clothes to enable him to reach home. His broken arm having been dressed by a bungling surgeon, it always remained crooked, and was a constant reminder to him and others of the bloody fight of Oriskany. After the Revolution, Major Frey represented his county for many years in the Assembly and Senate of the State, and died highly respected and honored in 1833, at the advanced age of ninety-three.

In 1808, his son, Henry I. Frey, built a large stone house on the rising ground, further from the river than the old house. For the day in which it was built it was a spacious and notable house. The walls are of cut stone, and the inside arrangements superior to any house of its age in the valley. It commands an extensive and beautiful view of the Mohawk for several miles, the bold and precipitous hill called by the Indians Ka-nen-dak-hire rising in the distance. In this house the sixth generation of the family now reside, the land having been occupied continuously since 1689.

Among the students in King's College, New York, in the year 1765, there was a young man by the name of Peter Van Schaack : he was the son of Cornelius Van Schaack of Kinderhook, a Hollander and one of the first settlers of that village. In the autumn of this year, being then nearly twenty years of age, he was privately married to Elizabeth Cruger, the daughter of Henry Cruger, a merchant of that city. This clandestine marriage so enraged Mr. Cruger, that he not only made the usual vows, that his daughter should never again darken his doors, but also gave vent to his wrath by throwing his wig into the fire. Time heals all wounds, however, and so we see, in the course of a few years, a reconciliation, and the kindest relations and intercourse established between the two families. There

lies before me now, as I write, the first letter that was written after the breach had been healed; it is a yellow and time-worn document, dated Bristol, England, June 5, 1767, and is from Henry Cruger, Jr., to his sister, rejoicing in the reconciliation, and full of kindly, brotherly counsel.

The marriage was a happy one, but to the great and unspeakable grief of Mr. Van Schaack, his beloved wife died in 1778, leaving three young children to his fatherly care. The descendants of these children of Elizabeth Cruger are but few in number at this time: there are two grandchildren, four great-grandchildren, and four great-great-grandchildren.

Mr. Van Schaack spent several years in England, and upon his return to his native country, after the war, he settled in Kinderhook, where he devoted himself to the practice of the law, and the conscientious care and careful education of his children. His letters to his daughter Elizabeth are models of diction, and show the goodness of his heart and the cultivation of his mind in the strongest light. After a few years he married again, and his descendants by this union are very numerous in Kinderhook, and various parts of the country.

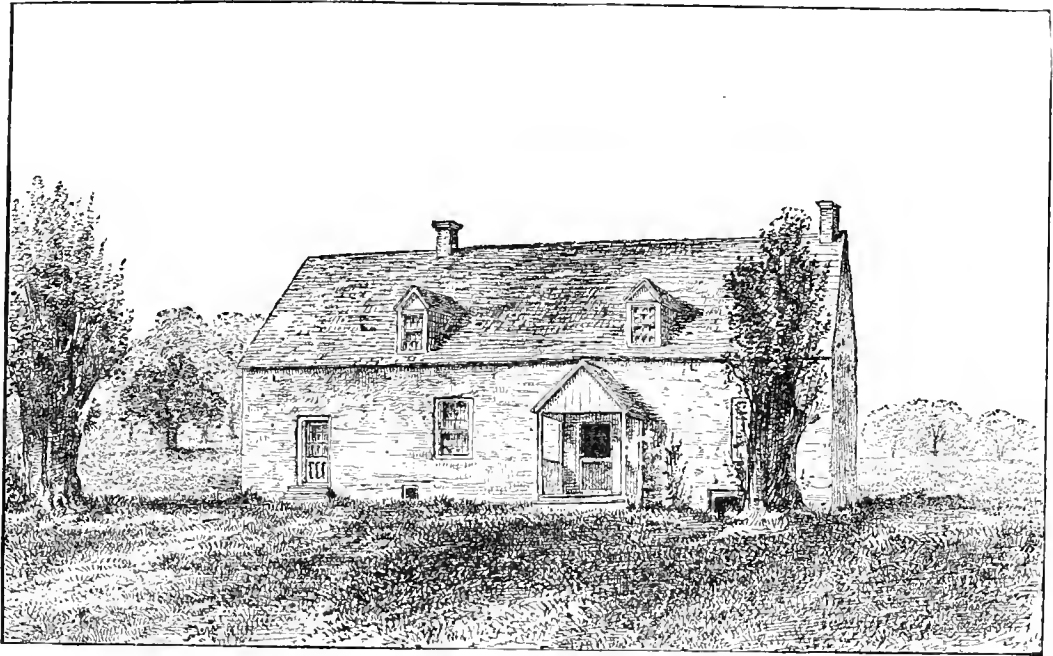
I recollect upon one occasion, in passing through the rooms of the New York Historical Society, that we came unexpectedly upon the portrait of my great-grandfather, Peter Van Schaack, not knowing it was there. I was more interested in it than in all the other rare and curious things with which the building overflows. He looked somewhat stern, we thought, but it was a face clear cut and intellectual, and that compared very favorably with the other illustrious Knickerbockers that were hung around him.

Among the young men who came to Mr. Van Schaack's office in Kinderhook, to avail themselves of his profound legal knowledge and finished classical culture, was Henry I. Frey, the only son of Major John Frey of Palatine; here he made the acquaintance of Elizabeth, the daughter of his legal instructor and of Elizabeth Cruger, who became his wife.

Elizabeth Van Schaack was a woman of the greatest goodness of heart and grace of person, with a highly cultivated mind. Although bereft of her mother's care, she had the unequalled benefit of her father's advice and instruction, and the advantages to be derived from cultured, educated, and refined society, not only at Kinderhook, but in New York and elsewhere. When she married Henry I. Frey, and went to live in the Mohawk Valley, it was a far different country from what it is to-day. There had been progress since the old house was built, great progress since the war, but still the population was comparatively sparse, churches and schools few in number, means of communication slow and uncertain. But she brought with her into the beautiful valley that was to be her future home a

grace, a refinement, and a piety, the sweet remembrance of which still lingers and remains with us. And we can say of her, as of many others, memories of whom cluster thickly around this old Mohawk Valley house: She being dead yet speaketh.

S. L. FREY



THE FREY HOUSE

## THE FRANKLIN, ROCHAMBEAU, AND FORCE PAPERS

It will afford our historical students some satisfaction to learn that the present Congress is not so far absorbed with political issues as to overlook the opportunity offered it to enrich the public archives. A precious nucleus we already have in the original letters and papers of Washington, deposited in the Department of State, with others of hardly less value in the Library of Congress ; and if to these can be added the Franklin and Rochambeau Collections, to which attention has been called within the past twelve months, the Government will be in a position to congratulate itself on having made a good beginning in preserving its early national records. If the disposition of the Senate and House proves to be as favorable, when the necessary appropriations are to be voted, as that of their Joint Committee on the Library has been in recommending the purchase of these Collections, they will be secured during the present session. It is to be sincerely hoped that such will be the case. Precisely how far the Government can be justified in becoming an historical collector, and accumulate historical material at the public expense may, with some, be a question ; but if it ventures in this direction at all, as it has done to its credit in the past, there can be no doubt that the papers referred to are a proper object to be sought, and would constitute a worthy and most valuable possession. Their importance may be shown by a brief description :

I. THE FRANKLIN PAPERS—In the year 1840, some one in London discovered, on the upper shelf of a tailor's store in that city, a large pile of manuscripts loosely arranged, which proved to be the entire collection of Benjamin Franklin's papers, and which a few years before had been in the possession of his grandson, William Temple Franklin, when engaged in editing the " Life and Writings " of his grandfather. Several theories have been broached as to the way in which they came to be stored so insecurely in so obscure a spot, but what is still more singular is the fact that, when subsequently offered for sale to our own Ministers at London, to the British Museum, and other parties, they failed to find a purchaser, on the erroneous supposition of their having all been already printed. In 1857, they fell into the hands of Mr. Henry Stevens, one of our own citizens residing in London, and known to many as an enthusiastic collector in certain branches of Americana, who, after spending several years in completing and arranging the papers, offered them for sale, January, 1881, to the United States

Government, the price named being seven thousand pounds sterling. As nothing was then done in the matter, Mr. Stevens "returned to his original intention of disposing of the collection at public auction to any bidder who would make an advance upon the price at which it was offered to the United States." Somewhat later in the year, the Secretary of State, having become interested in the offer himself, requested Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, Librarian of the State Department, who had been entrusted with the execution of certain official duties in Europe, to examine the Franklin papers at London and report upon their condition, value, and desirability as an addition to the Government archives. Upon Mr. Dwight's report, dated November 30, 1881, and the recommendation of the Secretary, the Joint Library Committee of Congress have lately decided, unanimously, to report in favor of the purchase of the collection.

Although the value of these Franklin papers is sufficiently indicated in Mr. Stevens' catalogue, members of Congress will probably be guided on this point by the report of Mr. Dwight, which carries with it the assurance of a disinterested and official document. After noticing the unquestionable authenticity and generally excellent condition of the collection, the report passes on to indicate its historical value and desirability as follows. Being of common historical interest, this portion of the report is inserted here in full :

III. *As to historical value.* The history of the efforts of the colonies to prevent a war with England, of the diplomacy of the United States during the Revolution, and of the negotiations with England by which the terms favorable to the United States of the definitive treaty of peace were secured, is contained in these papers.

The document of greatest individual importance is the duplicate original of the Petition of the Continental Congress to the King. It is in a perfect state of preservation. As many of the delegates who signed it were continued in office during the period of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, we have in the signatures to the Petition names which have unhappily faded from the latter document, and on this account the Petition has become of singular value.

It is to be regarded as the earliest of the series of instruments which mark the decisive periods in the history of the establishment of the United States. They may be named in the following order :

The Petition of 1774.

The Declaration of 1776.

The Articles of Confederation.

The Constitution.

The originals of all save the first of these instruments are preserved in the Department of State.

Accompanying the Petition is the letter of the president of the Continental Congress, transmitting it to the agents of the colonies at London. The series of record books in which the final transcripts of the letters of the Paris legation were made form a very important part of this collection. They are nine in number, and possess all the value of similar records or registers of this Department; that is to say, similar with respect to character, but not as to matter, for this series is unique.

Of the letters which form the bulk of the collection, viz., Franklin's original correspondence with

the colonies; with the general government; with eminent citizens of this country; with powerful friends of the United States abroad; with the government of England, and of France; not one is unimportant. They were especially selected by Franklin for preservation after his retirement from public affairs. Their interest is increased by frequent annotations in Franklin's own hand.

The purely biographical material is of considerable interest, though it constitutes but a small portion of the collection.

I have no hesitation in confirming all their owner claims for them in the printed notice submitted herewith.

IV. *As to desirability.* In the first place, it is to be affirmed that an original document, however often or accurately printed, never loses its importance as the sole standard by which copies are to be tested. This fact is fully understood in this Department, in which the laws, the Constitution, and the historical archives are preserved. The demand for exemplified copies of the above documents is of daily occurrence. Students of history and authors find need, and often with reason, to test the accuracy of the most careful editors.

My conclusion, in view of this fact, is that, even if the published papers had been accurately printed, the originals would, as archives, possess a value equal to those which remain unpublished. Of the 2,938 documents in this collection, 2,310 have never been printed. The 628 documents which have been printed appear in Sparks' and William Temple Franklin's editions of Franklin's writings, and in Sparks' Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution. That is to say, nearly four-fifths of the number still remain unknown to the world. It was one of the most laborious features of my examination to test the accuracy with which the said 628 documents had been printed by Franklin and Sparks. I found scarcely a paper which had not suffered a change; not only were long and important portions omitted, but those parts which were printed had been altered.

In brief, the printed portion bears the same relation in importance as in quantity to the unprinted portion.

These papers are more than relics or antiquarian curiosities; they are the veritable records of our history, and are as worthy of a place among the national archives as those of Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton.

The archives of a nation are, of all its possessions, the most precious and its greatest pride. When they cease to be necessary in the conduct of current affairs, they are treasured and cared for as illustrative of its progress, of its right to existence, for the honor of its founders and sustainers. The honor and importance of the labors of Franklin in establishing in Europe the character of the United States cannot be over-estimated. The story of those labors is only to be found in all its detail in this collection; the papers also form a monument to the illustrious co-worker with Washington which I believe the government might properly establish in the place to which it naturally belongs.

It hardly needs more than a statement like the foregoing to impress any one with the grave mistake Congress would make in neglecting the opportunity to secure this collection. The fact that private American collectors stand ready to make the purchase if Congress fails to do so, is little to the point. Whose papers are to be secured as *national* property if not Franklin's? Private collections are frequently scattered, are often inaccessible, are subject to loss, and the future historian, to whom they would prove of inestimable value, may miss them altogether. Our historical societies gather in much, but very rarely do they appear, through financial inability, as purchasers on a large scale. Under the circumstances, it falls to the Government to preserve these choice heirlooms.



II. THE ROCHAMBEAU PAPERS—For similar reasons the purchase of this collection is to be urged, and it is gratifying to find that it has likewise secured the favorable attention of the Joint Library Committee. The papers of the Count de Rochambeau, it will be recalled, were first offered for sale to our Government by their present owner, the Marquis of Rochambeau, in 1877, and were finally brought over by him last fall upon the occasion of his visit as a member of the French delegation to the Yorktown celebration. This was done at the request of the Library Committee with a view to their inspection before purchasing them; and that the Committee have become impressed with their value is apparent in their unanimous recommendation that the collection be secured. The papers embrace:

*First.*—The original letter-books of the Count de Rochambeau, in nine volumes, covering the period from 1780 to 1784, and containing copies of multitudes of letters to and from that general, relating principally to the conduct of the war in America.

*Second.*—About fourteen hundred original letters and documents, covering the years 1780 to 1794, and embracing letters and military papers by French and American officers, besides numerous letters of instruction, etc., from the French Government to the Count de Rochambeau, concerning the details of outfit, payment of troops, rank and military operations generally. Among these interesting documents are one hundred and fifty-two letters from General Washington to the Count, all upon military affairs or topics of public interest. Of this great mass of documents it has been found that less than sixty have been printed.

*Third.*—A manuscript “Memoire pour l’Histoire de la Guerre en Amerique,” with corrections in the hand of Count de Rochambeau.

*Fourth.*—A “Memoire du Roi pour servir à l’Instruction particulière à M. le Chevalier de Ternay, Chef d’Escadre des Armées Navales.”

*Fifth.*—A “Journal des Opération du Corps Francais.”

*Sixth.*—A series of sixty-nine military and topographical maps, all of the period covered by the operations of the French land and naval forces in America. Of these, thirty-eight are original charts or maps, carefully drawn to scale by engineers of the French army, and colored, with accompanying legends. This precious and unique series of maps, delineating, as it does, all the movements in which the French forces were engaged from Rhode Island to Virginia, presents authentic contemporaneous memorials of battle-fields, camps, marches, and sieges of the highest interest and value to the historian of the War of the Revolution. They serve to fill many omissions or breaks in the cartography of that war, and may even be regarded as more valuable than even the manuscripts. Maps and documents

together constitute a mine of historical lore worthy of the Government's possession. The price asked for the collection is \$20,000, and that sum the Committee recommends should be appropriated for their purchase.

III. FORCE'S ARCHIVES—It will still further gratify the student of the Revolutionary period to learn that Congress shows a disposition to continue the publication of the "American Archives," of which nine volumes have already appeared under the editorship of the late Peter Force of Washington. This invaluable series, beginning with events in 1774, comes down at present to the first of January, 1777, and every writer who has had occasion to examine the material it contains will admit that without it the history of the years 1775 and 1776 could not have been written with that degree of minuteness and accuracy which its importance required. The bill, as passed by the Senate on March 27th, authorizes Mr. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress—and no one could be more competent for the duty—"to arrange, select, and edit" so much of the historical manuscripts collected by Mr. Force as remain unpublished; and further, to incorporate such additional manuscripts or rare unpublished materials relating to the period embraced as may be approved by the Joint Committee on the Library." The Library Committee, of which the Hon. John Sherman, of Ohio, is chairman, make the report embodied in the bill unanimously, after having "examined the subject very carefully." We may hope to see the House concur and the volumes making their appearance at intervals in 1883 and after.

The volumes for 1777 and 1778 will be looked for with special interest, as the details for those years are now scanty enough, and by their absence often embarrass the historical writer who wishes to preserve a proper proportion in his narrative. The first half of 1777 was devoted largely to preparation for a protracted struggle, and the organization of the Continental army as it remained, with certain reductions in 1781 and 1783, to the end of the war was then established. Right there the published records are meagre, and the forthcoming volumes of the "Archives" cannot fail to supply many gaps. Readers of the *MAGAZINE* will recall a biographical sketch of Peter Force which appeared in the April number of 1878, from the pen of Prof. George Washington Greene.

The Forty-seventh Congress has an opportunity of doing a distinguished service in the historical direction—an opportunity not likely to occur again—and in urging that it may be improved to the fullest extent, we but reflect the views and hope of a continually widening circle of students of American history.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## EXTRACTS FROM A MERCHANT'S LETTERS, 1784-1786

[At the close of the Revolutionary War, Colonel Christian Febiger, the well-known Danish officer, who served with distinction from the beginning to the close of the contest, and a portrait and biographical sketch of whom appeared in the *MAGAZINE* for March, 1881, engaged in business in Philadelphia. He appears at first as a commission merchant, and some of his letters refer to proposals to supply a trader at Copenhagen, Denmark, with masts and spars for ships. A few extracts are given here as furnishing glimpses of the business situation immediately after the war and detailing some particulars in regard to the Maine lumber region which have an interest. His letter-book contains the names of a number of business correspondents throughout the Middle and Eastern States, but his expectations evidently rested on the ventures of his Danish friend. The name of this merchant was J. Sobotken, and the extracts are taken mainly from Febiger's letters to him.]

Colonel Febiger to J. Sobotken, Philadelphia, September 27, 1784:

“. . . . I am happy there is hardly a place in the States from Cape Fair in North Carolina to Penobscot, you could gett much better Information respecting than from myself, for as early as 1772 I travell'd the Country from one End to the other making my observations through every Town and Port, as also of the Country and its Products, and in the course of the War I had an Opportunity of renewing

my Observations, especially marching through the very Country you speak of by Land to Quebec in the year 1775 [with Arnold's Expedition]; not to mention, that I was Commercially connected in the Eastern States 2 years before the War in the Lumber, Fish & horse Trade and which Connection I have since peace endeavour'd to renew.

Masts and spars of any size and in any Quantity may be had in any part from Portsmouth in New hampshire to Penobscot of a good quality and nearly at the same prices. The English in Nova Scotia abound so much in those articles you mention, that they are no Rivals. The French obtain'd large Quantities, when their Fleets were in Boston—since peace they have not speculated in that Branch; But am told they intend establishing correspondence here and in Boston much on the plan I shall propose to you. I have only heard of one Hollander, who loaded at Pownalsburgh in the mouth of Kennebeck River. Congress is not vested with powers to regulate Commerce without Consent of the States, neither has any State laid Imposts on their Articles of Exportation, and on those you want I hardly think they ever will, the Resource for them being inexhaustible, at least for some Centuries. . . .”

[Sobotken wishing to know if, by way of exchange as payment for masts, &c., he can send out a cargo of assorted goods to be sold in the lumber region, Febiger continues in reply:]

“From the knowledge I have of the Eastern States and from the Information now receiv'd from intelligent Merchants and Seamen both here and from that Country, I know there is no Market

rather Eastward than Boston, where a Cargo of any kind could be sold in any reasonable Time or at a good Price for cash. Yea, from there they often send Wines and West india Produce to New York & Philadelphia, which latter in fact governs the whole Marketts of this extensive Continent and is the only Place where dry goods in particular (and they must be well laid in) Can be sold with any Dispatch or to Advantage. I know it's very common for eastern Lumber Vessels on their Return from the West indies [to] putt into Boston or Salem, there sell their cargoes and carry the money home, so that except a few hh<sup>d</sup> of Rum, Sugar & Molasses, nothing will answer eastward of Portsmouth—there indeed a small West india Cargoe, a few coarse Goods, Iron & Salt might sell, Fish, Lumber, Oil, Spermacetti Candles and such Articles obtain'd in payment ; But no horses east of Rhode Island and Connecticut. . . .”

[In the spring of the following year, 1785, Febiger made a tour into Maine to note business prospects for himself and his Danish correspondent, and among other things reported as follows, June 15 :]  
 “. . . . I am sorry to inform you, that on my Trip Eastward, I found in Connecticut, Rhode Island and Boston such an amazing Superfluity of all kinds of European goods, and them chiefly in the hands of British agents (about which the people make a great Bustle) that a large Number of the articles you mention might lay stor'd for years. I thought and think still, that Philadelphia and New York were too full, but by no means equall to those places—the Reason is obvious, they have no Back Country to consume their Goods, being bounded by Canada.

We have almost ad infinitum. I proceeded to Portsmouth, and to my great surprise found it equally stuff'd with Goods without a Purchaser. No trade going on except a little in the West india way for Fish Lumber Oil &c. &c. . . . I know Russian Rubles, But never saw one in this Country—I will try to gett one but doubt of success, be pleas'd to send me one through your son. Among the common people they would not circulate without the sanction of the Bank of North America in this Place & the Banks of New York & Boston as I believe they are a mixed metal. Spanish Dollars are of the same value all over this Continent. . . . .”

[It appears incidentally from the correspondence that the Danish Minister of Marine was also looking this way for spars for the Danish Navy, whereupon Febiger extended his business trip to the northward from New York, to report on lumber prospects elsewhere than in Maine. August 29, 1785, he writes to Sobotken :]

“. . . . I push'd up Hudson's River as high as Fort Edward—here I found Pine Trees growing as large and as fine as any in the Eastern Country and all along the River grows Oak Timber of the first quality and size. I understood that some few spars had been gott down from here before the War, but found no man or Lott of men employ'd in that Business at present. Yett many are inclin'd if sufficient Encouragement is given next Winter.

“I quitted this settlement & push'd across a very hilly & woody Country to the head of Connecticut River—here grows the largest and finest Mast Tim-

ber in the World. I saw one stick cutt down that measur'd 38 inches diameter & 114 feet in Length—a good many people are settled who in Winter follow getting out masts & other lumber—in proceeding down the River, at a Town call'd Northampton about 150 miles from the mouth, I came across the Gentleman, whom I alluded to as head of the wood cutters in my last (his name is Henry Porter). He has a large store & drives a considerable Trade up the River—he has about 40 spars on hand but not well assorted, yett they could be had next spring at New London. . . . He readily agreed he could furnish a Cargo or more annually of the same dimensions and some larger (that is from 34 to 37, 38 & even 39) and deliver them in Lyme Cove inside of the Barr of the river, but started the difficulty of rafting them round to New London. I prevailed on him to go down the River with me, where we saw a great Number of excellent Spars, though none of the largest size intended for a ship of 300 tons now loading in New London for Lisbon. We found, that in all the months of May, June, July & August, yea almost till November, the spars are rafted round to New London, being only 18 or 20 Miles by Water, with very little difficulty, and indeed in the 3 former months a ship might anchor & take in her cargo off the Barr. . . .”

[In this letter Col. Febiger also makes mention as follows of the probability of being embarrassed in these commercial ventures by certain unexpected acts of legislation he had just heard of:]

“. . . . Since my return from the eastward the state of Massachusetts (seeing the brittish monopolizing all the car-

rying Trade and shutting their ports against the American flag) did on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June last pass an Act for the Regulation of their Commerce (& Newhampshire I am told are about passing a similar one) which imposes such heavy Tonnage Light monney and other Dutys on foreign Vessels as amounts almost to a total prohibition. This Law it is true and it will appear evident to you was chiefly intended to affect the Brittish only, and to force the Rest of the United States into measures of empowering Congress to regulate American Commerce on Terms of equality with other Nations. The Rest of the States seem dispos'd to give Congress the necessary Powers—it is therefore to be presum'd that this Law will not continue in Force so long as to affect our Scheme, and even if it should, I have prepar'd for the worst and can procure the Cargo elsewhere in case of necessity. . . .”

[Febiger complained of this law to his Boston correspondent, Nathaniel Paine, informing him that he should be obliged to transfer his orders from that place to Portsmouth or Connecticut River, and then, by way of a reminder, adds:]

“. . . . His Danish Majesty's Ports in the West Indies has ever been open to American Vessels both under Brittish and our own Government. The Island of Faro was a free port to American Vessels in the War—the rest of his European Ports were in the war and still continue as open and unrestricted to the 13 Stripes as to any other Flag whatever. To retaliate on the haughty Brittons is truly just, But how your Legislature could either reconcile it to their Feelings, or more powerfull Interest, to putt their allies, Friends and inoffensive neutral

Powers upon the same footing with their Enemys appears to me very mysterious. . . .”

[To Sobotken Febiger writes again—Phila., Oct. 15, 1785:]

“. . . . You mention that the present Minister of Marine is much interested as well as yourself about the Sparr trade. I have fully explain'd that any quantity and usefull size can be gott in this Country and upon Comparative better Terms than from Riga or elsewhere. I wrote my Friend an officer of Rank in the french Navy at Brest, & was here in the war, who gave me the fullest Information on this subject.

“The next object of my Contemplation and Enquirys has been what staple of Denmark & Norway (without draining you of Cash) would answer best to procure them. Iron appears to me the Principle. Butt it, as well as all other Wares and Merchandize must be made after a Model that will suit the people of this country. Inclos'd N<sup>o</sup> 1 shows the most saleable sizes both in Barrs and Manufactur'd Iron. Edge Tools, Implements of Husbandry and household must be made by Pattern that can be procur'd & sent you at a future Day or they will not answer. N<sup>o</sup> 2 explains the articles of Copper & Brass. Goods from China will answer next summer but no longer. Two large Ships is now fitting out here, one at New York and one at Baltimore destin'd for Canton encourag'd by a pretty good Voyage of last Year made by a Capt<sup>n</sup> Green in a Ship call'd the Empress of China—a ship under Command of a Capt<sup>n</sup> Bell went to Pondicherry at the same time. . . .”

[To the same, May 22<sup>d</sup> 1786:]

“. . . . You need no longer dread

our heavy Imports—the Storm is over. I have the pleasure to inform you that Congress is at last vested with adequate powers to regulate American Commerce on a general System and upon Terms of equality with other Powers. This Salutary step will give a new Face to American affairs and I hope revive its almost expiring credit.—Agent Budenhof's Information and Opinions relative to American masts are truly erroneous. I will readily admitt that masts compos'd of many Pieces have their advantages; But when the additional expenses are calculated, I am well convinc'd an American Mast would have the Preference. That old and experienc'd naval Power Great Brittain gott large supplies out of Connecticut River before the late war—She at the expense of much Blood and Treasure took and maintained a Post at Penobscot for this purpose during the War, and to this Day although the Pine of Nova Scotia is at least 50 pr c<sup>t</sup> worse than that of Connecticut, they still Continue to gett masts from thence. There is Pitch pine in the greatest Quantity to be had in Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, and nearly at the same price though not so large as the white & yellow Pine of New England, neither is it esteem'd for masts being generally too heavy and full of Knotts. . . .”

[How far the Colonel engaged in this branch of trade and served either Sobotken or the Danish government does not appear. A few years later, his business affairs not proving wholly successful, he accepted some public offices and died, highly respected, as Treasurer of the State of Pennsylvania.]

## REPRINTS

## THE BOSTON MARTYRS

Our friend Ebenezer Pope informed me that he had made it a point to be particular in his inquiry, in order to ascertain the place where our Friends William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were put to death, and he thought he could fix the spot within a few rods. The histories of Friends which mention the transaction are not explicit on that head—neither is it very material—yet when one is at Boston it seems quite natural to make some inquiry about it, tho' the inhabitants now show rather an aversion to having the matter revived; and indeed, christian charity would forbid our making the children answerable for the misconduct of their forefathers, whose deeds they condemn, both in word and conduct. However, there can be nothing criminal in endeavoring to fix the place where the tragedy was enacted.

Ebenezer Pope told me several circumstances tending to fix the spot, which he led me to, very nearly. Some of them, for my own satisfaction, I will set down here:

He says one of our historians mentions a boat with some sober people, coming from Nantasket, to see the bloody business, who sat therein, while it was performed, in a little creek near the gallows. The entrance of this creek is still visible near Boston Neck, and the remaining ground toward the opposite shore, a little more than a quarter of a mile over, is still low, tho' it has been filled up considerably for building.

He further says that old Friend Bagnet told him of a conversation which he had

with an Old Woman at Charleston, who informed him she was about ten years old when the occurrence happened, and got leave of her parents to go and see the execution, and after crossing Penny Ferry, as it was then called, she ran along the beach until she came in view of the gallows, which by the present situation of land and water tends to fix the place somewhere near where our Friend Pope supposed it to be.

Add to this his account of a Public Friend from England, who when here was concerned to make inquiry on the subject, and walking out to the place, and leaning on the fence, after a pause, said, "Here lie my dear Friends: I smell their bones."

Also, a sober neighbour of his, being near the spot during the late troubles, related to him (that is, E. Pope) as follows: Ruminating in his mind over the judgments which then hung over the land, and being deeply thoughtful and pensive of the cause, was made, as by a secret impulse, to stand still, and a voice as it were ran through his mind—*Here lie the innocent Quakers*, and the very spot, or place, seemed pointed out to him in a very particular manner.

All these circumstances unite to render it almost certain that somewhere near the place he showed me, the affecting tragedy was performed.

Bishop tells us that when their lives were taken they were denied burial, and their naked bodies cast into a hole, and not permitted to be covered; which was soon after overflowed with water which probably might have been occasioned by the rising of the tide over the low grounds already mentioned.

I speak now of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, for as to Mary Dyer and William Leddra Friends were permitted to take away and bury their bodies.—*Caleb Cresson's Diary*, 1791.

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#### THE TRAGEDY OF STEPHEN BALL

“Last night, was executed at Bird’s Point, Bergen Co., in the Province of New Jersey, pursuant to his sentence, Stephen Ball, a spy; he was very active in the execution of Thomas Long, a refugee from Jersey, who suffered death in that Province in the year 1779. Ball was apprehended in Staten Island by a party of Refugees.” (From *Rivington’s Gazette*, February 3, 1781, in Moore’s “Diary of the Revolution,” II., 383.)

The following account of the above transaction from the other side, with its sequel, is interesting:

“Elizabethtown, October 13, 1807. Cornelius Hatfield, an obnoxious refugee character, who came here a short time since from England, via Nova Scotia, to possess a valuable landed estate left him by his father, was apprehended by the civil authority last week and conveyed to Newark gaol, on a charge of being a principal in the brutal murder of Stephen Ball, a citizen of this State during our revolutionary war, who went into the British lines under assurances of protection; and on Thursday last was brought before Judge Pennington on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Aaron Ogden, Isaac H. Williamson and Wm. Chetwood, Esqrs., appeared on the part of the culprit: and Alex. C. McWhorter, Wm. Halsey and Elias Van Arsdol, Esqrs., on the part of the prosecution, when after a patient

hearing of the argument on both sides until yesterday, the judge discharged Hatfield, being of opinion, by the spirit of the treaty of 1783 he was not now answerable for that transaction. But we hear the friends of Ball are still determined to prosecute him before another tribunal. To correct erroneous statements which are gone abroad, we publish the following authentic document, given at the time the transaction took place:

“A statement of facts respecting the deliberate and cruel murder of Stephen Ball on Bergen Point, the 25 of January 1781. This unfortunate man was deluded by a declaration made by the commanding officer on Staten Island, that all persons who would bring provisions should have liberty to sell the same & return unmolested; in consequence of which declaration, Ball carried over 4 quarters of beef, with a full assurance of being well treated, and expected to return undiscovered by his countrymen; but soon after his arrival on the Island he was seized by Cornelius Hatfield, who commanded a party of 6 or 7 men & was carried before General Patterson, who refused to call a court martial to try him. From thence he was carried before General Skinner, in order for trial, but he also refused, pretending to shudder at the thought of trying & executing a person who came to bring them relief. Nevertheless the said Hatfield & his party, being lost to every sense of humanity after robbing their prisoner of what property he had with him, carried him across to Bergen Point, & without even the form of a trial, immediately informed him that he had but ten minutes to live, & accordingly put their horrid design into



execution, notwithstanding the prisoner strenuously urged that he came with provisions, agreeably to the above mentioned declaration; & when he found they were determined to take his life, he begged for a few minutes longer but was answered that his request could not be granted; but if he had a desire that any person should pray with him, one of their party would officiate. When he was near expiring James Hatfield, one of the Banditti, put a knife in his hand, & swore that he should not go into another world unarmed. The persons who perpetrated this cruel act were Cornelius Hatfield, John Smith Hatfield, Job Hatfield, James Hatfield Sr, James Hatfield Jun, Elias Mann, & Samuel Mann, all late inhabitants of Elizabethtown; & Job Smith, late an inhabitant of Bergen. When Ball's father became acquainted with the tragical death of his son, he solicited a flag, which he obtained for the purpose of bringing over the corpse, but the enemy, with a savage brutality, would not suffer them to land.'"  
—*Am. Register*, Phila., II., 323.

This account differs somewhat from Sabine's under head of "John Smith Hatfield." Sabine connects only John Smith and Cornelius Hatfield with the murder, and notes the fact that John S. Hatfield was arrested on his return to New Jersey, 1788, and being released on bail, fled and never returned, and that Cornelius returned and was arrested 1807.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

*Wilkesbarre, Pa.*

#### DEATH OF GENERAL HUGER

Between the hours of twelve and one o'clock on the morning of the 6<sup>th</sup> ultimo, and in the fifty-fourth year of his age, an

apoplectic fit terminated the existence of the much beloved, and equally lamented, *Isaac Huger*; who was possessed of a heart of unbounded benevolence, a temper easy and agreeable, manners polite and engaging, a strength of mind truly determined, with a degree of courage and bravery the most undaunted when contending with dangers imminent and critical, and in situations difficult and trying; happy in the sincere and affectionate attachment of his friends, yet respected by those who in our late contest entertained sentiments immediately opposed to his opinion and to the cause to which he had devoted his services. His talents as a soldier were highly esteemed, even at the early period of seventeen years, when he was nominated to a lieutenancy in a battalion raised in 1760, commanded by Thomas Middleton Esq<sup>r</sup> for the express purpose of protecting our then defenceless and thinly settled inhabitants of the upper country, from the barbarous and savage incursions of the Cherokee and other Indians. In 1775, the memorable juncture, when the demon of discord influenced the British nation with an over-ruling passion for dominion and lust of power, and ultimately excited the cabinet of S<sup>t</sup> James to attempt the destructive and unwarrantable plan to subdue by force of arms and military array her peaceful and rising colonies, and that in consequence pervaded America's rights, he was by the unanimous vote of his fellow citizens, elected senior lieutenant colonel in South Carolina, by the troops established by the provincial congress; in 1776 he was appointed colonel to the fifth regiment; and in 1778 promoted to the rank of brigadier general in

the army of the United States ; in which various and important stations he had the honor and satisfaction to acquit himself with the universal applause and approbation of his country.

CHARLESTON

*The Time Piece*, Nov. 24<sup>th</sup> 1797

EAGLES AND FISH-HAWKS ON THE HUDSON

Before leaving this very beautiful stream I cannot resist the desire to describe to you two kinds of eagles which every year make their nests on the shores. With the return of each summer the sea-bass, a fish weighing between forty and fifty pounds, takes refuge here to lay his spawn : two kinds of eagles then appear and offer a singular spectacle. The first of these birds is the Fish-hawk, which lives all the year round on the sea shore and feeds upon fish ; he never fails to accompany the bass in his periodical emigration ; he follows it in his passage and has the art to catch it. To effect this he rises so high in air that he is almost lost to sight ; from this sublime height his piercing eye easily sees the large fish which play beneath the water. As soon as he has made his choice he descends with the rapidity of lightning. The attentive spectator who has almost lost sight of him can hardly follow him in his precipitate fall ; often he only finds him by the noise he has made when striking the water and the agitation he caused. He plunges in, I know not to what depth, and disappears. In the space of half a minute you are surprised to see him come to the surface and rise with a great fish in his claws. Borne down with the weight, he moves his wings

with even greater velocity than before. At last he reaches a height on the level with that of his nest ; then he flies. At this moment the Bald Eagle, who never fails to settle in his neighborhood, and whom the scarcity of game has driven from the Blue Mountains, prepares himself for the struggle and the most surprising exercise of skill. He has watched the movement of his antagonist ; he knows the proper moment and never misses it. This eagle loves fish, but is unable to take it himself ; and, knowing his superiority over the fish-hawk, he leaves the tree where he has made his home, takes flight and pursues him with the greatest velocity. The other, laden with a weight he can hardly carry, at the sight of his enemy drops his prey and flies away. Hardly has it begun to fall when the mountain eagle dashes after it, overtakes and seizes it before it touches the water. Triumphant in his good fortune he carries it to his nest, where he feeds his young.—*St. John de Crevecoeur, Lettres d'un Cultivateur.*

NOTES

THE FIRST ELEPHANT IN THE UNITED STATES—The appearance of the celebrated "Jumbo" in this country reminds the writer of a note from "Champlin," the chatty and entertaining Newport correspondent of the *New York Evening Post*, who correctly states that the first elephant landed in this country was brought from Bengal by the ship *America*, which arrived at New York from Bengal in the spring of 1796. It is described in the *Jersey Chronicle* of April 30, 1796, as a female, two years old, and

of the species that grow to an enormous size. This animal (the *Chronicle* says) is sold for ten thousand dollars, being supposed to be the greatest price ever given for an animal in Europe or America. On June 20, 1797, Champlin tells us, she passed through New York on her way to Boston. In 1806 we find her again in New York, at No. 8 Cedar Street. She is announced as on a flying visit, intending to leave town the same evening, no doubt on her summer travels. Of her further history we have no knowledge—it should be written. Of “Jumbo,” however, it may be said that, though last, he is not least.

S.

GATES' HEADQUARTERS AT SARATOGA—According to Wilkinson, Gates had his headquarters in “A small hovel, about ten feet square, at the foot of a hill, out of which it had been partially dug; the floor had been prepared by nature; while in one corner four forks with cross-pieces supported the boards which received the general's pallet.”

The author of “Burgoyne's Campaign,” 12mo, Albany, 1877, following the above statement, says this hole (for such it literally must have been from the description) was on the river road leading from Schuylerville to Stillwater, on the west side of the road, about 150 rods south of Fish Creek. What induced Gates to select this cavern we are not informed by either of these writers. Dr. Lossing, in his *Field Book*, says that the headquarters of Gates was the house of a widow Kershaw, who was amply compensated by Gates for his temporary occupation of it. This house (of which there is an excellent

picture in the first volume of the *Field Book*) still stands on the east side of the river road, by the margin of the Champlain Canal, a little way below Schuylerville.

C. A. C.

GIFT FROM ULSTER COUNTY, N. Y., TO BOSTON—*Extract of a letter from a gentleman in Ulster County to his friend in Newport, dated October 29:*

“Our people in this county are making up something for the support of the poor in Boston. Our neighbors in general have subscribed some 2, some 3 bushels of wheat; and George Clinton, Esq., has offered to grind, bolt, and pack all on free cost that they will send to his mill (on the bank of Hudson's river) and it is thought that there will be between 4 and 500 barrels of flour sent from this county to Boston.”—*The Newport Mercury*, Nov. 22, 1774.

PETERSFIELD

WASHINGTON AS A POET—M. d'Haussonville, one of the French visitors at the Yorktown celebration, writes pleasantly, and semi-officially, we may say, as representative of the party, of his experiences in the United States. His account appears in the February and March numbers of the “*Revue des Deux Mondes*.” The presence of the German visitors, the Steuben officers, seems not to have been exactly relished. In the “*Revue*” for March 15 d'Haussonville contributes the following sonnet, which he copied from Washington's papers at the State Department, an evidence that the “Father of his Country” was like some other men, at least on one occasion. He was guilty of

poetry—the old, old subject, “heart” and “dart :”

“ Oh ye Gods why should my poor resistless heart  
Stand to oppose thy might and power, .  
At last surrender to Cupid’s feather’d dart,  
And now lays bleeding every hour,  
For her that’s pitiless of my grief and woes,  
And will not on me pity take,  
I’ll sleep amongst my most inveterate foes,  
And with gladness never wish to wake.  
In deluding sleepings let my eyelids close  
That in an enraptured dream I may  
In a soft lulling sleep and gentle repose.”

TO WASHINGTON — If this illustrious man suffered from the pangs of his own verses, what must he have suffered from the poetic effusions of others? The following is from Dr. Solomon Drowne, to his sister, Miss Sally Drowne :

\* \* \* \* \*

A Day or two after

By curiosity led forth (all conquering  
Power) my willing Feet transferred me where  
I might survey America’s great Patriots  
Retire from weighty Council.—A Prospect  
Glorious !—At the pleasing View, how glow’d  
My Bosom !—As many, as the Weeks  
The Year contains, so many constitute  
Th’ illustrious Band.—With manly gait,  
His faithful Steel suspended by his Side,  
Pass’d W-shi-gt-n along, Virginia’s Hero,  
\* \* \* much is wanting \* \* \*

I am in great Haste, and can go no further in this heroic and truly sublime Strain. I have not even time to give the lines their proper measure. This Col. W-shi-gt-n is a man noted as well for his good sense, as his Bravery. I heard, he said, he wished to God! the Liberties of America were to be determined by a single Combat between himself and G——e. \* \* \* \* \*

PHILADELPHIA, Octo. 5, 1774.—Farewell.

[Addressed] To Miss Sally Drowne, Providence.

THE OLD BAYARD MANSION, NEW YORK CITY—This ancient country seat, on the corner of 111th street and First avenue, is still in good condition, and has been for the last twenty years the family residence of John Balmore, Esq., Superintendent of the Harlem Gas Company Works. It is a large, roomy, two-and-a-half story frame house, yellow-painted, stands on a portion of the original spacious home-lot, with several large old shade trees around, *e.g.*, elm, horse-chestnut, sycamore, etc. It is said to be over a century built, and evidently of the best materials. The shingling of red cedar is thought never to have been renewed. The earliest remembered occupant of this house—by Mr. Gown, the oldest living Harlemite known—was not a Bayard, but Henry G. Livingston, who afterwards built in Harlem Lane—now St. Nicholas Avenue—and died there. Next came Captain Bradish, a Southerner, who had a large plantation in Louisiana. He subsequently rented the place to a Mr. Seaman, after which it was sold to the Gas Company. In the Valentine City Manual of 1862 there is said to be an account of this house and property. Probably some reader of this Magazine can give their record, *ex origine*. W. H.

New York, April, 1882

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT [VIII. 222] —The House of Representatives has cheerfully voted to deliver to the Saratoga Monument Association a number of the cannon captured from Burgoyne in 1777, now on hand at the Watervliet Arsenal, West Troy, N. Y. The bill for this purpose, which was introduced by Hon. S. S. Cox, authorizes the transfer of

“four twelve-pounder guns, one eight-inch howitzer, one twenty-four-pounder howitzer, one eight-inch mortar, and one twenty-four-pounder mortar, all bronze.” The Secretary of War is directed to mount the four twelve-pounders on suitable carriages before their delivery, which Mr. Cox understands to mean “in the old English style, precisely as they were when captured.” There can hardly be any question of the Senate’s concurrence. These interesting relics will add much to the attraction of the Monument grounds.

THE PORTRAIT OF LA SALLE—The present number of the Magazine contains the portrait of Cavalier de La Salle, of Rouen. So far as we know the portrait of the distinguished explorer has never been engraved in this country. That which we present is engraved from a photograph of an original painting, furnished by M. Gabriel Gravier, of Rouen, who has devoted a volume to the voyages of La Salle. It will, no doubt, be duly prized by collectors. It is now engraved and correctly delineated for the first time.

GARFIELD POSTAGE STAMP—In substituting the head of Garfield for that of Zachary Taylor on the five-cent postage stamp, the postal department has done something more than honor the memory of the late President, as others have been in the same manner. The five-cent stamp is the international stamp, and Garfield’s portrait fitly adorns it as a familiar recognition of the universal sympathy expressed by all nations in our loss. The list of distinguished heads on our postage stamps now includes Washington,

Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Lincoln, Jackson, Webster, Clay, Scott, Perry and Garfield. Taylor for the time being disappears.

SIR HENRY CLINTON AT WEST POINT—The statement made by Clinton, in connection with André’s case, that he had himself been “over every part of the ground on which the forts stood” at West Point, and had become “perfectly acquainted with everything necessary for facilitating an attack upon them,” has excited curiosity as to the time when he could have been there. The only opportunity offered was the occasion of his capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, in October, 1777, which, it appears, he improved, although the fact is not mentioned in our histories. An English officer, who was on the expedition, says in his diary, lately published: “These two forts [Clinton and Montgomery] being taken, a third, called Fort Constitution some miles up the river, remained. No time was lost; 1,200 men were embarked, and the command given to Genl. Tryon. Notwithstanding which, Sir Henry Clinton, from his great zeal, went on this expedition, attended by Lords Tho. Clinton, Rawdon, and Cathcart, and the Hon. Capt. Stanley, who have distinguished themselves most remarkably during the whole of this affair.” Fort Constitution was found deserted, and the expedition returned, Clinton taking the occasion to examine West Point and vicinity.—*Journal in “Evelyns in America.”*

JUDGE JONES vs. MONTRESOR—As furnishing food for diversion and criticism,

Judge Jones' loyalist history of New York has already received considerable attention from one source or another. The amusing situations into which the author thrusts himself seem to multiply as new facts come to light. To wit, in vol. i., p. 347, he consigns the British Captain Montresor, Howe's Chief Engineer, 1776-78, to infamy, in asserting that, by making certain changes in the defences of New York, he pocketed £100,000, and then returning to England, "purchased one of the genteelest houses in Portland Place, a noble country-seat in Surrey, set up his carriages, had a house full of servants in rich livery, and lived in all the splendour of an Eastern prince." All unconscious, however, of what the terrible Judge was saying of him, Montresor, it seems, was, at about the same time, haggling with fortune over the outrageous treatment he had received from her. His refrain is base ingratitude. Twenty-four campaigns had he served in America, many works had he built, none of which were ever taken, wounds had he received, faithful had he been, property had he lost, and yet he complains that his last years were full of vexation and disappointment. These, for instance, are some things he notes in a journal which has lately appeared in Scull's "Evelyns in America.:"

"I lost two Brothers in the Service of this Country, and a Father [Col. James Montresor], who broke his heart in his Retreat, for being neglected and deceived by his Majesty's Deceitful Servants; and my wife lost her Father and a Brother in its Cause, and her numerous Relations reduced from Opulence to Poverty for their Loyalty and attachment to the Crown of Great Britain. . . . I took no allowance

for Quarters as my Predecessors, as receiving Field Pay, I thought it was not my Right, and so the Precedent became lost to my successors. . . . 32 years in the Service, and obliged to quit with a Captain's Rank. 6 times lost my baggage and as many times wounded. I have never had any Restitution from Government for my losses, as House and property on the Island [Randall's], Dwelling and Store Houses on Cruger's wharf by the Fire at New York. Lost my baggage 6 times, &c, for all received £1000 from the American Claim Office . . . . Was an *Independent* man before the Rebellion, have now all my Collateral Connections to maintain, and tormented by a Court of Inquisition at Creditor's Office."

Montresor clearly should have a hearing. . . . J.

THE RED HOUSE, FORT EDWARD, N. Y. — "This house was built by Patt Smith, a half-pay officer, about 1765; and so sparse was the population that he went to Salem, fifteen miles distant, for help to raise it. The Baroness Riedesel was here in 1777, in Burgoyne's army. She calls it the 'red house'—the ends and kitchen were red, but the front was then, and is now, yellow. It is a large two-story building with a Dutch roof, between the canal and the river, south of the bridge across the creek about forty rods and about a quarter of a mile south-east of the fort. Here Washington dined on his way to Lake George in July or August, 1783, and breakfasted as he returned. It was then occupied by Colonel Sherwood. Here the courts of the county were held for fifteen or twenty years. It is in

pretty good repair. This house, one near the fort, and another small one just south of the Rogers house, where Jenny McRae was staying, were all the buildings at Fort Edward in 1777."—*New York Mirror* for August 15, 1835.

GENERAL HORATIO GATES—Various conflicting statements are made as to the parentage and early life of this officer. Irving (Wash., i., 449) says: "Gates was an Englishman by birth, the son of a captain in the British army. Horace Walpole, whose Christian name he bore, speaks of him in one of his letters as his godson, though some have insinuated that he stood in filial relationship of a less sanctified character." Now the date usually given as the year in which Gates was born is 1728, while Walpole was born in 1717, consequently Gates could not have been the latter's son, nor, indeed, even his godson.

Irving, it will be observed, makes him out the son of a British army officer. Drake (Dict. of American Biography) says he was the son of a clergyman, while Mr. Winthrop Sargent (Hist. of Braddock's Expedition, 8vo, Phila., 1855, page 106) says: "Gates is said to have been the son of a respectable victualler in Kensington and the godson of Horace Walpole. This latter fact may account for Walpole's knowledge of the details of the interview with Newcastle, which he certainly did not arrive at through the minister himself." C. A. C.

PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.  
To all whom it may concern.

Notice is hereby given that a Court of Admiralty will be held at the State

house, in the city of Philadelphia, on Wednesday, the 24th of October next, at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, for the Trial of the private armed schooner or vessel called the General ARNOLD, burthen about fifty tons, lately commanded by James Watson, taken at sea on a cruise from New York, sent into this Port and libelled against by Charles Wells, (qui tam &c). To the end that all persons concerned may appear and show cause, if any there be, why a decree should not pass pursuant to the prayer of the libel &c.

By order of the Judge,

JAMES READ, Register.

October 19, 1781.

—*The Pennsylvania Packet*, October 23, 1781.

Yesterday arrived here the ship Nonsuch Captain Wells, from Nantes, which she left the beginning of September, when the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of forty odd sail of the line, were at sea, and had perfect possession of the British Channel; the fleet of which nation were in port, not being in a condition to oppose their enemies.

The Nonsuch a few days ago took and brought on with her the privateer, General Arnold, belonging to New York.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, October 20, 1781.

THE SHAWANESE NAME FOR THE OHIO—Colonel John Johnston is given as authority in "Howe's Ohio Historical Collections," p. 574, for the following statement: "The Shawanoese called the Ohio River *Kis, ke, pi, la Sepe*, i.e., "Eagle River." Rev. David Jones, in his "Journal of Two Visits made to some Nations of Indians

on the West Side of the Ohio River, in the Years 1772 and 1773," under date of June 2, 1773, says: "The Shawanees call it Pellewaa Theepee, *i.e.*, Turkey River." On Lewis Evans' "Map of the Middle Colonies," published in 1755, the Shawaneese, it is stated, called it Palawa Thepiki. This is repeated on Gov. Pownall's Map of 1776. Col. Johnston was very unreliable. It was he who discovered the Commander-in-Chief's [Washington's] guard was commanded by Major Von Heer, and composed entirely of Germans who could not understand a word of English!

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

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### QUERIES

WASHINGTON ON GAMBLING—Washington's order against profanity in camp is familiar. Has the following against gambling appeared in print before?

"G. O.—Morris Town, Head Quarters,  
" May 8<sup>th</sup>, 77.

"As few vices are attended with more pernicious consequences in civil life, so there are none more fatal in a military way than that of Gaming, which often brings disgrace & ruin on Officers, & injury and punishment on the Soldiery—And reports prevailing, which it is to be fear'd are too well founded, that this destructive vice has spread its baneful influence in the army, & in a particular manner to the prejudice of the recruiting service,

"The Commander in Chief in the most pointed & explicit terms, forbids all officers & soldiers, playing at Cards, Dice or at any Games except those of

EXERCISE for diversion, it being impossible if the practice be allow'd at all, to discriminate between innocent play for amusement & criminal gaming for pecuniary and sordid purposes.

"Officers, attentive to their duty, will find abundant employment in the training & disciplining their men, providing for them & seeing that they appear neat & clean & soldierlike—nor will any thing redound more to their honor, afford them more solid amusement or better answer the end of their appointment than to devote the vacant Moments they may have to the study of Military Authors.

"The Commanding Officer of every Corps is strictly enjoined to have this order frequently read & strongly impress'd upon the minds of those under his Command. Any officer or soldier or other Person belonging to or following the army, either in Camp, in Quarters, or on the Recruiting Service or elsewhere, presuming under any pretense to disobey this order, shall be try'd by a Gen<sup>l</sup> Court Martial.

"The Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers in each division of the army are to pay the strictest attention to the due execution thereof—The Adjutant General is to transmit copies of this order to the different departments of the army, also to cause the same to be immediately published in the Gazettes of each state for the information of the officers dispersed on the recruiting service."—*From Col. Febiger's MS. Order Book.*

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HUDSON RIVER—Can any one tell when the name of Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was first applied to the North River?

MANHATTAN



THE MOST POPULAR POET—I wish to know which of the American poets has found the largest sale for his works, or for any one or two volumes.

MANHATTAN

KING'S CHAPEL—It is said in Greenwood's "History of King's Chapel" that the society which originally occupied the building was the first Episcopal Church in New England. "The Memorial History of Boston" repeats the statement. Upon what is the notion based?

CHAPEL

COL. THOMAS A. FOSTER, of the British Army in America, 1772, married Rachel, daughter of Nicholas Van Dyke, Esq., of New Castle, Delaware. Whether he was in the British Army during the Revolutionary war I have no means of knowing. His ring and shoe buckles are now in the possession of his great-grandnephew, the Rev. K. J. Stewart, of Delaware. Can any one add to the above facts about Col. Foster or his descendants?

H. E. H.

THE COMMAND AT BUNKER HILL—In the MAGAZINE [VIII. 303] the question of the command at Bunker Hill is brought up, and according to the inscription quoted, the command was held by Prescott. Yet, according to another statement [VIII. 124], Putnam seems to have "ye command." Is not this testimony decisive?

CHARLESTOWN

FIRST MENTION OF "AMERICA"—Has any reader of the American Historical Magazine ever seen the "Monasticon Anglicanum," quoted by Beamish in his

version of Rafn's "Antiquitates Americanæ," as containing the first mention of the name "America"? Broughton, an old church writer of a life of St. Patrick, mentions the fact, it is said, and if the statement be correct, that fact is one well worth investigation. I have not been able to find the "Monasticon," and am not sure that it is among the books of the Astor Library. Some reader of these pages may have some more certain information on the subject and be willing to communicate it.

VERB. SAP.

WASHINGTON'S MILITARY FAMILY—[VII. 94]—In an old Order Book, under date of September 6, 1777, "Head Qrs. Wilmington," is the following: ". . . John Lawrence [Laurens] & Peter Prestly Thornton, Esq<sup>rs</sup> are appointed extra A: Du Camps to the Commander in Chief—all orders therefore through them in writing or otherwise are to be regarded in the same light as if proceeding from any other of his A. D. C. . . ."

Again, on October 6, 1777: "Head Qrs. Parcaoman": ". . . . John Lawrence appointed on the 6<sup>th</sup> of Sep<sup>r</sup> extra Aid de Camp to the Commander in Chief is now appointed A. D. C. to him & is to be respected & obeyed as such. . . ."

A Prestly Thornton appears as Cornet on the return of Baylor's Third Regiment Light Dragoons for September 18, 1778 (see General Stryker's "The Massacre near Old Tappan," p. 11. Trenton, 1882). Another Cornet was Perigrine Fitzhugh, who, according to General Stryker, was killed September 27th,

at the massacre. The query is then suggested, Who was the Perigrine Fitzhugh who became Washington's Aid in July, 1781?

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### REPLIES

THE MISSISSIPPI AGAIN—In his reply to my article [VIII. 226], "Alpha" [VIII. 294] concedes that the Spaniards were early on the Gulf of Mexico, and says: "undoubtedly the Spaniards skirted the Gulf coast long before the French even set foot in Canada." The French, however, were in Canada not later than 1508. I prefer my "beyond question," where I say that the French explorers were familiar with the "Histoire Universelle," to Alpha's "undoubtedly;" for the reason that the French, if they did not know that common book printed in their own tongue, were very dull. The book is well known even to-day; while the "Rio de S. Spirito" was known in French Cartology for more than a century before the French began to explore the Mississippi, having been noticed as early as 1563, if not earlier. Delta says that the French Missionaries "seem to be entirely silent about the doings down at the Gulf," while they recognized the Indians in the whole matter. This was natural. The Indians were recognized of necessity; while necessity demanded that they should ignore the Spaniards, as they were engaged in establishing an exclusive claim for France. In no case, however, did the French intimate that they were the first to make the existence of the river known to the European world. It was

simply the possession of the Mississippi Valley that they aimed at. Yet only in a sense were they "silent about the doings down at the Gulf," since Joliet tells us on his map that the Europeans were on the Gulf, while the French were in constant fear of being massacred by them. I hold, then, that "beyond question" the French explorers were familiar with maps found in every library. While the French explorers endeavored to keep their rivals in the dark, they themselves sought out every possible source of information respecting North America. We even hear of such a man as Hennepin hiding behind a tavern door, in order to listen to the conversation of returned sailors, hoping thereby to pick up information. Joutel confesses the truth where, on his own map, he lays down the "Bay of the Holy Ghost," which appears near the river on the early maps. Joutel's map, 1713, is said [VIII. 185] to be "among the earliest" to indicate the delta. This is a mistake, as it was indicated in the same way, by an island, on a Dutch map of 1671, and I know not at present how much earlier. This was eleven years before La Salle reached the delta. I do not feel certain, however, that the islands in question on the two maps were intended to indicate the delta. It seems to the writer that the reference of Governor Dongan to the exploration of La Salle is more curious than pertinent, as Dongan was "beyond question" familiar with Ogilby's "America," which showed "Rio de S. Spirito," the book having been in the possession of New York for no less than fifteen years. Dongan speaks of "a great river discovered by one Lassal," but by this he simply meant

the *exploration* of the river, that being the sense in which the word was then used; and he says that he is ready to "send a sloop or two from this place [New York] to discover that river."

What La Salle and his compatriots did was to demonstrate anew the continuity of the water-route from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. Dongan's alarm grew out of this fact, as he saw that the French would try to cut off England from the interior. Prior to the exploration of La Salle, as Dongan looked upon the well-known map indicating the Father of Waters under the name of "Rio de S. Spirito," he may have been skeptical respecting its existence; for though the river was in the maps, there were no glowing accounts of its discovery. From an examination of the narratives of the period, it would appear as though the Spaniards had suppressed the descriptions of the Lower Mississippi Valley. At all events, little or nothing was known by the English. It was so with the discovery of the sources of the Nile, which event was achieved in the middle ages, when the great lakes of Africa were reached and laid down. Then followed a season of ignorance, and men looked upon the map of Africa and refused to believe its story. At last Livingstone and his fellow-workers penetrated to the interior, and proved that what the old maps taught was true. The same, at no distant period, may be recognized as the case respecting the Mississippi. The "Histoire Universelle," in delineating the "Rio de S. Spirito," points to what was with many a kind of lost knowledge. It was for the French to revive this knowledge, though in the lust for con-

quest and dominion they remained silent respecting the claims of others.

In treating this subject, we must throw aside old prejudices, and look fairly in the face of the question, instead of being led slavishly by those who have hitherto trumpeted their monopoly of this subject, yet who, with all their assumption of superior knowledge, have studied only one side, and are, if they did but know it, simply blind leaders of the blind.

DELTA

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THE MILITARY QUAKER—In response to the query on this subject [VIII. 53], I would say, that the French preacher among the Friends in 1797 was Dr. John De Marsellac, a Frenchman of noble birth, who in early life served as a captain in a regiment of horse. He heard of Friends among his military associates, and in 1778 left the army and joined in membership with a small company of Friends at Congenies, in the South of France. He subsequently came to this country, remaining here several years as a preacher. American Friends do not seem to have doubted his sincerity, but after the establishment of the Empire he withdrew from his Quaker profession, and returning to Paris, accepted a situation under Napoleon, in one of the French hospitals.

W.

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WESLEY AS A BISHOP—Among the queries in your number for March, 1882, a correspondent inquires what authority there is for the assertion, occasionally heard, that John Wesley at some time received consecration as a Bishop. It is well known that in the latter part of his career he performed acts in his denomi-

nation which, according to Episcopalian opinions, could be lawfully done only by a prelate; and a rumor got afloat that Wesley had obtained ordination as a Bishop at the hands of a Greek prelate, Erasmus of Arcadia, then on a visit to England. The story of Wesley's Greek ordination was at that time extensively believed by his followers, and probably is by many of them to this day. If Wesley had such ordination, he never openly claimed the rank it aimed to confer, for that would have made him amenable to the Ecclesiastical Court of England for an act of usurpation. I have seen it asserted in an old Methodist work, the title of which I do not remember, that when inquiry was made of Wesley concerning his authority for ordaining elders or presbyters, he replied: "My acts speak for themselves, as showing that I have a right to do what I have done, but while the law of the land continues as it is, I cannot make known the source of my authority." The author of the book I refer to believed fully in the reality of Wesley's Greek episcopal ordination.

Southey, in his life of Wesley, relates that the latter really procured from Erasmus ordinations for several Methodist elders, and was willing to accept for himself consecration as Bishop from the same source, but that the Greek declined giving it, because the rules of his church required the joint action of more than one prelate to create an equal. It is possible, however, that under the circumstances his scruples were eventually overcome. If so, both Wesley and his ordainer would be likely to keep the matter out of sight, as each was transgressing conventional regulations of his own church, for an object

that perhaps justified the act to both. At the time here referred to, many persons in England doubted that Erasmus was what he claimed to be; but it was afterwards ascertained that he was really a prelate of the Greek Church.

Wesley never got rid of the High Church notions in which he was reared. He believed in Apostolical succession as firmly as he did in witchcraft; and those who discredit the story of Oriental authority suppose that he justified his ordaining acts to himself by a belief in his own inspiration; but as his mind was evidently more controlled by traditionary doctrines and beliefs than by spiritual self-conceit, I consider the Greek ordination theory more feasible than that of imaginary inspiration. If the former story was true, there was reason for secrecy; if it was false, there was no sufficient reason for giving countenance to a false impression by silence, nor do I believe Wesley would have done it.

R. M. P.

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DUEL OF GATES AND WILKINSON [VI. 60, VII. 65, VIII. 298]—In my reply printed in *THE MAGAZINE* for July, 1881, the localities are a little mixed. Please state that the first meeting occurred at York, Pa., Feb. 24, 1778. The second meeting, Sept. 4, 1778, when the duel took place, was near White Plains, Westchester Co., N. Y. Gen. Gates designated the ground at Col. Thomas', on King Street in Harrison's Purchase, as a suitable place to meet the newly fledged brigadier.

W. K.

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THE MAYFLOWER [VIII. 293]—It is called by some "Ground Laurel," by others "Trailing Arbutus," and in New

England, especially in the eastern part, the "Mayflower." It is a great favorite, on account of its beauty, its delicate fragrance, and because it is among the earliest flowers that appear. In ordinary seasons, the first of May is as early as the weather and the ground are in a condition to permit excursions in the fields and forests for pleasure. It is a custom for young people to make up parties for that purpose on the first of May. Such excursions are called "going Maying." A prominent object of search at such times is the *Epigwa*, with which they crown their May Queen, and these associations have given the name of "Mayflower" to this beautiful plant, which they frequently exhume from the snow, though, on the first of May. There is no reason to believe the name has any connection whatever with the ship that brought over the pilgrims.

O. R. WILLIS

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## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular monthly meeting took place Tuesday, May 2d, President De Peyster in the chair. Mr. Jacob B. Moore, Librarian, acknowledged a variety of donations, and the Executive Committee reported that the trustees of the estate of the late Louis Durr had offered to the Society a collection of paintings, about two hundred in number, on the condition that they should be kept together and be known as the "Durr Collection." The Society voted to accept the trust. It is understood that the sum of about eight thousand dollars has also been provided to put the pictures and frames in condition.

This addition to the Society's collections will necessitate renewed efforts to acquire a new building. The Executive Committee, to which the subject had been referred last November [VII. 467], also reported the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That a communication be addressed by the Society to the Mayor and Common Council of this city, calling attention to the approach of the centennial anniversary of the evacuation of the City of New York by the British troops, November 25, 1783, reciting the historic importance of that event as closing the War of Independence, and expressing the desire of the Society to co-operate with the public authorities in a suitable celebration of its centennial anniversary."

This recommendation will doubtless be acted upon by the city authorities, as the event to be celebrated is of national importance.

The regular business being finished, a paper was read by Dr. B. F. De Costa on "The Discovery of the Hudson," in which it was shown that the suggestion broached at a previous meeting of the Society to the effect that the name "River of the Mountains" was applied in recognition of the de la Montaigne family, was unfounded, the name having been given long before any permanent colonists reached New York. At the conclusion the following points were summed up:

1. That the original name of the river now known as the Hudson was the River of St. Anthony, a name given not later than 1527.
2. That this name was given by the Spaniards.
3. That the name River of the Moun-

tains was given in 1529, either to the Penobscot or one of the rivers near Penobscot Bay, on account of the mountainous appearance of the coast.

4. That early in the seventeenth century, after the course of the Hudson was known to lie through the Highlands, it was called the River of the Mountains, though the Dutch called it "Mauritius" in honor of Prince Maurice.

5. That the Dutch distinctly declare that it was so called on account of "some mountains."

6. That the river was a common resort from the time of Verrazano, 1524, until its permanent occupation by Europeans.

7. That we know from official Dutch testimony, supported by the testimony of William Bradford, the second Governor of Plymouth Colony, that the Dutch regularly visited here before the voyage of Henry Hudson, thereby establishing a certain claim to the territory, which was not formally relinquished until the surrender of New York to the English in the year 1673.

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KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY--This society is an association of private citizens chartered by the State, doing its work for the State, and supported in its work chiefly by State appropriations. It is governed by a special law of the State, defining its duties and obligations, and its library and collections are the property of the State, kept in the State Capitol in rooms specially provided. The society was formed with the thought of collecting the materials of the history of the peculiar struggle that the people of the Territory went through in settling the question as to whether Kansas should

become a free State or a slave State. But its work has grown, through the encouragement given it, to comprehend that of making up a full general library of history, science, public documents, and social advancement. At the last annual meeting, the Secretary, Judge F. G. Adams, presented a full report, published in the *Topeka Commonwealth*, showing the following results: Additions to the library proper: books, 414; pamphlets, 1,127; newspaper files, 375; manuscripts, 475; total, 2,391. Other accessions: pictures, 72; pieces of currency, scrip, etc., 30; coins and medals, 8; Indian and Mound Builders' relics, 666; miscellaneous relics and contributions, 109.

The first issue of "Transactions," an octavo of three hundred and twenty-eight pages, contains volumes one and two, covering the period of 1875-78, inclusive, and treating such subjects as The Newspaper History of Kansas, The Wyandotte Convention, Early Military Posts, Missions, and Camps. The society is doing an admirable work, and has a vast, interesting, and important field.

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NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, May 12th, President Drowne in the chair, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb read a very entertaining and useful paper on "The Van Rensselaer Manor," and its connection with the history of New York, tracing a series of events and a line of descendants to the present time; the story abounding in the romantic and picturesque. The old Manor House, which appears dignified even in its state of desertion, still stands at Albany.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

THE DOMESTIC AND ARTISTIC LIFE OF JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, R.A., with Notices of his Works and Reminiscences of his Son, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. By his granddaughter, MARTHA BABCOCK AMORY. Svo, pp. 478. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co., 1882.

If, in a prophetic vision, Copley had designated Mrs. Amory as his biographer, he could not have made a happier selection among his friends and descendants. The "nothing wanting and nothing to spare" is almost applicable to this book.

It would seem to be true of all great artists, not exactly that they are self-taught—though that consideration is usually claimed by their biographers—but that they know what they know without any teaching at all. Their power to create and produce is born with them, and its development merely awaits their physical growth. Copley as a boy made his own brushes, mixed his own colors, and with their combined use made good pictures before anybody knew that *he* knew anything about pictures; and his earliest productions were masterpieces. Such achievements would be incredible if they were not attested by numerous and indisputable proofs. To the unprofessional mind there would seem to be "something more than natural in this, if philosophy could find it out."

Previous to the publication of the work now before us the mere name of Copley was not unfamiliar to American ears; it was repeated in a general and a sort of traditional way as one of whom the country had reason to be proud; but a man who could say just what Copley had accomplished—who could give the names of his great works—was an exceptional person, even among those who talk learnedly, and perhaps magisterially, of the world's great artists. Yet Copley stood in the front rank of the painters of his day, a day that could boast of West, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and others, as Dr. Bayum Badger would say, "of European reputation."

Copley was born in Boston in 1738; he went to England in 1774, where he ended his days in 1815. The pictures on which his fame principally rests were produced in England. In the general public estimation the "Death of the Earl of Chatham," the "Siege of Gibraltar," the "Death of Major Pierson," and several others, were the most prominent. The Duke of Wellington said of the "Death of Pierson" that it was "the only picture of a battle that he ever saw which ever satisfied him, or displayed the reality of the scene, inasmuch as the artist had attempted to represent *only one* incident, and

but a small portion of the field, the rest being necessarily concealed by smoke and dust."

The entire number of Copley's great pictures is not mentioned in Mrs. Amory's book; but they amounted to scores; and the prices of many of them were almost fabulous for the works of a living artist at a time when pounds sterling were *larger* than they are now. Not less than 1,500 guineas, and sometimes 1,600 guineas, were paid for his pictures. Nevertheless, it is sad to learn that Copley suffered the same misfortune that overtook Sir Walter Scott in the decline of life. Scott, however, had no rich friend to whom he could apply for aid: he had no friend but his own pen and the ready public who were eager to pay for what the pen produced. Copley had a substantial friend in the late Gardner Greene, Esq., of Boston, and the following extract from a letter to Mr. Greene from Copley tells "a whole history":

"LONDON, OCTOBER 2, 1811.

"DEAR SIR: I am extremely concerned to be obliged to write to apologise to you, and to say that it has not been in my power to pay the money that I borrowed from you; and particularly when I am so circumstanced at this time as to be obliged again to trespass on your goodness and to ask if you will advance me an additional sum. My only apology is that the present distressing times render my situation very difficult, and unless I can obtain some assistance to retain my property till a time more favorable for the disposal of it, I feel that the evil will be very great to my family. I anxiously wish to avoid this. The property which I have in the arts I esteem much more than sufficient to pay all that I owe, if it can be retained to a favorable time for the disposal it. If you will have the goodness to advance me the sum of six hundred pounds, I think it will enable me to keep on and avoid the difficulties which press upon me. I shall be much obliged if you will let me have an answer to this as soon as possible," etc.

The reader will note, that in 1811, communication by letter between England and the United States was very different from what it is now, in regard to time. Copley's next letter to Mr. Greene, dated March 4, 1812, begins thus:

"Your favour of January 15th I duly received, wherein you mention you were willing to comply with my request for a farther loan of six hundred pounds," etc.

It will readily be seen, that at the close of 1811, when England, as well as a great part of Europe, was in a death-struggle with Bonaparte, Copley's reference to the difficulty of obtaining a fair price for *pictures* was no ill-founded plea of a man in want of money.

The last of Copley's published works was his famous "Gibraltar," engraved by Sharp, the success of which did not, at the end of life, banish the financial cloud, though the artist left the

world with the highest professional fame, justifying the prediction of his son, afterward Lord Lyndhurst, who said that the artist would one day become known as the father of the Lord Chancellor. The closing chapters of the book are devoted to this distinguished man; and in the correspondence of his niece we find many bright, charming, and womanly pictures of private, social, and public life in England and on the continent. The correspondence scattered throughout the volume is not of equal value, nor is the English invariably perfect; yet the volume is one of permanent value, and one of the most charming that has been published this season.

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**THE SECOND BATTLE OF BULL RUN,**  
 AS CONNECTED WITH THE FITZ-JOHN PORTER CASE: A paper read before the Society of Ex-Army and Navy Officers of Cincinnati, February 28, 1882, by JACOB D. COX, late Major-General commanding 23d Army Corps. 12mo, pp. 124. Cincinnati: PETER G. THOMSON, 1882.

Major-General Jacob D. Cox read, by request, a very interesting paper on this battle, as connected with the Fitzjohn Porter case, before the Society of Ex-Army and Navy Officers of Cincinnati on February 28th last. General Cox writes with the clearness and precision of a true military mind, arranges his facts in logical order, discusses and weighs evidence with great fairness, and in accordance with well-known and long-accepted laws, and carries the reader along with irresistible force to the final conclusion. The loss of this battle was a heavy blow to the country. Had Porter obeyed orders on the 28th and 29th of August he would have joined in the battle, fallen upon the right flank and rear of Jackson's forces, and his whole rebel army would have been crushed before Longstreet and Lee arrived. Instead of this, Porter lay idle within sight and sound of the raging battle, and finally, mistaking for the approach of Longstreet a single regiment of rebel cavalry dragging brush for hours up and down the roads to raise a dust to deceive Porter, he, contrary to orders, withdrew to the rear his whole army corps, forming our left wing, and gave Lee and Longstreet ample time to come to the relief of Jackson, join forces with him, and crush the centre of Pope's army.

Language could scarcely express orders in more clear, explicit, and peremptory terms than were those given in writing by Pope to Porter for the four consecutive days of these operations. The orders were, as demonstrated by General Cox, in no instance obeyed in letter or in spirit; but Porter was constantly disparaging his commander and expressing a desire to be clear of him, and back under McClellan, then held inactive at Alex-

andria, but whose star Porter hoped would soon be again in the ascendant.

He seems never to have been ready; forage, or transportation, or rations, or ammunition, or ambulances, were, according to his own dispatches, always wanting. The weather was perfect, the roads were good, and the country undulating with farms and patches of woodland; yet he found it impossible for three days to move, as ordered, from three to six miles to the front, where the enemy were expected; but could march with expedition and contrary to orders to the rear, toward Alexandria, where McClellan and the commissariat were, and leave Pope and the Army of Virginia to sustain the united weight of the forces of Jackson, Lee, and Longstreet.

A few extracts from Porter's letters, during these three days, shows plainly that he did not wish Pope's campaign to be a success.

On August 26th. Pope ordered him to get his corps into position on the left wing, as a general engagement was imminent. Instead of obeying, he sends in a dispatch to Burnside these words: "Inform McClellan, that I may know I am right." Pope was his commander, not McClellan. On the 27th, Pope ordered him to come forward with his whole corps so as to arrive by daylight the next morning. On the same day Porter writes to Burnside, of the Army of Virginia, to which his corps was then attached, "I wish myself away from it with all our old Army of the Potomac, and so do our companions. . . . If you can get me away, please do so."

On the 28th he writes again: "We are far from Alexandria, considering the means of transportation."

On the morning of the 29th, Pope again ordered him to the front on the left wing, where he could intercept Longstreet. The order closes with the words: "Be expeditious or we shall lose much." Porter had already, at 5.30 A.M., received an order from Pope, saying, "It is very important that you should be here at a very early hour in the morning. A severe engagement is likely to take place, and your presence is necessary." At 6 A.M. Porter wrote to Burnside: "I hope Mac's at work and we shall soon be ordered out of this." At 4.30 P.M., of the same day, Pope ordered Porter "to push forward into action at once on the enemy's flank."

The only response to this seems to have been a decision to march his whole corps to the rear, out of the reach of the enemy, and he writes to McDowell and King: "I have determined to withdraw to Manassas."

The record made at the time, from day to day and hour to hour, on the field, seems fully to justify the strong words of Major-General Cox upon Porter, and upon the movement of his friends to restore him to the army he had disgraced, viz.: "But to vote him a triumph, to record his conduct as the model of chivalry and excellent sol-



diership, to enrich him from the public treasury, to restore him to his rank, to retire him on pay ten times as great as the pension your maimed and crippled comrades of similar grade in this society are receiving, is to do dishonor to every one who really threw his soul into the struggle for his country." D. A. H.

#### THE HOMES OF OUR FOREFATHERS.

Being a Selection of the Oldest and Most Interesting Buildings, Historical Houses, and Noted Places in Rhode Island and Connecticut. From original drawings made on the spot. By EDWIN WHITEFIELD. 4to. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 1882.

This book contains a collection of tinted photolithographic pictures of ancient houses. The representations are neatly executed, their characteristics being well expressed. In turning over the pages of this unique work, many thoughts of the olden times will arise in reflective minds, for though without modern improvements, sewer gas and diphtheria, these old houses stand connected with deeply interesting memories. They were the homes of a remarkable people. In unpretending abodes like these dwelt men and women of no common order, and forth from these ancient portals sons and daughters went to herald those ideas which have done much to make our country what it is. The old houses stand connected with much of what was greatest and best in the early history of the country. The object of this book is to preserve and hand down representations of such homes and homesteads for the edification of future generations. The work appears to have been a labor of love on the part of the artist author, who, with his sketches, gives the dates of some of the more important events in the early history of New England, together with brief notes respecting the old houses and their history. The pages, for the most part, carry two pictures each, though a number have six. The first view is that of "the Bull House," Newport. The author says that this is probably the oldest house now standing in Rhode Island, having been built in 1639: "The above view represents it as it was before the recent changes had been made in it; although it is probable that the roof is more modern than the rest of the house. The greater portion of it is built of stone, and it has been plastered over. It stands on Spring Street."

The next house mentioned is the "Atkinson House," Newport, "with an immense stone chimney, probably built by one of the Easton family, about 1645. We are told that the stones of which the chimney is built are similar to those used in the stone mill.

Among others, we have a view of the Bishop Berkeley house and the Bosworth and Reynold houses at Bristol. Blackstone's grave is also

shown, and the house built by the son of Roger Williams. The Phillips and Updike houses are also noteworthy objects, the latter having been a block-house. The Paine house, Connecticut, stands connected with stories about Captain Kidd. Among the most peculiar structures, perhaps, are the Whitefield and Griswold houses at old Guilford, Conn. There is also a neat representation of the Roger Sherman house, New Haven, the Mortimer house, Middletown, the Relins house, claimed to be the first brick house built in the State of Connecticut brick. The Benedict Arnold house, at New Haven, is not overlooked, with the Winthrop mansion and Hempstead house, New London. There is also the Walcott house, the home of the first governor of Connecticut, at Litchfield. John Brown's birthplace, at Torrington, appears as odd and angular as John Brown himself. These, however, are mere samples of what the book contains, which is one that collectors and others will be glad to have on their shelves.

AMERICAN STATESMEN. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By JOHN T. MORSE, Jr. 12mo, pp. 315. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co., 1882.

The charm of this book lies in its treatment. John Quincy Adams was a giant in his way. Whether Congressman, Cabinet or foreign minister, or President, he was polemic and voluminous. His critics have found him a cumbersome as well as attractive subject, and the compression of a just account of his career and services into a small volume has seemed almost impossible. Mr. Morse has successfully overcome the difficulty, and in the present work has given us all that most men have the leisure to read, and at the same time all that is essential in order to understand the statesman he deals with.

The book treats of Adams in his three distinctive phases—his "Youth and Diplomacy," his record as "Secretary of State and President," and his experiences "In the House of Representatives"—three chapters in all. It is in the last phase that he has made the deepest impression on the average American mind. No historical figure is so popular with us as the man who stands up alone and fights for what he believes to be the right, especially if time endorses him. John Quincy Adams contesting the right of petition on the floor of the House, defying the slave owner, answering, blow for blow, the insolence, threats, and arguments of the Opposition, and then retiring victorious in the consciousness that his public life had been upright, whatever his enemies might say, will be longer remembered than John Quincy Adams, the diplomatist or President. Here, too, all his eccentricities, obstinacy, and bitterness are forgotten.

Mr. Morse, in noticing Adams' Presidential

career, cannot, of course, overlook the point, dwelt on by critics before him, that his subject was the true author of the Monroe doctrine, or at least much more so than Monroe himself. He brings out Adams' Americanism also—an inherited bias—which was quite pronounced, Adams taking no trouble to conceal from European powers his notion that this continent was destined to be absorbed by the United States, and that they must vacate. This destiny we are slowly realizing. This excellent book is one of a series, to be followed by sketches of Hamilton, Calhoun, Jackson, Randolph, Clay, and others.

#### THE MASSACRE NEAR OLD TAPPAN.

By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, ADJUTANT-GENERAL OF NEW JERSEY. Pamphlet Svo, pp. 12. Trenton, 1882.

#### WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION BY THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY IN 1789. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, etc. Svo, pp. 22. Trenton, 1882.

These two pamphlets, printed for private distribution, are the result of quiet research, and, as in the case of the pamphlet on the Jersey troops at Yorktown, noticed last month, bring out new illustrative facts. General Stryker seems not to be content until every authority has been gleaned and every tradition sifted. The account of the surprise and "massacre" of Baylor's Dragoons on the night of September 27, 1778, near Tappan, by the British General Grey, serves to show still more clearly how culpably careless Baylor permitted himself to be on the occasion. What off-set his improvidence, however, was the unnecessarily cruel manner in which the enemy pushed their advantage, giving no quarter to troops who were suddenly startled out of their sleep. Details of the surprise, its exact locality, and other particulars of interest, including a return of the officers of Baylor's corps, make this publication a permanent contribution to the military history of the Revolution.

One of the features of the second pamphlet, "Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1789," is to be found in the biographical sketches of the Matrons who took a leading part in the ceremonies at Trenton. This gives it a decidedly local value. The reception was unique, touching, and historical. If the Commander-in-Chief ever permitted his deeper emotions to express themselves in countenance and word, that was an occasion when he rode under the decorated arch at the Assumpink Bridge, where, twelve years before, in a very dark hour of the war, he risked much to gain much. The memories of Trenton and Princeton must have been vividly recalled to him. Washington's progress is traced from Baltimore, through New Jersey

to Elizabeth Town Point, where the Committee of Congress took him in charge and accompanied him in "a large boat elegantly adorned, and manned by thirteen skilful pilots," up the harbor of New York to the foot of Wall Street. This was April 23, 1789. On the 30th the inauguration took place.

#### THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF BROOKLYN. PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING AND SECOND ANNUAL FESTIVAL. Pamphlet Svo, pp. 72. Brooklyn, 1882.

In a community where a young institution like the Long Island Historical Society can meet with the great success it is now enjoying, it will not be surprising to find other societies favored with an equally remarkable growth. The New England element in Brooklyn is conspicuous, and in 1880 it followed some distinguished examples in other cities by establishing a New England society with the usual end in view, namely—to commemorate the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, to encourage the study of New England history, to establish a library, and to promote charity, good fellowship, and social intercourse among its members. "Any male person of good moral character, who is a native or descendant of a native of any of the New England States, and who is eighteen years old or more, is eligible" as a member, and at the close of the second year the society shows a membership of four hundred and eighteen such "natives" or "descendants," with a balance of \$6,834 in its Treasury. This is, to say the least, eminently satisfactory, and must have accounted in part for the enthusiastic and brilliant proceedings which, as this pamphlet indicates, marked its second annual festival. We have here the speeches in full as delivered by the President, Benjamin D. Silliman, Esq., General Grant, the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, Governor Long, of Massachusetts, the Hon. C. M. Depew, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, President Chamberlain, of Bowdoin College, General Horace Porter, the Rev. Robert Collyer, Hon. Seth Low, the Hon. George B. Loring, and others. The list of honorary, life, and annual members at the end of the pamphlet explains the character and resources the society has so suddenly developed.

#### BATTLE MAPS AND CHARTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, with Explanatory Notes and School History References by HENRY B. CARRINGTON, M.A., LL.D., Colonel United States Army. Svo, pp. 88. New York: A. S. BARNES & Co., 1882.

This work embodies a very happy conception, forming a manual of great usefulness and value.

It is especially designed for teachers, but it will be found very useful in all libraries and general collections. There is a plan of each of the battles treated, the plan occupying a page, with the explanatory letter-press facing it. The letter-press gives the names of the general officers in command on each side, the forces and casualties of the armies opposed, with a brief statement of the different positions; while sixteen school histories are referred to in connection with every battle, the book being equally well adapted to them all. The typography is well calculated to assist the author in his purpose, and altogether General Carrington is entitled to much credit for supplementing his extended work on "The Battles of the American Revolution" by this unique and indispensable manual.

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#### LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS. ABRAHAM

LINCOLN: A Paper by HON. ISAAC N. ARNOLD. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS: A Eulogy by HON. JAMES W. SHEAHAN. Pp. 52. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING CO., 1881.

This is Tract No. 15 of the Fergus Historical Series, published in Chicago. Mr. Arnold's paper was read before the Royal Historical Society, of London, June 16, 1881, and could not have failed to instruct and greatly please his audience as a sketch and tribute coming from one who knew Lincoln well. To the American reader the tract is especially interesting as giving personal recollections and estimate of character founded on personal acquaintance.

Mr. Sheahan's Eulogy consists of extracts from a paper read by him before the Chicago University soon after the death of Douglas in 1861. There can be no doubt of its being a eulogy; but not, therefore, is it the less of a contribution to the history of the times in which the "Little Giant" figured so prominently.

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#### ALFGAR THE DANE; OR, THE SECOND

CHRONICLE OF ASCENDANCE. A tale of the days of EDMUND IRONSIDE. By the REV. A. D. CRAKE. Second Edition. 16mo, pp. 242. New York: J. B. YOUNG & Co., 1880.

This is the second series of tales of which "Edwy the Fair" is the first, and treats of the reign of Ethelbied the Unready, and of the early portion of that of Edmund Ironside, to the time of his division of the kingdom with Canute the Dane, and the latter's succession after the death of Edmund by the hand of the assassin Edric Stream—the period covered being that which elapsed between the years 1002-1018, as appears from the diary of Father Cuthbert, who acts the part of chorus. It will repay the reader, whether he be young or old, to follow the story of the old prior.

STORIES AND ROMANCES. By H. E. SCUDDER. 16mo, pp. 298. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co., 1880.

This collection is somewhat unequal in point of merit, but on the whole has a flavor of originality, and, in some instances, of quaint conceit, which captivates the reader's fancy. We observe that the device of a dumb party has been adopted into the social life of some of our young people, who have, we hope, found in it as much amusement as fell to the lot of the participants in the story "accidentally overheard."

The Rev. Antipas Nigglesworth is a clever psychological study, a materialization of his departed ancestors, whose ghostly persistence is so fascinating that one is glad when he is exorcised by manly flesh and blood.

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#### CURIOUS MYTHS OF THE MIDDLE

AGES. By S. BARING GOULD. 16mo, pp. 453. Boston: ROBERTS BROTHERS, 1880.

With the advent of Christianity all that mighty and graceful host with which mythology had peopled land and sea vanished; but the minds of men, ever prone to superstition, speedily evolved new fables, all of which partook in a greater or less degree of the religious temper of the day.

This book contains the most prominent of those which were current from that haunting shadow, the Wandering Jew, to the legendary Knight of the Swan. The story of Prester John and the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus especially are charmingly told. We can commend the book to the curious in such lore.

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#### ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE TYPE OF

AMERICAN GENIUS. An Historical Romance. By RUFUS BLANCHARD. Pp. 141. Wheaton, Ill.: R. BLANCHARD & Co., 1882.

Many instances in the life of Abraham Lincoln are full of pathos and poetry, but we were hardly prepared to find his whole life made the subject of an elaborate poem. It has been done, however, in fifteen cantos, partly descriptive and partly dramatic. It is quite as readable as the Columbiad of Joel Barlow, and we are sure it will take rank in our libraries as one of the "Curiosities of Literature."

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#### POEMS OF THE PILGRIMS. Selected by

ZILPHA H. SPOONER. 12mo, pp. 99. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 1882.

This is a very dainty volume, printed on the heaviest of tinted paper, and illustrated with cabinet-size photographs of street scenes, buildings, and monuments in old Plymouth town. It forms an interesting souvenir of Plymouth and

the Pilgrims. The publisher's advertisement states that Longfellow is one of the contributors, and accordingly, after admiring the mechanical appearance of the volume, we turned to see what Mr. Longfellow had to say on a subject concerning which we had a distinct recollection of his saying nothing. It is even so, as far as the book is concerned. Poet Holmes, however, is on hand. He is always on hand. Here, as everywhere, too, he does his duty well, the verses being every way creditable; his theme being "Robinson of Leyden," of whose prophecy of a future development of opinion he makes a temperate use; though this has not always been the case with men of his particular school, some of whom have viewed Robinson merely as an embryo ranter. A less celebrated, but bright writer, sings of the "Embarcation." Mrs. Sigourney follows in her well-known strain, being succeeded by Bryant, who essays the golden mean. We have also a poem sung at the first celebration of the landing, in 1769, it being full of liberty and incipient fight. Percival next sings in the traditional style on "New England," supported by Sprague and John Quincy Adams. Passing over some unfamiliar names, we find the poem of Mrs. Hemans, perhaps the most pleasing and meritorious, and certainly the most inspiring poem in the collection, estimated from a verse-maker's view-point. Mrs. Hemans, of course, knew little or nothing of the Pilgrim character and surroundings, teaching as respects their aims that they did not seek any "jewels of the mine," nor "wealth of seas," though, on landing at Provincetown, they immediately began the search for pearls, where Brawnde had searched for them several years before. Still a volume of poems on the Pilgrims would be poor indeed, if confined to the plain facts. The effusive spirit is to be expected and welcomed. As a rule, we have enough of it here, and the writers upon the whole, do ample justice to their themes. There is, however, one exception, which is found in the poem on "Clark's Island," where the advance party which came to Plymouth spent their Sunday. There is hardly a more affecting entry in the whole range of Pilgrim literature than that in Mourt's Journal, where we read, "10. of December, on the Sabbath day wee rested." A poem on "Clark's Island" that ignores this must be wanting indeed. The simple but touching entry shows them as Englishmen of Englishmen, a people, the Hebrews excepted, who alone, under all circumstances, have shown a self-sacrificing reverence for the Day of Rest. Under the circumstances, with such temptation to activity, being environed with distress, their observance of the day was noteworthy and phenomenal, their consistency being equal to the depth of their convictions. After all, historical folk are somewhat cold and literal, and therefore we may also appear consistent in suggesting, even in this con-

nection, that there is really not so much to be said about this subject as connected with Clark's Island; for the reason that one cannot tell at this distant period whether Clark's Island is the island they rested upon or not, as at the time of the Pilgrims, as we know from Champlain and the Dutch, the harbor had two islands, one of which has disappeared. In this connection, however, we are glad to cherish the sentiment of the event, and we would, if it were possible, that the world might be enriched with a complete record of what transpired on that memorable Sunday at the close of 1620. We are sure that much of the spirit of that day is preserved in this tasty little book, which is worthy of a wide circle of readers and of an honored place in Pilgrim literature.

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THE AMERICAN NATURALIST. Philadelphia: MCCALLA & STAVELY. Yearly subscription, \$4.00.

The April number of this publication, which is devoted to the natural sciences in their widest sense, contains an article on "Mound Pipes," by E. A. Barber, and an account of "Mexican Caves with Human Remains," by Edward Palmer. These caves are in limestone cliffs, and the remains are somewhat modern. This periodical gives a careful *résumé* of scientific work done from month to month.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS, AND BULLETIN OF AMERICAN NUMISMATICS AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES. January, 1882. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & CO.

This handsomely printed and valuable quarterly shows a steady growth, and contains material of permanent value. It is ably conducted, chiefly by Mr. Jeremiah Colburn.

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A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. Comprising Brief Descriptions of the Most Important Histories in English, French, and German, etc. For Students, Readers, and Collectors. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D., Professor of History in the University of Michigan. 12mo, pp. 665. New York: HARPER & BROTHERS, 1882.

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THE MAKING OF ENGLAND. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A., LL.D., Author of "History of the English People," etc. With Maps. 12mo, pp. 434. HARPER & BROTHERS, 1882.





John Tyler

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## THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

THE Whig party of 1840 was a party of opposition simply ; it was a unity pieced up by direct admission of contrarieties in the fundamental points of it, which, like the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, might cleave together but could never incorporate. Mr. Webster described it as "a party made up, from the first, of different opinions and principles, of men of every political complexion, uniting together to make a change in the administration. They were men of strong States rights principles, of strong Federal principles, men of extreme tariff and men of extreme anti-tariff notions," constituting, in fine, a political organization of which little could be expected "unless animated by a spirit of conciliation and harmony, of union and sympathy."

Before the Whig convention met at Harrisburg, Mr. Clay, as is well known, was the most popular man in the ranks of the majority element of the party, comprising the old National Republicans of other days ; while John Tyler stood at the head of the minority section, styled strict constructionists or States Rights men ; a class which, though lately allied with the Democrats, had come to view the course of the leaders of that party as more hostile to the reserved powers of the States than the tendencies of those who had been arrayed against them in 1828 on the first election of Jackson. The great rally of the Jeffersonian elements of that time against the National Republicans had swept the country. Jackson, however, lent his favor to a class of men who, by drawing the masses whither they pleased through the great personal popularity possessed by him, strangely impressed upon the party, whose watchword had been "strict construction," the most palpable features of centralization. Prominent among these were Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, Mr. Benton of the Senate, and Mr. Blair, editor of the *Globe*, the central organ of the party in Washington. The proclamation of General Jackson, in 1833, defining the character of the Government in the most national colors, the arbitrary removal of the de-

posits from the United States Bank, the vast extension of executive patronage, the "spoils" doctrine openly avowed by Mr. Van Buren's administration, and the pet scheme of an "Independent Treasury" under executive control, were all so many evidences of this strong national spirit--tending not as now in the direction of the Legislative department but in that of the Executive. The result was a tremendous rupture in the ranks and the incipient formation of the Whig party, in 1834, by the secession of the States Rights element. The Van Buren following became known under the odious name of Loco-focos, and were equally detested by Clay men and Tyler men. The differences animating these two factors of the opposition were too inveterate for a speedy accommodation, and no common candidate could be agreed upon in 1836. In 1839 a desperate effort was made toward concentration of their powers, and detestation of Loco-focoism enabled it to succeed. The friends of strict construction held a private conference with Mr. Clay, and in it he distinctly pledged himself to pursue a practical course upon the subject of the differences existing between them on questions of principle, such as the bank, the tariff, and internal improvements. While not required to change his views upon their expediency or constitutionality, he freely promised, if elevated to the Presidency, to give them the go-by during his term of office. Mr. Tyler, as leader of the States Rights men, was to receive the second office.<sup>1</sup> Thus the understanding between the two was complete. Mr. Tyler attended the convention in the interest of Mr. Clay, and did all he could to secure his nomination. But active agencies were at work which made his efforts in vain. The high tariff party did not like Mr. Clay's course on the compromise act of 1833, and the anti-masons were opposed to him because he was a mason. The dissensions were even greater than those of the Democratic party in 1860, and Mr. Tyler says "a platform would have scattered us to the winds." Mr. Clay's name gave place to William H. Harrison's, on the grounds of *availability*, and the convention adjourned without publishing a platform. Mr. Tyler, on the other hand, not having the same embarrassments to contend against as Mr. Clay, had no difficulty in securing the second prize.

The election followed, resulting in the sweeping victory of the Whigs. The doggerel of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" had greater effect than the celebrated song of "Lillibullero" in 1688. In the letters and speeches of General Harrison, during the canvass, he avowed himself a firm believer in his old views of strict construction, as held in 1800, when he supported the Jeffersonian party of that day. Thus both the new President and Vice-President occupied the anomalous position of hostility to the secret wishes of the majority of their party; and serious consequences en-



sued. For no sooner had the opposition achieved its signal victory over the Democrats, so-called, than Mr. Clay strangely considering himself released from his engagements with the minority element, by his failure to gain the nomination, determined to turn the victory of the whole party to the advantage of his own following by bringing forward the old plans of a Bank, a protective tariff, and internal improvements.

On the inauguration of President Harrison, the White House was constantly beset by a ravenous horde of political advisers. Prominent among those who besieged the new Chief Magistrate was Mr. Clay, who assumed such a domineering and dictatorial air, that the old veteran, in order to preserve some remnant of his former independence, had to severely rebuke him for his freedom. James Lyons, of Richmond, Va., the author of the Virginia Whig address, in a very valuable letter to the *New York World*, of August, 1880, states that "General Harrison told him at his house that Mr. Clay was so violent with him that he was obliged to say to him, 'Mr. Clay, you forget that I am the President.'"

The rush continued; and in one month after his inauguration, worn out by the terrible trials of his position, the poor old man laid down his office for a loftier one on high. His mantle descended upon the shoulders of the less aged and more vigorous Vice-President, John Tyler.

Mr. Tyler, as it was to be expected, almost immediately locked horns with the majority. The old cry was raised by Mr. Clay of a Bank of the United States—though this scheme had been steadily kept out of discussion during the canvass, and never in any way had been an issue in the election. His old friends rallied about him to a man. It was no new taking away of adherents from the President, but it was simply a rallying signal to those who were already, and had been for years, the followers of Mr. Clay. The President was simply where he was before the canvass with his comparatively small party of strict constructionists, now gallantly drawn up against the combined hosts of Federalism and Loco-focoism.

Mr. Lyons thus tells the story of this period: "Mr. Tyler and myself spent the day in discussing the political situation and his duty in respect to the Bank bill. I urged him to approve it upon the ground that it was a question of legal interpretation, and the Supreme Court had been appointed by the constitution to settle such questions. He replied, 'But my oath and speech against the Bank—what will be said of my consistency?' . . . . I afterward talked with Mr. Clay, and found him very violent. He said, 'Tyler dares not resist. I will drive him before me!' To which I answered, 'You are mistaken, Mr. Clay; Mr. Tyler wants to approve the bill, but he thinks his oath is in the way, and I, who know him very well,

tell you that when he thinks he is RIGHT he is as obstinate as a bull, and no power on earth can move him.' ”

The sequel proved that Mr. Clay utterly failed in his “ heading ” and “ driving ” schemes. Mr. Tyler crushed his bank for all time, and proposed his exchequer plan, the very foundation of the present scheme of finance. The National Republicans, or so-called Whigs, suffered severely in the fall elections, and finally Mr. Clay was compelled to abandon his seat in the Senate during March, 1842, bewailing the utter failure of his ambitious plans.

This preface has been drawn out very long, but it is necessary for the reader to have a clear comprehension of the difficulties that surrounded Mr. Tyler, when, at a later date, he took up the question of annexation. He had begun his administration with the settled intention of making Texas a part of the United States as soon as circumstances would permit. That country lay in tempting proximity to us, and had been early settled by emigrants from the States. By the battle of the San Jacinto, April 21, 1836, the Texans had vindicated their claims to liberty and independence, and avenged upon the Mexicans the massacres of the Alamo and Goliad. Wanting, however, in that element of population so necessary to the integrity of her soil, Texas had early turned her attention from motives of interest and favor to terms of a close and intimate character with those happy States she saw so firmly united on the northwest. Having secured the recognition of her independence from President Van Buren, she had, on the 4th of August, 1837, proposed to annex herself to the United States. Mr. Van Buren was probably too much engrossed at that time in his design of the “ Independent Treasury ” to pay much attention to the application, and the cold shoulder was given to the proposition. The question of annexation, however, though cautiously handled by the politicians of that day, was a growing one, and did not fail to impress its importance upon a number of leading men, among whom was Mr. Tyler. During the first two years of his term his time was too much taken up with the tariff question and other important subjects, causing acrimonious discussion, to permit him to force the issue of annexation. Circumstances continued unfavorable, and Mr. Webster, the Secretary of State, was opposed to the policy. In 1842, Texas having once more applied for admission, the danger became imminent, lest disgusted with her treatment she might never again propose terms of annexation. From this time it became the leading question in the mind of the President, resulting in the withdrawal of Mr. Webster, in May, 1843, though on every other question he had agreed with the executive. Hugh S. Legarè was appointed Secretary of State in the place of Mr. Webster, but his early death,

in June, 1843, after scarcely a month of office, led to the reorganization of the cabinet, and the appointment of Abel P. Upshur as head of the State Department. Mr. Upshur had known the President in early youth, and had been a member of the same debating society in Richmond, Va., when John Tyler, Sr., was Governor of the State. A friendship thus early formed had continued unshaken through all the subsequent years, to find a crowning honor in a worthy and intimate association at the head of the Government. Mr. Tyler, as already mentioned, had early seen the advantage to the country of the annexation of Texas, and had only deferred the attempt to consummate the scheme from the embarrassments surrounding him, and from the want of a proper opportunity to force the issue on the attention of the country. Mr. Upshur was one of those who thought that the importance of the acquisition would at all times justify its undertaking, and was, therefore, with others, zealous in the cause—too prone to overlook those circumstances which may render a thing prudent and proper at one time and extremely impolitic at another. It was indeed one of the highest qualities of Mr. Tyler that in every trying position and occasion of his life he ever retained his perfect composure, coolness, and self-possession. He bided his own time as to Texas, and with remarkable discernment he seized the very juncture when success was most likely to smile upon him.

During the summer following Mr. Legarè's death, and after the appointment of Mr. Upshur to succeed him, this juncture presented itself. Texas, disappointed in her hopes of assistance from the United States, and enfeebled by a constant warfare carried on with Mexico since 1836, was beginning to look abroad for protection against the ceaseless assaults of the mother country. France and England were both approached upon the subject, and seemed disposed to lend a willing ear to her application for interposition. England especially was gracious, and the President knew that much reliance could be placed upon the just jealousy entertained by our people against the grasping character of that country to obtain for him an indorsement of his course at their hands. First, the Northeastern boundary and next the Northwestern had occasioned a world of dispute. Each of these great questions, dragging its weary length along, had succeeded in engendering among the masses a strong spirit of apprehension with regard to the restless aggressions of that ambitious and energetic country. The President, with the breadth of views of a statesman and a lover of his whole country, placed the question of annexation upon the broad ground of the importance of the monopoly of the cotton plant to the country, and the present imminent danger that Texas, weakened as she was by constant warfare, "would speedily throw herself in the arms of other nations already

outstretched to receive her and, manacled by commercial treaties or engagements of a more close and embarrassing character, would be not only lost forever to the United States, but become their most dangerous neighbor."

During the summer and early fall of 1843 the President and his able Secretary applied themselves with zeal to perfecting the scheme of immediate annexation. Their proceedings were conducted very quietly, and had in view the future action of the Senate on the point of ratification. Communication was held with those who controlled the action of the Senate, and he was positively and distinctly assured that the treaty when made would be supported by the constitutional majority of the Senate. This assurance came from the "only reliable quarter,"<sup>2</sup> and dispelled from the mind of the President any apprehension that the question would require the interposition of the popular voice, and thus become an engine in the hands of unscrupulous political hucksters to create bad blood and excite evil dissensions. This action of the President puts the lie on those stupid and unfounded charges that pass for history with many, that the Texas question was started by Mr. Tyler with a view to a nomination in 1844. Having in the beginning of his administration, in view of the agitating question of the bank then before the Cabinet, submitted for their decision the propriety of his renouncing in his message all intention to appear as a candidate at the next election for President, and having been only dissuaded from taking this course by their unanimous disapproval of the proposition, he would have been overjoyed at the peaceable and speedy settlement of the question of annexation. Mr. Tyler says :

"No difficulty of serious moment stood in the way of a successful negotiation of the Texas treaty. It required only the assent of the Presidents of the two Republics to negotiate, and the work was all the same as done. The difficulty arose afterwards, and the people had to interpose their authority in order to crown the measure with success, an interposition the necessity for which, I must be permitted to say, had not been anticipated in the remotest degree—nay, had been actually guarded against by assurances from the only reliable quarter that the treaty when negotiated would be ratified by a constitutional majority of the Senate."<sup>3</sup>

The proposition of annexation was made, under the President's direction, by the Secretary of State, on the 16th of October, 1843, and its progress was confined to the knowledge of himself, the President, and the Minister, Mr. Van Zandt. Profound secrecy was enjoined, from the apprehension entertained by the President of a formal protest from Great Britain and France, which might have "involved consequences of serious import." When Congress met, as it did, in December, 1843, the Executive felt it his

duty, without disclosing the actual existence of a treaty, to call the attention of the Legislature, in his annual message, to the belligerent attitude of Mexico, and her cruel and uncivilized policy with regard to Texas. In this he referred to the American Minister's report of the threats made by Mexico in view of the rumored treaty. He said :

“ The United States have an immediate interest in seeing an end put to the state of hostilities existing between Mexico and Texas. They are our neighbors of the same continent, with whom we are not only desirous of cultivating the relations of amity, but of the most extended commercial intercourse, and to practise all the rights of a neighborhood hospitality. Our own interests are involved in the matter ; since, however neutral may be our course of policy, we cannot hope to escape the effects of a spirit of jealousy on the part of both of the powers. Nor can this government be indifferent to the fact that a warfare such as is waged between those two nations is calculated to weaken both powers, and finally to render them—and especially the weaker of the two—the subjects of interference on the part of stronger and more powerful nations ; which, intent only on advancing their own peculiar views, may, sooner or later, attempt to bring about a compliance with terms, as the condition of their interposition, alike derogatory to the nation granting them, and detrimental to the interests of the United States. We could not be expected quietly to permit any such interference to our disadvantage. Considering that Texas is separated from the United States by a mere geographical line, that her territory, in the opinion of many, down to a late period formed a portion of the territory of the United States ; that it is homogeneous in its population and pursuits with the adjoining States, and makes contributions to the commerce of the world in the same articles with them ; and that most of her inhabitants have been citizens of the United States, speak the same language, and live under similar political institutions with ourselves ; this government is bound, by every consideration of interest, as well as of sympathy, to see that she shall be left free to act, especially in regard to her domestic affairs, unawed by force and unrestrained by the policy or views of other countries. In full view of all these facts the Executive has not hesitated to express to the government of Mexico how deeply it deprecated a continuance of the war, and how anxiously it desired to witness its termination. I cannot but think that it becomes the United States, as the oldest of American republics, to hold a language to Mexico upon this subject of an unambiguous character. It is time that this war had ceased. There must be a limit to all wars ; and if the parent State, after an eight years' struggle, has failed to reduce to submission a portion of its subjects standing out in revolt against it, and

who have not only proclaimed themselves to be independent, but have been recognized as such by other powers, she ought not to expect that other nations will quietly look, to their obvious injury, upon a protraction of hostilities. . . . While, therefore, the Executive would deplore any collision with Mexico, or any disturbance of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries, it cannot permit that government to control its policy, whatever it may be, to Texas ; but will treat her—as by the recognition of her independence the United States long since declared they would do—as entirely independent of Mexico.”

In the mean time negotiations had received a temporary embarrassment due to the doubt of the Texas minister, Mr. Van Zandt, with regard to his having full power to complete the treaty. A special messenger was sent to Texas, and the government informed of the renewal of negotiations. President Houston seemed at first disposed to indulge in “coquetry” and “flirtation.” He apparently refused to open the question again, and did not respond at all favorably to the demand of Mr. Van Zandt till popular indignation forced him to think more favorably of the idea. The threatening posture of Mexico tended to embarrass the question somewhat further. A suspension of hostilities had existed between the countries for some time past, but active war was now threatened by Mexico on the inception of any treaty with the United States by Texas. In this state of affairs President Houston was loath to enter upon an act which would make Texas the object of immediate attack, and he demanded from our minister at Galveston, Gen. W. S. Murphy, the assurance of protection on the part of the United States. Gen. Murphy, with a zeal transcending his authority, gave the pledge as required of him, and Col. Henderson was deputed to travel to Washington and unite with Mr. Van Zandt in the consummation of the transaction. Col. Henderson went by St. Augustine, and his journey was necessarily slow. Before his arrival, however, a sad accident had deprived Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, of life, and the negotiations, which he had prosecuted with so much intelligence and ability, were turned over to Mr. Nelson, who was appointed Secretary *ad interim*. On March 11th the President directed Mr. Nelson to reply to Gen. Murphy’s letter but lately received, in which he set forth the constitutional limitations of the executive power in the employment of the forces of the United States. At the same time he did not doubt that the Executive could give within the pale of the constitution a promise of protection after the signature of the treaty and while the same was pending before the Senate for ratification. When, therefore, Col. Henderson arrived and made the promise of protection a condition of the treaty’s consummation, the President considered it prudent

and constitutional to do as required. "It is due to myself," he said, "that I should declare it as my opinion that the United States having by the treaty of annexation acquired a title to Texas, which requires only the act of the Senate to perfect it, no other power could be permitted to invade, and by force of arms to possess itself of any portion of the territory of Texas, pending your deliberations upon the treaty, without placing itself in a hostile attitude to the United States, and justifying the employment of any means at my disposal to drive back the invasion."<sup>4</sup>

Henry A. Wise, in his "Seven Decades of the Union," gives the story of the manner in which Mr. Calhoun came to succeed Mr. Upshur in the office of Secretary of State. The loss of two of his cabinet—Upshur and Gilmer—on board the ill-fated Princeton by the explosion of one of her great guns had filled the country with dismay, and the President with grief and anxious solicitude to fill their posts "with the best and most available talent the country could afford."<sup>5</sup> Mr. Nelson was appointed Secretary *ad interim*, and the negotiations were only prevented from conclusion by the non-arrival of Col. Henderson. Indeed, Mr. Upshur had made the fair official copy of the treaty himself, with his own hand, to be signed by the high contracting parties. Prominent among the friends of annexation, both for his ability and the inveteracy of the antipathy entertained for him by the Van Buren faction of the Democracy and the Clay Whigs, stood John C. Calhoun. He had been for many years previous to 1840 in the ranks of the Opposition, but at this election he had returned to a new association with the Loco-focos, which, by creating new antagonism, redounded very little to his popularity. There were reasons to believe that many in the Senate, who had either expressly or impliedly promised their support of the treaty, would from motives of personal hostility to Mr. Calhoun oppose the measure in the event of his appointment as Secretary of State. Mr. Benton, who headed the Van Buren faction of the Democrats in the Senate, had been conciliated to the administration by the appointment of his son-in-law, John C. Fremont, as the "Pathfinder." Mr. Benton hated Mr. Calhoun, and looked upon him as a rival in the party. He liked Upshur, and would have supported him. Mr. Tyler knew this and believed that another agent might be selected who, if not as talented, might be more popular with the Senate. It was, therefore, not a little to his regret and mortification when his confidential friend, Mr. Wise, in the intensity of his impulsive nature and in the intensity of his admiration for Mr. Calhoun, took the liberty of offering to him, in the President's name, the vacant office of State. The President was thus placed between the two horns of a dilemma. No matter what course he might adopt, annexation was dangerously affected. His repudia-

tion of the hasty and inconsiderate act of his brave, brilliant, and devoted lieutenant—who, as captain of the corporal's guard, had dared the whole force of the Federalists and Loco-focos in his behalf—would offend all parties, Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Wise alike. There was no help for it, and Mr. Calhoun was confirmed by the Senate. Partially estranged from one another by reason of differences in regard to the election of 1840, "My letter," says Mr. Tyler, "inviting him to the cabinet informed him for the first time of the pending negotiations, the knowledge of which had been confined to Mr. Upshur, Mr. Nelson, and Mr. Van Zandt, under injunctions of profound secrecy from the apprehensions of a formal protest from Great Britain and France, which might have involved consequences of serious import." <sup>6</sup>

The treaty was signed April 12, 1844, the preliminaries having been fully completed by Messrs. Upshur and Nelson. Almost simultaneously with the act, in pursuance of the pledge, troops and naval forces were concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico, and a large military force at Fort Jesup on the borders of Texas. A messenger was likewise sent to Mexico in the person of Mr. Ben. E. Green—not to gain the consent of Mexico to the treaty, but to explain to that Government the motives with which this country had adopted the course pursued in forming it. He was directed to assure the Mexican Republic of the desire of the President to settle all questions which might grow out of the treaty on the most liberal terms; and finally, to express the cordial wish of this country to remain at peace and in friendship with Mexico.

On the 22d of April, 1844, the President sent the treaty to the Senate for ratification, accompanying it with an able and elaborate message. It was the signal for a violent explosion against the administration. The "previous assurances" of support were forgotten, and the crowd took the cue from the leaders. Never was the unpopularity of Mr. Calhoun more manifest, and it must be said never did any man adopt a more indiscreet course to obtain the adoption of a great measure. He could talk of nothing but the abolition designs of Great Britain, and their operation as affecting the existence of slavery in the United States. The question in his eyes was one simply of Southern interest, and hence was peculiarly liable to attack. His enemies saw their opportunity and availed themselves of it. Sectional spirit was excited, and the abolition devotees aroused to the highest pitch of frenzy. Politicians, like Mr. Clay, fought shy of a question so calculated to affect their interest, for good or bad, in the coming election, and considered, no doubt, that the best welfare of the Union should be sacrificed than that their own personal advancement should be neglected; while Mr.



Benton, looking to the succession, viewed it as a favorable opportunity to crush his old antagonist by placing the whole burden on his shoulders. Mr. Tyler, with that breadth of mind so characteristic of him on all questions of practical interest, took the only true statesmanlike position. In 1850 he expressed this position as follows, in a private letter to his son, Colonel Robert Tyler :

“ Mr. Webster has sent me his speech on the slavery question in pamphlet with expressions of ‘ cordial friendship.’ I have replied in a brief letter, putting him right on the subject of Texas annexation. My view of that subject was not narrow, local, or bigoted. It embraced the whole country and all its interests. The monopoly of the cotton plant was the great and important concern. That monopoly, now secured, places all other nations at our feet. An embargo of a single year would produce in Europe a greater amount of suffering than a fifty years’ war. I doubt whether Great Britain could avoid convulsions. And yet, with these results before him, Mr. Calhoun unceasingly talked of slavery and its abolition in connection with the subject. That idea seemed to possess him and Upshur *as a single idea*. They are gone to their long homes, and have left but few equals behind in all that is calculated to exalt the character of man. But I do but justice to myself in declaring that my views extended to the great interests of the country and were not confined to a single interest.”

Such were the views of Mr. Tyler, and they are alike honorable to himself and to the country. The patriot must sigh that the views of statesmen have not been always as broad on questions affecting the integrity and the best welfare of the Union. Too often they have condescended to trickery and knavishness, in which all things worthy of estimation have been made the sacrifice to hydra-headed selfishness.

The question of annexation acted as a bomb exploding suddenly in the midst of a quiet neighborhood. Two days before the submission of the treaty, Mr. Tyler wrote : “ Parties are violently agitated, Clay will most probably come out against Texas. If so, he is a doomed man, and then Van will seek to come in on Texas and my vetoes. For that we are ready to do battle.”

Mr. Clay did come out in a few days after in a letter avowing his opposition to annexation, and Mr. Van Buren, having been adroitly questioned, did the same by disclaiming the very platform that might have saved him. He was for annexation when it could be “ peaceably ” accomplished, but deprecated the scheme without the consent of Mexico. Mr. Van Buren had his eye on policy, and, shrewd and wily as he was, he counted for once without his host. Sure, at that time, of a majority of delegates in the non-

inating convention, which was to meet on the 27th of May, he thought that nothing could be gained while much might be lost by espousing annexation. Confident of a nomination, he believed that in refusing to commit himself to the measure his case would be no worse off than that of Mr. Clay, his antagonist, on that point. The letters of Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren put the "spoils" Loco-foco faction of 1840, and the treacherous National Republicans—Whigs, so-called—of 1841, completely within the power of Mr. Tyler. A large element of the Democratic party was in favor of annexation. It consisted, in main, of that strict construction element which, in following Mr. Calhoun back to the Democratic name in 1840, were adverse to Mr. Van Buren as a man, but believed in the hard money idea of the Sub-Treasury. The question of annexation afforded an opportunity of the union of the strict-constructionists, both Whig and Democratic, so-called, a union which had been disrupted by the rise of Van Burenism, which, professing Jeffersonian principles, went to the extreme of centralism. The union of these two elements afforded the hope of the repudiation of Loco-focoism and the restoration of the true Democratic party of 1828. Mr. Tyler thus tells the tale in a confidential letter published in the *Atlantic Monthly* for November, 1880:

"Texas was the great theme that occupied me. The delegates to the Democratic Convention, or a very large majority of them, had been elected under implied pledges to sustain Van Buren. After his letter repudiating annexation a revulsion had become obvious, but how far it was to operate it was not possible to say. A majority of the delegates, at least, were believed still to remain in his favor. If he was nominated the game to be played for Texas was all as one over. What was to be done?

"My friends advised me to remain at rest, and take my chances in the Democratic Convention. It was impossible to do so. If I suffered my name to be used in that Convention, then I became bound to sustain the nomination, even if Mr. Van Buren were the nominee. This could not be. I chose to run no hazard, but to raise the banner of Texas and convoke my friends to sustain it. To my surprise, the notice which was thus issued brought together a thousand delegates, and from every State in the Union. Many called on me on their way to Baltimore to receive my views. My instructions were: 'Go to Baltimore, make your nomination, and then go home and leave the thing to work its own results.' I said no more, and was obeyed. A Texas man or defeat was the choice left—and they took a Texas man. My withdrawal at a suitable time took place, and the result was soon before the world. I acted to insure the success of a great measure, and I acted not altogether without effect. In so doing I kept my

own secrets. To have divulged them would have been to have defeated them."

The Whig Convention had met on May 1st, shortly after Mr. Clay's letter, and nominated its writer. Blind to the future, he was a doomed man, indeed; for the floods were gathering around him, guided by the hand of the man whom he had betrayed and proposed to "drive." The Democratic Convention met in Baltimore on May 27th, and at the same time and place the friends of Mr. Tyler held their Convention. The Democrats, alarmed at this manifestation, which threatened wholesale desertion from their ranks, hastily abandoned Mr. Van Buren, and nominated, in the person of James K. Polk, a man committed to the cause of annexation. The grip of Loco-focoism was released from the throat of the Democratic party, and it rose strong and mighty in the general union of the Jeffersonian elements of the country.

A few days after, the Senate voted upon the question of ratification of the treaty, and, as might have been expected from the condition of politics, with Mr. Clay and Mr. Van Buren both opposed, and Mr. Calhoun raving about slavery and thus exciting distrust in the Northern mind, and interested rivals in the Democratic ranks, like Mr. Benton, charging a deep-laid disunion conspiracy upon the Secretary of State in order to crush him, the treaty failed of the requisite vote. Mr. McDuffie, of South Carolina, who had eloquently defended it, compared it to the slain Cæsar whose spectre would yet meet its murderers as the spectre of the betrayed Roman met Brutus at Philippi. Indeed the politicians had reason

" To fear it all the more  
For lying there so still,  
There was manhood in its look,  
That murder could not kill."

The alternative which the President had deprecated had forced itself upon the administration, and the appeal was to be made to the people. Two days after the vote in the Senate the President laid the treaty and all accompanying documents before the House of Representatives. The people, to whom the appeal had now been made, were represented more directly in the House, and it was proper and right that the treaty involving a question of such magnitude should be acted upon by their immediate representatives. He suggested in his message that while he regarded annexation to be accomplished by treaty as the most suitable form in which it could be effected, that he would stand "ready to yield his prompt and active co-operation if Con-

gress deemed it proper to resort to any other expedient compatible with the Constitution." This was on June 10, 1844. The message was referred by the House to its Committee on Foreign Relations, but before it could report the House adjourned, and so its action was carried over to the next session, to await the decision of the popular vote.

Mr. Calhoun had on hand the Oregon treaty as well. Mr. Tyler states that on the rejection of the Texas treaty "there was cause, in the opinion of Mr. Calhoun, to pause in any further effort at negotiation on any other subject." To this, however, the President would not listen. He was exceedingly "desirous of closing his residence in Washington by the consolidation of the peace between the two countries through the adjustment of the only open question of moment existing at that day between them. The same patriotic envoy, Mr. Everett, was still in London, and had placed the Government in possession of the terms on which Great Britain would be inclined to settle the question." Mr. Calhoun "was rallied back to the task, and probably opened the way to that sequel which developed itself under Mr. Polk's administration." 7

While Loco-focoism, which had so perverted the character of the Democratic party since 1833, was venting its impotent rage in the invectives of Mr. Benton in the Senate, in the intrigues of Mr. Van Buren for the presidency, and in the sputter of Mr. Blair from the editorial tripod of the *Globe*, General Jackson in his retirement, whose impulses were always honorable, whatever might be said of the obstinacy and weakness of his judgment, had shaken off the folds of the slimy monster which had so long used him as it desired, and come out with dying voice in favor of the admission of Texas into the Union. The expiring fires of life seemed in his case to be suddenly awakened into a bright and glowing flame to light his countrymen along the path of safety and of duty. He saw that the "golden moment" had arrived when Texas was either to be secured or lost forever, and he nobly assisted in causing that great rally of the people which well nigh trampled into dust all who had the temerity to resist it. Mr. Tyler had accomplished the great end for which he had worked. The democracy had thrown the magic banner of Texas to the breeze, and it remained only for him to withdraw and unite his forces with that of this party to carry rout and ruin into the ranks of all his enemies. Black and threatening rose the clouds upon the horizon, and "he rode upon the whirlwind and directed the storm." In August Mr. Tyler publicly withdrew, and, henceforth, the cause was fully consolidated. General Jackson, who had taken Mr. Polk under his wing, despatched the following letter of thanks to Mr. Sutherland:

*The Honble. J. B. Sutherland.*

(Private.)

HERMITAGE, Sept. 2, 1844.

DEAR SIR: Your private letter of the 20th ultimo has been received, and I have read it with pleasure. The withdrawal of Mr. Tyler from the canvass will be duly appreciated by all the Jeffersonian Republicans, and in the end redound to his popularity and free him from all selfish views which his enemies have been imputing to him in his patriotic endeavors to reannex Texas to the United States—the most important question, as it relates to the defence, the security, and safety of the most important interests of the whole Union that has ever been presented to us. It is a great national, and not a party question.

As requested, I have enclosed your letter to Col. Polk, and enclose you a lock of my hair.

Very respectfully yrs., &c., &c.,

ANDREW JACKSON.

In the interval between Mr. Tyler's withdrawal and the day of election in November, the caldron of politics seethed nothing but Texas! Texas! The excitement intensified with the approach of the battle-hour. At length the day arrived. Between the embattled hosts shone the drawn sword of the Administration with Texas inscribed upon its blade, and wielded by a hand that never trembled in moment of danger. Its very shadow, like that of the magic sword of eastern fable, seemed death. Mr. Clay threw himself upon its point, and was laid forever aside in the vault which disappointment has prepared for reckless and ambitious politicians. Mr. Van Buren felt that sword's shadow, and was laid by the side of his old antagonist. Mr. Benton, who thought to come in after Mr. Van Buren, and who also wished to ride the Texas question, received a mortal wound which threw him into a decline from which he could never recover; and, finally, Mr. F. P. Blair, the obedient servitor of both, soon toppled off the tripod of the *Globe* under the same fatal influence. Never did any President win so great a victory!

But the end was not yet. When Congress met at its second session, December 3, 1844, the friends of annexation were jubilant. The voice of the people had been heard, and men were anxious to yield implicit obedience to its mandates. Acting on the suggestions contained in the President's message, Mr. Milton Brown, of Tennessee, a strict construction Whig, proposed the celebrated joint resolutions for the admission of Texas. After a considerable opposition from the slavery restrictionists, the resolutions of Mr. Brown passed the House on the 22d of January, 1845. "Rejoice with me," wrote the President, "in the passage of a bill for annexing Texas to the Union, through the House, by a majority of 22 votes. I entertain strong hopes that it will pass the Senate. A greater triumph was never achieved than that already accomplished!"

In the Senate, Mr. Benton had proposed a bill of his own, proposing the appointment of commissioners by the President who should treat with

Texas upon terms of annexation—a measure very lame and impotent, requiring great delay, the expenditure of a hundred thousand dollars, and, as resulting in a new treaty, necessitating a further submission to the Senate, where it would have to obtain a two-thirds vote in accordance with the constitutional requirement. Mr. Benton and four other Loco-focos refused to agree to the House resolutions, whereupon Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, proposed to unite the two propositions, adding a clause giving the Executive power to choose between the two. It was now within a short period of the close of Mr. Tyler's term. Mr. Polk had arrived, and his contiguity and the brief interval between the vote on the bill and his accession, as well as the popular pressure brought to bear upon the unwilling Senators, made them more pliant and disposed to vote for the bill. The bill came up on March 1, 1845, and passed the Senate, Mr. Benton and his friends voting in the affirmative. The President, of course, chose the House proposition and immediately despatched a messenger to Texas with the announcement of the fact of annexation.

Mr. Benton has declared that he and four of his friends were cheated out of their votes, assigning as the only ground of the charge some impulsive expression of Mr. McDuffie, and some pointless remark of Mr. Walker—both utterances, however, even if true, confessed by him as without any known authority from either the President or Mr. Calhoun, who were responsible for neither one remark nor the other. Their voting for the bill, as Mr. Tyler states, consisted in a simple act of “inadvertence” on their part. But Mr. Benton did not seem to think that if he and his four friends might claim to have been cheated out of their votes, others, constituting a much larger number, might prefer as serious a charge against himself, and with far greater justice according to his own statement of the matter in his “Thirty Years' View”—a book that contains as many inaccuracies, and as much vindictiveness as could be put together conveniently. Mr. Calhoun states “that it was known that Mr. Benton's resolutions were never considered as expressing the deliberate sense of the House or the Senate, but were moved simply to gratify him and his friends, as they had the power to embarrass very greatly the passage of the bill.” Yet Mr. Benton admits that, expecting Mr. Polk to pass upon the alternative propositions, he got him to promise beforehand to select the bill of Mr. Benton. This was not only a very blamable intrigue, but one in which the attempt was made to destroy the freedom of choice allowed in the bill itself, as well as to cheat the majority out of their votes. I copy from a manuscript of Mr. Tyler the following satisfactory statement in regard to the charge of indelicacy to Mr. Polk in forestalling his choice :

“ It is due to truth to say that a momentary pause preceded my selection between the alternative resolutions of Congress, resulting solely from an apprehension of making myself obnoxious to the charge of a want of delicacy to my successor. That was the only point on which a doubt rested in my mind. As to the choice between the alternative resolutions, I wanted no suggestion, no advice, no counsel. The only doubt, I repeat, rested on the question of delicacy. After conference with the Secretary of State, in which he advised a prompt decision along with reasons to dispel that doubt, I directed that the cabinet should be summoned for the following day, with the view to submit the whole matter to their consideration. There existed upon this occasion no divided counsels, no dissonance of opinion. The Executive was fully apprised of the extraordinary exertions which were making by other persons to induce Texas to negative annexation, and as some time might elapse before the incoming administration could make itself acquainted thoroughly with the posture of affairs, it was considered proper and altogether necessary to hazard nothing by delicacy. The apparent point of delicacy was saved by the tender of a full explanation of all that was done to Mr. Polk, who was waited on at my request by the Secretary in person, and with a declaration of readiness to submit to him the instructions prepared for the minister in Texas. Mr. Polk declined any interference in the matter. The instructions were prepared by the Secretary of State, received my approval, and thus closed the last chapter of my connection with Texas annexation.”

Never were men more thoroughly embittered by the annexation of Texas than the Van Buren Loco-focos. Mr. Polk, disgusted at the action of Mr. Blair and the *Globe*, refused to bestow upon it the Government patronage, and withdrew the support of the party. The result was the discontinuance of the paper and the prostration of Mr. Blair. Mr. Benton and he could talk of nothing but a grand conspiracy, in which Mr. Calhoun, as the rival of Mr. Benton, figured conspicuously, having for its object a rupture of the Union in annexing Texas, the setting up of a Southern confederacy, the extension of slavery and presidential intrigue. According to this wonderful story Mr. Calhoun had been the beginning and end of Texas annexation, and through all its ramifications he had been the dark and mysterious spirit which had nursed it to its final consummation. The design was too patent. Mr. Calhoun had a large Southern following, and it was hoped, by making him responsible for the acts of the administration, that his ruin must follow. Mr. Tyler belonged to no party, stood apparently isolated among his small band of friends, and his power was not to be apprehended in the Presidential race. Hence they affected to ignore him and bring Mr.

Calhoun into prominence. They however failed signally, for the President developed great strength on the Texas question, and had things his own way. He was a man, indeed, of singular independence of judgment, and on practical questions always right. Witness his independent course on the Force bill, in 1833, when he voted alone against a measure tending to bloodshed before every available means of pacification, as appeared afterward, had been resorted to ; witness, too, his separation from his colleague on the question of resignation at the time of the famous expunging resolutions of Mr. Benton ; and, above all, witness his maintaining his individuality against all the arts of his Federal cabinet and of the Clay Whigs on the bank question. Mr. Tyler was absolutely and unequivocally the head of his cabinet. He exacted the utmost deference from them, and they dared not to do otherwise than pay the utmost respect to his wishes. Thus the Ashburton Treaty—the merit of which has been imputed to Mr. Webster—was concluded only after repeated conferences with him, and finally, after agreement, “the letters were each submitted to me and received my correction.”<sup>8</sup> The same influences were at work with regard to the exaltation of Mr. Webster, when he was Secretary of State, as existed when Mr. Calhoun filled the chair. He stood at the head of a considerable following, and he was supposed to be a lion in the path to the presidency, whom it was necessary to destroy. Mr. Tyler wrote the following letter to his son, on the occasion of a revival of the questions growing out of Texas annexation by Mr. Blair, in 1856 :

“ I have read ‘ Blair’s Dreams ’ with mingled feelings of contempt and amusement—contempt for the puerile weakness of the egotist, and amusement at the deeply laid plots and intrigues for the destruction of F. P. Blair, concocted and urged by so very many persons. He is so wrapped up in his own importance that he does not see that he wrote his own epitaph before Mr. Polk had become a nominee for the Presidency. He opposed the Ashburton Treaty and the annexation of Texas. If the first disturbed him in his position the last sealed his fate. The most ludicrous part of the business is that he gives publicity to Gen. Jackson’s letters to him, written in great confidence, and in the last hours of his existence (letters, by the way, which for the fame’s sake of Gen. Jackson should never have been published), when he disregarded altogether the advice and pressing appeals of the General constantly urged upon the public in favor of annexation. In urging upon the *Calhoun-Tyler administration* a conspiracy against the Union, with what grace has he omitted all implication of Gen. Jackson in the conspiracy. The idea that Calhoun had anything to do with originating the measure is as absurd as it is designed to be wicked. I ex-



changed no political views with Calhoun at all until he became a member of the cabinet, and, at the time of my directing Upshur to enter upon the negotiation, Calhoun was in private life. The knowledge of what was designed was confined to Upshur, Nelson, and Van Zandt; and if Van Zandt had possessed powers to negotiate the treaty would have been negotiated in a week; and, furthermore, if Gen. Henderson had reached the city before Calhoun, John Nelson, the Secretary *ad interim*, would have concluded the matter. Calhoun reached before Henderson, and, therefore, did what Upshur and Nelson would have done as well. As to the convention in Baltimore, you know that Calhoun had no more to do with it than a man in Kamtchatka, and to any intrigue with Polk about the *Globe*, that is merely the old tale of John C. Rives, in his controversy with Mr. Ritchie, revamped for the occasion. I put the matter effectually to rest at that day, and shall hardly trouble myself about it again. I do not believe that the world ever saw a more perfectly unprincipled set than that which surrounded Jackson at Washington. But the survivors of them cannot fret me, and shall not disturb me; and I leave Blair and all his tribe to lament over their downfall without interfering with their sorrow."

The charge of Mr. Calhoun's inception of the treaty and his authorship of it was made by Mr. Benton in the Mexican war in a speech, wherein he attempted to fasten the responsibility of the war on Mr. Calhoun, who had grown to be very unpopular. Mr. Calhoun's human weakness was not proof against the assault. He could assume, he thought, with grace, what was intended as a reproach. His vanity was interested, and the authorship of annexation was a tempting prize. He confessed, however, with reference to the motives of Mr. Benton: "Had he supposed the opposite, had he believed the war was necessary and unavoidable and that its termination would be successful, I am the last man to whom he would attribute any agency in causing it." 9

Mr. Tyler was justly indignant at this egotism of Mr. Calhoun, and his letter to his son at this period shows his real sentiments:

"Calhoun has confirmed his character for extreme selfishness by his speech on the war. Benton sought, through C.'s unpopularity, to re-establish himself on the ground he had lost in the election of 1844 by ascribing everything to Calhoun, and the latter was weak enough to swallow the bait. I am strongly tempted to give a full history of the whole affair. He represents the executive power as in abeyance, when in fact it was most active—and then to cause the whole question to turn on the question of slavery! It is too bad."

It *was* too bad. The course of Calhoun was followed by others in the Democratic party, all claiming a more or less intimate connection with an-

nexation, and all attempting to belittle Mr. Tyler's influence in the matter. His "thunder" was stolen to make party capital, and it cannot be saying too much that Texas annexation controlled the character of the elections up to 1860. Mr. Tyler writes at this period :

"There was speaking here yesterday and last night amid the severest storm of wind that I have witnessed for years. Segar is a candidate for the Legislature and will vote for Letcher. A new convert. I saw him with others at the P. office in Hampton a day or two ago, and he expressed a desire to be deputed to the Charleston Convention, 'that he might do justice,' as he expressed it, 'to John Tyler.' He was a bitter opponent all along. The Texas question is again revived, and his vote against it is urged as one of the most formidable objections to Goggin. He seeks to escape upon the ground that the boundaries were not defined. So we go. My thunder is still used to achieve victory by the Democrats."

The President's thunder was accompanied by lightning as well, and we have seen how it prostrated the politicians of 1845. It was the consummation of his vengeance on all his old vindictive adversaries. What folly in Mr. Blaine to speak in his late Garfield Memorial address of the unparalleled triumph of Mr. Clay in taking away from the President the party which had elected him, and his obliging him to seek shelter behind the lines of his old political foes. Mr. Clay in raising the banner of a bank contrary to his pledges of compromise simply, as explained elsewhere, repossessed himself of his old following. They were his already. Then as to Mr. Tyler's seeking shelter behind the lines of his political foes, the fact is the Van Buren faction were as bitter toward him as the Whigs. The party in repudiating the lead of the "spoils" clique returned once more to the principles of Jefferson, which Mr. Tyler had ever adored, and gave him a support only so far as they could not help themselves. Indeed, Mr. Clay's action was so perfectly the reverse of a triumph in its fruits that it only served, after disappointing him in all his grand schemes and forcing his resignation, to add glory to Mr. Tyler and to destroy himself. To the Loco-focos the blow was irremediable. The charm of their influence was lost forever upon the strict construction party. Each of the leaders halted at last in avowed consolidation, latitudinarianism, and nationalism—their proper destiny. Mr. Blair became an open Republican in 1856, Mr. Benton was repudiated by his constituents in Missouri, and Mr. Van Buren joined the Freesoil party. So with the rest.

Mr. Tyler vehemently denied, as we have seen, the interpretation of slavery as sought to be imposed upon annexation by <sup>3</sup>Mr. Calhoun and others. I copy from his manuscript again :

“ I was actuated by no mere sectional consideration whether slavery was to be extended over the territory of Texas or not. This problem was soluble in my view by reference to climate, the true exponent of that question, and the terms of the Missouri compromise, which in itself is but a recognition of the law of climate, which should be regarded by Congress, considering the circumstances under which that compromise was adopted as equal in obligation to the fundamental law. No ; so far as my agency in the matter extended I looked to the interests of the whole Union. The acquisition of Texas gave to the United States a monopoly of the cotton plant, and thus secured to us a power of boundless extent in the affairs of the world. It opened at the same time to the inhabitants of our whole country sources of immense wealth, which a few years only will develop. When the Gulf of Mexico shall be whitened by the sail of innumerable ships and vessels engaged in the coast-wise and foreign trade bearing to Texas the products of the skill and industry of all the other sections of the Union to be exchanged for the valuable products of her fertile soil there will be but one sentiment throughout the land on this important subject, and this will be that Texas annexation *was a national and not a local, an American and not a Southern question.*”

When Mr. Tyler spoke these words he looked through the dust and smoke of the Mexican war, when that war had become an unpopular affair, and when, through its unpopularity, the attempt was being made to degrade the effects of annexation in the public mind. The smoke of that war has long since blown aside, and with it have disappeared the prejudices and passions of the times. The resources of Texas have been a thousandfold developed. Her population has grown from 200,000 to 1,592,574. The Gulf of Mexico bears upon its passionate breast the countless argosies of white-winged commerce. To-day the patriot, looking over the results of annexation, and viewing not only the broad empire of Texas with her exhaustless soil, but also the far-reaching prairies of New Mexico, and the golden shores of California, is forced to recognize the fact that the time has already come to which Mr. Tyler looked forward with so much confidence. There is but one sentiment throughout the land, and that is that the question of Texas annexation was one of undoubted national and American significance !

Thus closed the administration of Mr. Tyler. With a light heart he returned to private life, looking back with a proud consciousness over the great field of his four years' service. For without a party's aid, and depending only upon the support of great and virtuous men, a Webster, an Upshur, a Legarè, a Gilmer, a Spencer, a Wise, and a Calhoun, he could point to the colossal monuments of the Northeastern Boundary question,

embarrassed by fifty years' entanglements, forever and honorably settled; the Oregon line mapped out for his successor; the first treaty with China accomplished; the present naval system, as developed under its various bureaus, proposed and established; science and invention, under the lead of Morse, cherished and fostered; the expenses of the Government reduced nearly one-fourth in contrast with the preceding administration, constituting in this respect a solitary exception to all other administrations; a treasury brought from the throes of financial embarrassment to redundant coffers, with not a dollar lost in all the disbursements; and finally a Texas added to stretch the line of our power and territory! If success is to be measured by simple party popularity, Mr. Tyler's term was unsuccessful; but if, as it should be, success is to be attributed to the importance of the results achieved, what administration, from Washington's down, can compare with it?

The joy succeeding in Texas on receipt of the good news was immense. The ex-President received, among other testimonials from the people of that now powerful State, a silver pitcher suitably inscribed and engraved. In a letter written to Mr. Tyler in 1851 by Colonel John S. Cunningham, now paymaster of the United States Navy, I find the following:

"In the course of a chat with Sam Houston, in the Senate Chamber, I mentioned your silver pitcher from the ladies of Brazoria. He replied: 'This was intended as a hit at me!' and then added that for all his military and civil triumphs he was never honored in Texas with a present. 'Nor,' said he, 'can there be found on the records a single vote of thanks or the like of any sort.' He requested me to say to you that he held you in high esteem, and that if you should ever visit Texas, whose people regard you with reverence, you would be received with glorious warmth, and that he himself would go down to the seashore and make you the welcome speech. One of the counties is named after you, and the seat of another county."

LYON GARDINER TYLER

<sup>1</sup> Henry A. Wise's *Seven Decades of the Union*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Dead of the Cabinet*. Address of Mr. Tyler at Petersburg, Va., 1856.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Special Message to the Senate*, May 15, 1844.

<sup>5</sup> Private letter of President Tyler.

<sup>6</sup> *Dead, of the Cabinet*.

<sup>7</sup> The parallel of 49° was ultimately agreed upon as the basis of settlement of the Oregon Question. Mr. Everett had been instructed by Mr. Tyler to sound Great Britain upon that line.—*Private letter*.

<sup>8</sup> Private letter to Col. Robert Tyler.

<sup>9</sup> Speech of Mr. Calhoun in the Senate, February 24, 1847.

## NOTES.

On the return of Mr. Clay to the Senate, in 1849, when, through a split in the Democratic party, the Whig party succeeded to power in the election of General Taylor, Mr. Tyler wrote:

“I hail Clay’s return to the Senate with pleasure. He will rule or ruin. My only fear is that he will be quieted by a promise of the succession. This alone will keep him quiet. I might have bought my peace in that way, and so may General Taylor. If the break occurs, I shall triumph in a counter-current of public sentiment.” (Private letter dated February 21, 1849.)

“You have heard, no doubt, of the terrible occurrence on board the Princeton, together with all the particulars. A more heartrending scene scarcely ever occurred. What a loss I have sustained in Upshur and Gilmer. They were truly my friends, and would have aided me for the next twelve months with great effect. But it is all over now, and I must look out for new Cabinet Ministers. My great desire will be to bring in as able men as the country can afford. I shall determine upon them in the course of the week.” (Private letter of President Tyler to his daughter, March 4, 1844.)

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THE EXPLOSION ON THE PRINCETON.—The following account is condensed from the editorial correspondence of *The Times*, dated February 28, 1844: Captain Stockton, of the steamer Princeton, to-day invited President Tyler and his family, together with three or four hundred ladies and gentlemen, including members of the Cabinet, Foreign Ministers, Senators and members of the Lower House, to make an excursion down the Potomac and witness the movements of his noble vessel, together with the practice of his great gun. The day was pleasant and everything promised a delightful trip. After a salute of twenty-one guns from the small pieces, the great gun was made ready for firing a two hundred and thirty pound ball. The ladies were all “piped on deck,” and obtained good places to witness the discharge. At the word “fire!” all eyes were directed to the course of the ball, which bounded along the surface of the water a distance of two miles, to the delight of all. A feast followed and toasts sparkled with the champagne. On the return trip, about three miles below Mount Vernon, this great gun, called the “Peacemaker,” and made in New York, was fired again, when it exploded, killing Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, Mr. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy, Commodore Kennon, and others, and seriously wounding Commodore Stockton. One person said, “When the accident happened, I was in the cabin listening to a patriotic song from one of the company, and as he was singing the word Washington, the gun fired, and said one of the gentlemen, ‘there goes the Big Gun in honor of his name, let us also give three cheers to it’—but the cheering hardly commenced before the fatal event was made known and all were silent as death.” Judge Wilkins was saved by a witticism. He had taken his stand by Mr. Gilmer, but perceiving that the gun was about to be fired, exclaimed, “Though Secretary of War I don’t like this firing, and believe I shall run.” He retreated, smiling, and thus saved his life. It was considered singular that not one of the two hundred ladies on board was injured. Returning from the funeral of the members of his Cabinet, President Tyler’s horses ran away, and put him in danger of his life.

## JOSHUA FORMAN, THE FOUNDER OF SYRACUSE

The name of Joshua Forman will always be intimately associated with the history of our country, in consequence of his connection with the Erie Canal and the banking system called the "Safety Fund Act," during the administration of Martin Van Buren as Governor of the State of New York, which subsequently became a law in this State, and in 1860 was adopted by the general government, being now in general use.

For twenty-five years this distinguished man was a leader in the affairs of Onondaga County, and, to quote Mr. Thurlow Weed, was the "*inventor* of the city of Syracuse."

Joshua Forman was born at Pleasant Valley, Dutchess County, N. Y., in 1777. His father, Deacon Joseph Forman, was from Monmouth County, N. J., and of the same family as Major-General Forman of Revolutionary fame, who was nicknamed "Black David," on account of his swarthy complexion and black beard. The Monmouth Formans came to this country from Holland a century and a half ago, and their descendants have married into many notable families, such as the Kearney, Hallet, Remsen, Hendrickson, Randolph, Du Bois, Throckmorton, Fréneau, Conover, Ledyard, Seymour, Graves, Leavenworth, and Sabine, of New Jersey and New York. The father of the subject of this sketch was a merchant in New York previous to the Revolution, and there married Miss Hannah Ward. On the approach of the British to the city, they removed to Dutchess County. Joshua was their second or third son. Evincing a strong desire for learning, he entered Union College at Schenectady. At the completion of his collegiate course, he studied law with Peter Radcliff, Esq., at Poughkeepsie, and afterward in the office of Miles Hopkins, Esq., of New York City. Very soon after completing his professional studies, he married Miss Margaret Alexander, a daughter of Boyd Alexander, M. P. for Glasgow, Scotland, a lady of great beauty, wit, and many accomplishments, who came to this country to visit a friend. She met Mr. Forman under romantic circumstances, and their union speedily followed. In 1800 the young couple removed from New York City to a pretty village then called Onondaga Hollow, now Onondaga Valley, where Mr. Forman established himself in the practice of the law.

The country was newly settled, the village flourishing, and Joshua Forman induced his father, brothers, and sisters to remove thither. William H. Sabine, Esq., a graduate of Brown University, Rhode Island, about this

time came from Pomfret, Conn., to the Hollow, and marrying Miss Sallie Forman, the sister of Joshua Forman, the two young lawyers went into partnership in 1803. For many years they had a lucrative practice, each building a fine residence, and becoming widely known in that part of the State. Through their united efforts the Onondaga Academy, a flourishing institution, was established, and the first religious society in Onondaga County—a Presbyterian—was founded. At the time of the organization of the Common Pleas Court, Mr. Forman was appointed Judge, and for ten years filled the office with marked ability.

Soon after Judge Forman became a resident of Onondaga County, the subject of building a canal from Albany to Lake Ontario, and improving the facilities of navigation in the interior of the State, was a topic of deep interest to all classes, and to none more than himself. He conversed with his friends on the subject, and it seemed to fill his thoughts. With the assistance of some kindred spirits he took measures to bring it before the public. His talents as an orator and his persuasive manner were so well known that he was selected as being eminently fitted to move in this matter. With this view, in 1807, a union ticket was gotten up for members of the Assembly, containing the names of John McWhorter, Democrat, and Joshua Forman, Federalist. It was called the Canal Ticket, and received the support of the majority of the Onondaga County voters.

It appears that while we were still but a colony of Great Britain the subject of improving the water-courses between the lakes and the Hudson had attracted much attention here and in England.

General Washington's interest in the same matter was evinced immediately after, or during the Revolution, by some letters written to various persons on that subject. In 1791 Governor Clinton, in his speech in the Legislature, urged the necessity of improving the natural water channels so as to facilitate communication with the frontier settlements. In 1792 the Legislature passed an act incorporating the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," with power to open a lock navigation from the Hudson to lakes Ontario and Seneca. This company was a failure, and the friends of the canal project in the interior and western part of the State were utterly discouraged.

Joshua Forman had studied the subject of canals, as constructed in foreign countries, when he was elected to the Assembly, but it seems that, in reading Rees' "Cyclopædia," some new ideas were suggested to his mind, immediately after reaching Albany, regarding the route of a canal through the State of New York. Years later, when David Hosack, M.D., wrote a life of DeWitt Clinton, he asked Judge Forman to give his own version of

his presentation of his canal project to the Legislature, and the following is a copy of the letter in reply to this request :

FRANKLIN, N. J., Oct. 13, 1828.

DEAR SIR :

On taking my seat in the Assembly for the County of Onondaga, at the Session of 1807-1808, my book-seller handed me several numbers of Rees' "Cyclopædia." In reading at my leisure, in the article "Canal," an account of the numerous canals and improved river navigation in England, I soon discovered the relative importance of the former over the latter. It occurred to me that, if a canal was ever opened from the Hudson to the Western lakes, it would be worth all the extra cost to go directly through the country to Lake Erie. I broached this subject to my room-mates, Judge Wright and General McNiel. Judge Wright at first objected, said it would be a folly to make a canal 150 miles long abreast of a good sloop navigation to Lake Ontario. To this I replied that the rich country through which it would pass, would, of itself, support a canal. Judge Wright gave in to the plan, agreed it was of immense importance, and measures ought at once to be taken to ascertain its practicability. I drew up the resolution, and presented it to the House. This resolution was adopted on the ground, as expressed by several, "that it could do no harm and might do some good." Shortly after, being in New York on business, and much elated with the result of the surveys that had been made by Judge Geddes, proving the practicability of the route suggested by me, I made a trip to Washington, almost entirely to converse with Jefferson on the subject. Some time in June, 1809, I called on him in company with Wm. Kirkpatrick, Esq., of Salina, then a Member of Congress, who introduced me, and informed him that, in view of his proposal to expend the surplus revenues of the nation in making roads and canals, the State of New York had explored the route of a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, and had found it practicable beyond their most sanguine expectations, etc. He replied, "it was a fine project, and might be executed a century hence." I replied, that having conceived the idea, ascertained its practicability, and, in some measure, appreciated its importance, I thought the State of New York would never rest until it was accomplished. Now I do most solemnly declare, that the idea of a direct canal between the Hudson and Lake Erie was original with *me*, whoever else had thought of it before, that I had never heard of Gouverneur Morris's suggestions nor of Mr. Halsey's essays ; that, when it was broached to Judge Wright, he then and always said it was entirely new to him ; that, when it came into the House, it was treated as new and visionary for several years. I was called a "visionary projector," and have been asked hundreds of times, if I expected to see *my* canal completed, to which I uniformly replied, "as surely as I lived to the ordinary age of man." I never claimed to be the first man who thought of it, but to be the first man who conceived the idea, appreciated its importance, and set about carrying it into effect ; and, by the happy expedient of moving the eyes of the Legislature to the general Government for its accomplishment, induced them to make the first steps in a project too gigantic for them to have looked at a moment as an object to be accomplished by the means of the State.

To DAVID HOSACK, M.D.

Respectfully yours,  
(Signed) JOSHUA FORMAN.

A letter written by Judge Wright to Dr. Hosack, and published in the work above alluded to, is pertinent here. It is, in part, as follows :

NEW YORK, Dec. 31, 1828.

DR. HOSACK,

DEAR SIR : Judge Forman and myself, in 1808, roomed together in Albany, he being a Member of the Legislature from Onondaga County, and I from Oneida County. We were subscribers to Rees' "Cyclopædia," and received that winter the 6th vol. containing the article "Canal." Judge



Forman observed, after reading it, that something ought to be done to prevent the people of Pennsylvania from drawing away the trade of our State ; and suggested that, as the President, Thomas Jefferson, had recommended the surplus money in the Treasury be expended on roads and canals, he was for the making a canal to Lake Erie. He accordingly introduced the resolution to the Legislature, and I seconded it. I well remember the astonishment of many members, who considered it a wild and visionary project," etc.

Thus from Judge Forman's letter to Dr. Hosack we find that he claimed the idea of a direct route for a canal through the State of New York to unite the waters of the Hudson with those of Lake Erie as original with him, and that his intimate friend, Judge Wright, was of the same opinion. This distinction has been claimed also for Governor Morris and Mr. Halsey, but no one disputes that to Judge Forman belongs the credit of procuring the first legislative action in connection with it ; and it has been well said that " his bringing this resolution before the House of Assembly would alone render his name immortal." Through his untiring zeal, eloquence, and perseverance, a resolution was passed directing a survey to be made " of the most eligible and direct route of a canal to open communication between the tide-waters of the Hudson and Lake Erie." It is not easy to conjecture who would have possessed sufficient moral courage to bring forward a plan that was called " visionary," if it was in truth conceived by either of Judge Forman's contemporaries. In his earnest desire for the public good he forgot the ridicule which met his first suggestions on the subject ; and after his novel ideas became public property, save for his energy, the topic might have lain dormant for years so far as legislative action is concerned. His speeches before the Assembly are said to have been masterly in their eloquence. He estimated the cost of the canal at \$10,000,000, and remarked that that sum was a bagatelle to the value of such navigation. His friend and neighbor, Judge James Geddes, was employed to make the surveys of the canal. On its completion, in 1825, there was a celebration along its whole line in all the larger cities, towns, and villages, and Judge Forman was selected by the citizens of Onondaga County, and as President of the village, then, of Syracuse, to address Governor Clinton and suite on their first passage through its waters in November of that year. He had but three hours to prepare the speech, which is here given :

" GENTLEMEN—The roar of cannon rolling from Lake Erie to the ocean, and reverberated from the ocean to the lakes, has announced the completion of the Erie canal, and you are this day witnesses, bearing the waters of the lakes on the unbroken bosom of the canal to be mingled with the ocean, that the splendid hopes of our State are realized. The continued fête which has attended your boats, evinces how dear it was to the hearts of our citizens. It is truly a proud day for the State of New York. No one is present, who has the interest of the State at heart, who does not exult at the completion of a work fraught with such important benefits, and no man with an American

heart, that does not swell with pride that he is a citizen of the country which has accomplished the greatest work of the age, and which has filled Europe with admiration of the American character. On the 4th of July, 1817, it was begun, and it is now accomplished. Not by the labor of abject slaves and vassals, but by the energies of freemen, and in a period unprecedentedly short, by the *voluntary* efforts of its freemen governed by the wisdom of its statesmen. This, however, is but one of the many benefits derived from our free institutions, and which marks a new era in the history of man—the example of a nation whose whole physical power and intelligence are employed to advance the improvement, comfort and happiness of the people.

“To what extent this course of improvement may be carried, it is impossible for any mere man to conjecture; but no reasonable man can doubt that it will continue its progress, until our wide and fertile territory shall be filled with a more dense, intelligent, and happy people than the sun shines upon in the wide circuit of the globe. It has long been the subject of fearful apprehension to the patriots of the Atlantic States that the remote interior situation of our western country (for want of proper stimuli to industry and free intercourse with the rest of the world) would be filled with a semi-barbarous population, uncongenial with their Atlantic neighbors. But the introduction of steamboats on our lakes and running rivers, and canals to connect the waters which nature has disjoined (in both which this State has taken the lead, and its example has now become general), have broken down the old barriers of nature, and promise the wide-spread regions of the west all the blessings of a seaboard district. But while we contemplate the advantages of this work, as a source of revenue to the State, and of wealth and comfort to our citizens, let us never forget the means by which it has been accomplished; and after rendering thanks to the All-Wise Disposer of events, who has by his own means, and for his own purposes, brought about this great work, we would render our thanks to all citizens and statesmen who have, in and out of the Legislature, sustained the measure from its first conception to its present final consummation. To the commissioners who superintended the work, the board of native engineers (a native treasure unknown till called for by the occasion), and especially to his Excellency, the Governor, whose early and decided support of the measure, fearlessly throwing his character and influence into the scale, turned the poising-beam and produced the first canal appropriation, and by his talents and exertions kept public opinion steady to the point. Without his efforts in that crisis the canal project might still have been a splendid vision, gazed upon by the benevolent patriot, but left by cold calumniators to be realized by some future generation. At that time all admitted that there was a high responsibility resting on you, and had it failed you must have largely borne the blame. It has succeeded, and we will not withhold from you your due meed of praise.

“Gentlemen, in behalf of the citizens of Syracuse, and the county of Onondaga, here assembled, I congratulate you on this occasion. Our village is the offspring of the canal, and with the county must partake largely of its blessings. We were most ungrateful if we did not most cordially join in this great State celebration.”

Governor Clinton made a felicitous answer, in which he pointedly referred to the speaker as having introduced the first legislative measures relative to the Erie Canal. As one of the committee from Syracuse, Judge Forman attended the ceremonies of mingling the waters of Lake Erie with those of the ocean off Sandy Hook, which must have been a happy and memorable occasion to him.

During the interval between his election to the Assembly and the completion of the canal, Judge Forman had been influential in promoting the interests of Onondaga County in various ways. He was emphatically the

founder of the city of Syracuse, removing there in 1819 from Onondaga Valley when there was but a small clearing and only two frame houses. He foresaw that it was to become a large inland city, and, in company with Mr. Ebenezer Wilson, purchased what was known as the Walton Tract, consisting of 250 acres, embracing what is now the heart of the city, and caused it to be carefully laid out by his brother, Owen Forman. This property afterward passed into the hands of Wm. H. Sabine and Daniel Kellogg, of Skaneateles, and was sold by them to the Albany Company. In 1807 Judge Forman leased the reservation lands at Oswego Falls and built a grist-mill, then in the wilderness. In 1824 he was active in establishing the first Presbyterian Society in Syracuse, was one of its first treasurers—a beautiful tablet in the Church, erected on the site of the old one, commemorating these events. In 1821 Judge Forman rendered an important service to the citizens of Syracuse by procuring the passage of a law, drawn up by himself, authorizing the lowering of the Onondaga Lake, its overflow at certain seasons of the year having caused much sickness in its vicinity. In 1822 he procured the passage of another law of vital importance to the manufacturers of salt in and near Syracuse. The Salt Springs had been discovered at a very early date, but they had never been thoroughly developed until the Erie Canal was completed. A short canal had been made from the Erie Canal to facilitate the salt-works, but it was insufficient for the purpose of its construction. The law suggested by Judge Forman enabled the manufacturers to erect fixtures for the purpose of making coarse salt by solar evaporation, with a three per cent. per bushel bounty on salt so made for a given number of years; and he induced Governor Clinton to visit the salt-works, and suggested to him that the canal above alluded to should be extended to Onondaga Lake. This was accomplished under Judge Forman's directions, and a Pump House built, thereby substituting water-power instead of hand-labor in elevating the salt water into reservoirs from the Salt Springs, and to be distributed from the reservoirs to the various works. With all his other occupations he found the leisure to write a series of articles in the *Onondaga Register*, signed "X"; to found the Camillus Plaster Company; and in various other ways to be useful to his neighbors.

In 1836 Judge Forman removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he had an interest in a copper mine. He had found that communities, like republics, are ungrateful. Having asked for an office, the income of which he needed, as his own affairs had become complicated through his attention to the interests of other people than his own, the coveted appointment was refused, and it is said that he left the town he founded, and had fostered to

his own detriment, with a saddened heart. Soon after locating in New Jersey, the New York banking system and financial affairs became deranged generally. Our banking laws were very defective, and a reform was all-important; but, while such reform was necessary, no one suggested a remedy until Judge Forman at this crisis proposed a plan of relief. It was approved by Governor Van Buren, who invited him to visit Albany and submit his views to a Committee of the Legislature then in session. At the desire of the Governor he drew up a bill, which subsequently became a law, known as the "Safety Fund Act," the great object of which was to give character to our currency on the one hand, and to protect the bill-holder on the other. At the request of Governor Van Buren, Judge Forman remained at Albany during most of the winter, in attendance on the Legislature and in perfecting the details of an Act that has proved of the greatest importance. This Safety Fund system was exclusively originated, and perfected, by Judge Forman, and, while certain modifications have since been made in our banking laws, it is questioned whether they have been improved. During the War of the Rebellion the General Government adopted Judge Forman's Safety Fund Banking System, and has since used it.

In 1830, Judge Forman, having purchased 300,000 acres of land in North Carolina, went there to superintend its improvement, and settled in the village of Rutherfordton, where he established a newspaper, printing-press, and stage-line, and was considered for a time the most enterprising man in that part of the State. Mrs. Forman having died in New Jersey, the Judge married for his second wife Miss Sarah Garrett, of Warm Springs, Tenn., a lady of high social position and great wealth. In 1831, Judge Forman visited Syracuse, and was everywhere received with marks of the highest esteem. The citizens, through a committee, presented him with a silver pitcher and six silver goblets, the pitcher being inscribed (under clasped hands), "A Tribute of respect presented by the Citizens of Syracuse to the Honorable Joshua Forman, Founder of the Town, 1831." Again, in 1846, when seventy years of age, and enfeebled by illness, Judge Forman came North to visit the scenes of his early triumphs and disappointments. Having heard wonderful stories of the growth of Syracuse he came to behold it. On this occasion a public dinner was given him at the Syracuse House, when the most distinguished gentlemen of the county and the neighborhood were present. For the greater part, those present were his personal friends. Years had passed since he had visited the city of his invention, and it was an occasion of peculiar pleasure to him to find that his early predictions regarding it had been verified. He met only with the warmest greetings from these friends of his youth, and bade them all an affectionate farewell.

Two years later he breathed his last in Rutherfordton, N. C. His remains have been removed to Oakwood Cemetery, near Syracuse, and repose beside those of his daughter, Mrs. E. W. Leavenworth, recently deceased. A few words may be written in conclusion as to the personal appearance and character of this distinguished man.

Judge Forman was tall, finely formed; had a pleasing face, and a most winning smile. His manners were elegant, his demeanor dignified, and his conversational powers of the rarest kind. Mr. Thurlow Weed says of him, "To hear Judge Forman express an opinion was to be convinced." "His voice was musical," says another who remembers him well, "and whenever he talked he had an audience."

With an intellect of unusual brilliancy, a remarkably fine education, and unusual opportunities, Judge Forman was a good neighbor, an able jurist, and an eminent legislator; in short, a man in whom we find nothing we cannot at once respect and admire. His entire life seemed spent in the most enthusiastic efforts for the general benefit of his fellow-creatures. He forgot his own interests in those of his friends, and in his zeal for the public welfare. His character is without a stain, and his memory is entitled to the gratitude, the admiration, and the undying esteem of his countrymen.

ELLEN E. DICKINSON

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SYRACUSE—Syracuse was formed out of the township of Salina, the place being known as "Cossit's Corners," and later as "Corinth." In 1820 the place contained about two hundred and fifty inhabitants. It was incorporated as a village April 13, 1825, and as the City of Syracuse in 1845, including the village of Salina. Its growth has proved rapid. The city is chiefly indebted to the Erie Canal and the salt springs. These springs are more potent than the Fountain of Arethusa in classic Syracuse. Some of the wells have a depth of four hundred feet. Experiments made by order of the Secretary of War prove that the salt made here is quite equal to the best foreign salt. The works here are very numerous, being also the most extensive and valuable in the United States. The land containing the springs is the property of the State, which receives a royalty on the salt produced. This amounts to many millions of bushels annually, the water being inexhaustible. Both solar and artificial heat is used in producing the salt. Syracuse, however, has other manufactures, such as those of machinery and steam engines.

## THE GREAT NORTHWEST

THE NATURE OF THE TITLES BY WHICH IT HAS BEEN HELD, AND WHEN,  
HOW, AND BY WHOM WERE THOSE TITLES ACQUIRED

Few sections of our country possess greater historic interest than that generally known, during the latter half of the eighteenth and the earlier years of the nineteenth centuries, as the GREAT NORTHWEST. The boundaries of the territory, thus named, were the Alleghany Mountains on the east, the Mississippi River on the west, the chain of northern lakes on the north, and the Great Kanawha River, from the Alleghany Mountains to its mouth, and the Ohio River from thence to its mouth, on the south.

Before this romantic and now historic section of our country was explored by the French, in the seventeenth century, its sole occupants were uncivilized, wandering, hostile tribes of red men exclusively devoted to the chase and to war. Chief among these were the Shawanese, Miamis, the Illinois, and (before their subjugation by the Five Nations, otherwise called Iroquois) the Ottawas, Wyandots (called Hurons by the French), and the Eries, once very numerous and formidable in war, who principally occupied lands contiguous to the southern shore of the lower end of Lake Erie. Here was conducted, during the seventeenth century (about 1654, perhaps), the exterminating war between the Eries and the Five Nations, in which the former were utterly defeated, overthrown—in fact, virtually wiped out of existence. The conquering Iroquois were a confederacy of nations composed of the Senecas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Cayugas, being five nations at this time, to which was added, in the year 1712, the Tuscarora nation, making the Iroquois confederacy “the Six Nations,” by which title it was subsequently known.

From the beginning of the historic period (and probably from a period long anterior to that) down to the middle of the eighteenth century, the savage occupants of the Great Northwest were almost constantly engaged in fierce contests among themselves, which frequently well-nigh resulted (immediately or ultimately) almost in the total destruction of tribes and nations. Perfidy, revenge, cruelty were their principal characteristics. Treachery, barbarity, vindictiveness marked the conduct of individual man toward man, of tribe toward tribe, and of nation toward nation.

But it was not intended to be always thus in this fair land, and this goodly heritage, destined for civilized man, was soon to become his pos-

session and enjoyment. This "waste howling wilderness" in time blossomed as the rose. Civilized, Christianized men of different countries and nationalities, speaking different languages, ultimately, one after another, obtained possession of this portion of the American continent, exercising controlling authority over it, permanently establishing institutions of civilization and Christianity, to be transmitted, in all their vigor and glory, to their posterity.

The English were the first of the white race, within the historic period, to assert ownership of the Great Northwest. England's title was founded upon priority of discovery, priority of occupancy, and priority as well as continuity of possession. The weak points in England's title (and the strong ones too, perhaps) to the Great Northwest may become apparent in the light of the following historical facts :

In March, 1496, John and Sebastian Cabot (father and son), both British subjects living at Bristol, England, obtained authority from Henry VII. to go forth into the northern and western Atlantic, to make discoveries and to occupy and assert title, on behalf of the English king, to whatever lands were found. They sailed forth on their mission in May, 1497, and on June 24, 1497, discovered Newfoundland, and erected the banners of England upon its shores. Some suppose that they then sailed along the coast of North America as far as Florida.

Elizabeth, queen of England, in 1584 granted a patent to Walter Raleigh (with the title of Lord Proprietor) to an immense region on the Atlantic coast, with authority to settle an English colony. The coast was reached within the present limits of Virginia, and named in honor of the Virgin Queen. Raleigh, however, failed in the attempt to make the contemplated colonial settlement upon the land covered by his patent from his patron queen, and the grant reverted to others, Raleigh being executed, in 1618, in the reign of James I.

Again, in May, 1607, a company of one hundred and five English colonists, under the patronage of the London Company, which carried on its operations under a charter from King James I., settled on the James River and built Jamestown, the first town built in the ancient commonwealth of Virginia. The charter of the London Company conveyed to them all the country two hundred miles north and a like distance south of Old Point Comfort, extending west to the Pacific Ocean, making a tract of land four hundred miles wide and about three thousand miles long, embracing much, if not all, of the Great Northwest. This charter bore date April 10, 1606, and was supplemented by two others, bearing dates respectively May 23, 1609, and March 12, 1611, which conferred other rights and enlarged their

privileges and powers. In 1607, the Plymouth Company commenced the colony in Maine, with a charter similar to that of the London Company.

In addition, it may be stated that all the colonial governors of Virginia, beginning with Lord Delaware in 1609, and ending with Lord Dunmore in 1776, were appointed in England and acted under and by English authority, showing that England's right to exercise sovereign control here, from the first settlement of the colony until the beginning of the Revolutionary War, was uninterruptedly maintained and recognized by all interested, except, for a brief period, by France.

Moreover, many hundreds of English colonists were settled in Virginia from year to year, who established numerous other settlements which became permanently prosperous. Thus England had acquired title by discovery of the Cabots, by the occupancy of English colonists in 1607, and subsequently by possession of the country by British subjects, and by the continuous exercise of authority by the English Crown from 1609 to the beginning of the Revolution.

This continuous exercise of authority, let it be borne in mind, was (before the peace of 1763) confined to regions east of the Alleghany Mountains, and, of course, did not embrace the Great Northwest, with boundaries as before given. But England claimed the right to govern the portion of country herein called the Great Northwest, for the reason that it was included in and formed a part of the country conveyed by the charter of King James the First, bearing date April 10, 1606, to the celebrated London Land Company, although the regions here defined as the Great Northwest were at that time unknown to the English government and the English people, and so remained many years. The first attempt of the English looking to permanent occupancy was in 1749, when they erected a trading house at or near the mouth of Loramie's Creek on the Great Miami. This was the "Pickawillany" of history, being attacked by French and Indians in 1752 and destroyed.

The following facts, which are in the main well authenticated, may throw some light on the question of title by France to the Great Northwest. Late and approved authorities make it manifest that Jean Nicollet, an adventurous French missionary and explorer, as early as 1634-35, penetrated that portion of the Great Northwest now known as Wisconsin. He went from Canada to Green Bay during the latter half of the year 1634, and from thence proceeded westward, going a long distance into those then unknown western regions, probably approaching the western limits of what is now the State of Wisconsin. This view is substantially maintained by several accredited writers and historians (Wisconsin Historical Collections, volume



VIII). Mr. C. W. Butterfield, author of "Crawford's Sandusky Campaign," a credible and well-known historian, is authority for the statement that "Nicollet, a Frenchman, left Quebec in the summer of 1634, and visited the Winnebagoes, in Wisconsin, and returned in the summer of 1635, and that he was the first white man to see the Northwest." Parkman expresses the belief that Nicollet passed up the Fox River, crossed the portage to the Wisconsin River, and down that stream a considerable distance, though probably not to its mouth. He, however, thinks it occurred in or before the year 1639.

In 1641, a number of French priests explored the Northwest, and took measures to establish missions there. Among others were Raymbault, Pigart, Jogues, and Bressani, who were soon followed by some French traders and explorers, including Brabœuf, Daniel, Lallemand, and Rene Mesnard, who passed around the southern shore of Lake Superior. Nicolas Perrot, Claude Allouez, Jaques Marquette, Claude Dablon, and St. Lussion came later, and in 1671 proceeded, with stately ceremonies, to take possession of the country in behalf of France, in the name of the French monarch, Louis the Fourteenth.

La Salle, the great explorer, as early as 1669-71, discovered and navigated the Ohio and Illinois rivers, and it is of authentic history that this bold adventurer and enterprising explorer built a vessel of about forty-five tons burden, near the lower end of Lake Erie, in 1679, called the "Griffin," with which he navigated lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Michigan, and to the entrance of Green Bay, having thus voyaged along nearly three-fourths of the entire northern boundary of the Great Northwest. This he accomplished more than two hundred years ago. It is also a well-authenticated fact that Marquette and Joliet, distinguished Frenchmen, the former a priest, and the latter a trader and explorer, in 1673 passed from Green Bay, by way of the Wisconsin River, into the Mississippi River, descending to the region of Arkansas, fearing to go farther on account of the Indians and Spaniards.

On the sixth of February, 1682, nearly two hundred years ago, La Salle entered upon the turbid waters of the Mississippi River, at the mouth of the Illinois River, and floating southward passed the outlets of the Missouri and Ohio rivers, and sailing down the mighty current of the great river of the West to its entrance into the Gulf of Mexico, which he reached April 9, 1682, took possession of the country as its discoverer in the name of the King of France, called it *Louisiana*, and virtually defined its boundaries "to include all the lands on all the streams that discharged themselves into the Ohio and Mississippi rivers."

France continued from time to time to reaffirm its title and by various

acts to reassert and perpetuate its claim to the Great Northwest, such as encouraging the building of churches, and sending priests to minister in them; establishing trading posts; countenancing emigration hither; giving encouragement to traffic with the Indian tribes; aiding in making improvements and building villages; erecting forts, and sending adequate military detachments from time to time, for the defence of those French subjects who had placed themselves under the protection of their government and still professed allegiance to it.

One of the most conspicuous official acts of the government of France, in reaffirmation of title *to* and reassertion of rights hitherto acquired, *in* the Great Northwest, was performed in 1749. Captain Celeron, a French officer, was placed by the French government at the head of a force of three hundred men, and commanded to go to the Ohio, take possession of the country in the name of his king, and deposit leaden plates in the ground at or near the mouths of streams emptying into the Alleghany and Ohio rivers. In obedience to this command Captain Celeron promptly deposited plates with suitable inscriptions at the following points: *First*, at the mouth of Conewango Creek, on the south bank of the Alleghany River near the present town of Warren. *Second*, at a point on the Alleghany River, a number of miles below the mouth of French Creek, near a large rock on which were rudely engraved numerous figures. *Third*, at the mouth of Wheeling Creek in the present city of Wheeling. *Fourth*, at the mouth of the Muskingum River where Fort Harmer was built in 1786. *Fifth*, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River; and the *Sixth* and last plate being buried at the mouth of the Great Miami River.

The two plates buried respectively at the junction of the Muskingum and Kanawha rivers with the Ohio, and deposited with so much parade and ceremony by order of Louis XV., nearly a century before, have been found—the Kanawha plate in March, 1846. It is described in Craig's "Olden Time" (vol. I., pp. 238-40). A fac-simile is given in the same volume (pp. 336-7). The inscription in full, in French, is accompanied with an English translation. The plate is a fraction over seven inches wide and nearly eleven inches and a half long. It is said to have been about a quarter of an inch thick. The following is the translation given of the inscription on the Kanawha plate:

"In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celeron, Commandant of a detachment sent by the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Commandant-General of New France, to re-establish tranquillity in some Indian towns in these departments, have buried this plate at the mouth of the river Chinodahichetha [Kanawha], this 18th day of August, near the river

Ohio, otherwise called Beautiful River, as a memorial of the resumption of possession we have made of the said river Ohio, and all those that fall into it, and of all the lands on both sides up to the sources of said rivers, the same as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed or were entitled to enjoy, and as they were established by arms and by treaties, especially by those of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix la Chapelle." (Craig's "Olden Time," p. 240.)

In a preceding paragraph reference was made to the fact that the French government displayed a good degree of activity and vigilance about the middle of the last century by the erection of forts or military posts at various points in the Great Northwest, having in direct view the perpetuation of their power there. Among these forts were those of *Presque Isle*, on Lake Erie; *Le Bœuf*, on French Creek; *Venango*, at the mouth of the French Creek, on the Alleghany River; *Du Quesne*, at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; *Massae*, on the lower Ohio. There were also forts in possession of the French, at this period, at Detroit, Vincennes, and at various other points.

In addition to this, the French emissaries, priests, and soldiers made most extraordinary and measurably successful efforts to conciliate the Indian tribes of the Great Northwest, thereby largely securing a monopoly of trade, rendering them also the more accessible to the French Jesuits in their labors to proselyte them to the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, and securing their aid as allies in their subsequent struggles to maintain their power against British armies and American colonists.

All these and many other manifestations of the French government and French people were regarded by the British Crown and English people, also by the American colonists and the Colonial governments, in the light of a constant menace. The rights of the English government and of the American colonists (while in subordination to that government) *in* or *to* the Great Northwest, in contrast with those of the French and Indians, will be very briefly considered, inasmuch as the antagonizing parties were, at this time (1750-54), vigorously urging the validity of their respective titles.

England, previous to the ratification of the treaty of Paris, concluded with the United States in 1784, claimed to have the same right to govern the Great Northwest that she had to govern the colonies situated along the Atlantic coast, and whose inhabitants resided chiefly east of the Alleghany Mountains, which was done through the agency of the Colonial governors appointed by the Crown, and in pursuance of laws enacted by the British Parliament and Colonial legislatures; and, about the middle of the last century, began to enter emphatic protests against the encroachments of

France, also to deny the right of the latter to exercise authority in the "Ohio country." The demonstrative and even domineering performances of the subalterns of France in the country bordering on the Ohio and Alleghany rivers were peculiarly offensive. Especially did England contest the right of France, whose title, the former maintained, was held by an uncertain and insufficient tenure, not warranting those affirmative and even aggressive acts which have been briefly detailed in preceding paragraphs.

Those well versed in our early-time Western history well know that so persistently offensive had France become, by her encroachments and unceasing aggressions in the "Ohio country," that Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, in November, 1753, commissioned George Washington (then less than twenty-two years of age) an "express messenger to proceed, with all possible despatch, to the place on the Ohio River where the French had lately erected a fort or forts, or where the French Commandant resided, in order to deliver his letter and message to him." This was done with the hope of checking or, if possible, terminating the aggressions of the French, but no favorable results followed. The French were unmoved, and it was manifest that the question in issue between the English and French would have to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword.

A disastrous war was the result, in which French and Indians were the combatants on one side, and the English and Americans on the other—the Indians being the allies of the French, and the Americans of the English.

Several small military expeditions in the interest of the English claim, notably those of Captain Trent and Major George Washington, were sent against the French on the Ohio during the year 1754, which, however, accomplished nothing. But toward the close of the year a somewhat formidable army was organized by his Britannic Majesty, and placed under the command of General Braddock, who, with his army, landed at Alexandria, Virginia, in February, 1755, and soon started on the march to meet the French and their allies, the Indians, in the "Ohio country." Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, aided by the governors of other provinces, co-operated with his Britannic Majesty's army to the extent of raising six companies of Provincial troops, which were placed under the immediate command of Colonel Joshua Fry and Lieutenant-Colonel George Washington. These all joined the main army at the mouth of Wills Creek (Fort Cumberland) and, cutting a road through the woods and over the mountains, finally reached the mouth of Turtle Creek on the Monongahela River July 9, 1755, where the combined armies (British and Provincials) encountered the French and Indians, and were not only defeated but completely demoralized and overthrown, a

number, especially of the officers, having been either killed or mortally wounded, General Braddock himself being among the latter.

Hostilities continued on the Western borders, the title of his Britannic Majesty to the "Ohio country" being still confidently and boldly asserted and vigorously maintained. To establish and enforce the claims of the English, a large army of British and Provincial troops was organized in 1758, and placed under the command of General Forbes (the Colonial forces being under the direct command of Colonel George Washington) and marched across the mountains, through the wilderness, over roads constructed, for the most part, for the occasion, to Fort Du Quesne, at the forks of the Ohio, which, on hearing of the near approach of the armies of Forbes and Washington, the French quietly and without resistance abandoned. The English, becoming proprietors, changed the name to Fort Pitt, in honor of the Prime Minister. The French never recovered possession. This achievement was succeeded the next year (1759) by three military expeditions to Canada and along the northern border, commanded respectively by General Wolf, General Amherst, and General Prideaux. The former moved against Quebec, which fell into the hands of the English army; Amherst obtained possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and Niagara surrendered and passed into the possession of the English. The attempt of the French forces to recapture Fort Pitt this year also failed, and the power of the French was completely broken in America by the English successes of 1759. These decisive victories were so overwhelming as to put an end to all direct contest between the British and French in the West. Canada was lost to France, British supremacy was established in North America, and France never again asserted or attempted to maintain, by force of arms, her claim to the Great Northwest. The French forts in the "Ohio country" passed under English control; and we look to the treaty of Paris, of 1763, for the conditions on which the questions hitherto in issue in the "Valley of the Ohio," between France and England, were settled. In this change of ownership and exercise of authority there seemed a fair promise of increased protection, peace, and tranquillity to the few scattered, isolated, courageous, but greatly exposed frontiersmen who had already, in the indulgence of most perilous daring, erected and occupied their rude, humble cabins on the border land, the disputed territory between the Alleghany Mountains and the Ohio River, as well as to those of their no less courageous fellows who, thereafter, in the fearlessness of their undaunted heroism and daring, also chose to brave the privations and dangers of the wilderness and the perils of life on the outskirts of civilization, within ready approach of hostile tribes of treacherous, malignant, vindictive savages.

All this and more was ventured, accomplished, and endured in the "*border land*" at the period named; much more, and on a greatly augmented scale, was all this true during the early years of British rule there, when settlements were rapidly made on our western borders by a stalwart race of vigorous, heroic pioneers, fairly represented by the Zanes, the Crawfords, the McCulloughs, the Cresaps, the Shepherds, the Kentons, the Wilsons, the Hughes, the Clarks, the Bradys, the Johnsons, the Poes, the Williamsons, the Lochrys, the Wetzels.

In 1763 the English government was recognized as the ruling power in the "Ohio Valley," exercising authority then, or soon after, as far west as the Mississippi River. England had possession of Fort Pitt and other military posts. One of the earliest acts of a civil nature bearing *upon* or relating *to* the Great Northwest, by way of asserting England's control here, was the passage of an act in 1769, by the House of Burgesses of the Colony of Virginia (the colony being then loyal to the British Crown, and being governed by an English governor), establishing the county of Botetourt, with the Mississippi River as its western boundary and the Blue Ridge as its eastern.

Another act, by way of asserting title, was the exercise of authority over the Great Northwest, by the English Crown, by the passage of a law by the British Parliament, in 1774, making the Ohio River the *southwestern* boundary of Canada, and the Mississippi River its *western* boundary, thereby making these extensive regions a part of the Province of Quebec, for a brief period only, that is, if Parliament enactments were of paramount authority to those of a Colonial Legislature; but English authority here was in a state of abeyance during the Revolutionary War. Civil government, in fact, between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the northern lakes, was probably more mythical than real, more theory than reality, previous to the year 1778, when General George Rogers Clarke conquered the country. He acted under the authority and patronage of the Governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, and of his confidential counsellors Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe, and George Mason. His conquests and acquisitions therefore inured to the benefit of Virginia. By act of the Legislature, the country northwest of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi was organized into Illinois County, Virginia, in October, 1778, and Colonel John Todd was appointed by the Governor of Virginia Civil Commandant and Lieutenant of the county, who served until 1782. He was killed in the battle of Blue Licks, Kentucky, and Timothy de Montbrun succeeded him. The General Assembly of Virginia, in 1783, passed a law authorizing the conveyance to the United States of all "right and title of Virginia to the territory northwest-

ward of the river Ohio," which was accepted by Congress in 1784, and civil government was fully established there, in 1788, by the Government of the United States, which since then has had exclusive authority over it.

The English government was the ruling power in the Great Northwest during the period between the treaty of Paris of 1763 and the beginning of the Revolution, but the few inhabitants here denied the right of his Britannic Majesty to exercise authority over them during the seven years of our Revolutionary War. After the close of that war, the provisions of the treaty of 1784 put an end to the exercise of authority by the English government in the Great Northwest, *and that forever!* By the terms of said treaty the United States came upon the theatre and theoretically and practically obtained recognition as one of the independent nations, and in the exercise of its sovereignty took possession of the Great Northwest.

The Indian occupants had asserted contesting titles to these extensive regions, but these contesting titles were all finally extinguished by the provisions of numerous treaties entered into with them, including the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1784; of Fort McIntosh, concluded in 1785; of Fort Finney, entered into in 1786; of Fort Harmar, in 1789; of Vincennes, in 1792; of Greenville, in 1795; of Fort Wayne, in 1803; of Fort Industry, in 1805; and many others. But a potential factor in the final settlement of all issues between the Indian races, occupying this disputed territory, and the Government of the United States was found in the various military expeditions organized to quiet titles in the Great Northwest, ending with that of the illustrious General Anthony Wayne to the Maumee in August, 1794, where, in the well-fought battle of "Fallen Timbers" (which was the crowning victory of our long war with the Western savage tribes), was secured to the Great Northwest the peace and tranquillity guaranteed by the memorable treaty of Greenville, concluded in 1795.

Nearly forty years intervened between General Braddock's defeat on the banks of the Monongahela River, in July, 1755, and the great victory achieved by General Anthony Wayne, on the Maumee, in August, 1794. In the disastrous battle with the British general, on the Monongahela, the Indians were undoubtedly victorious, and in the contest with the American general, on the Maumee, they were most signally defeated. The discomfited, defeated army of General Braddock that, during the year 1755, in the interest of England, marched across the trackless mountain ranges which formed the dividing line between the civilized and savage races was the first that encountered the hostile tribes of red men in fierce and bloody contest for supremacy within the region designated as the Great Northwest; and the successful and victorious army of General Wayne, in 1794,

was the last one of the eighteenth century that thus encountered the hostile tribes of the West. The magnitude of the interests involved in the issue pending here, during nearly all the years of the latter half of the last century, could not well be exaggerated. It was a contest for recognized, undivided, undisturbed occupancy by the savage tribes of the aforementioned territory, who claimed the right to exercise ownership over it, and who determined that it should remain in its primitive natural state, to serve the purposes of hunting-grounds for them, never to be encroached upon by white men, or by any civilized races of mankind who assumed to claim title to it either by reason of discovery, occupancy, possession, or by purchase. On the other hand, soon after the successful expedition of Colonel Bouquet to the Muskingum in 1764, white settlers from east of the Alleghanies established themselves near the foot of the western slopes of said mountains and slowly extended their settlements westward, toward the Ohio River. Those settlements were regarded by the Indians as encroachments to be resisted unto death. The red men opposed, with the energy of desperation, the efforts of the whites to push their settlements westward. They struggled to maintain barbarism against civilization—Paganism against Christianity,—but were gradually overpowered by the daring frontiersmen, who, notwithstanding the resistance of the savages, steadily advanced westward, continually braving their stealthy, vindictive foes, tendering them a perpetual challenge, and ever maintaining a menacing, defying attitude—in short, a “conquer or die” attitude. *And they conquered.*

Pontiac, Cornstalk, Logan, Black Hawk, Little Turtle, Tecumseh, Blue Jacket are all gone, and uninterrupted peace is enjoyed by the more than thirteen millions of human beings that inhabit the Great Northwest. The title of this great nation to the territory of the five States and four fractional States that constitute the Northwest, “there is none to dispute.” We have all the title that England may have acquired by discovery. We have also all the title that France subsequently claimed to have acquired, by reason of discovery and occupancy, the French government having transferred everything to England by the treaty of Paris of 1763, which we acquired upon the failure of England to subdue the colonists, and which the mother country secured to the United States by the guarantees contained in the Treaty of Peace of 1784. Finally, as already stated, we acquired all the title the Indian tribes possessed, first by conquest and subsequently by purchase and by treaty negotiations.

A hundred years ago the Great Northwest was a wilderness, occupied by perhaps a hundred thousand uncivilized red men and a few thousand Frenchmen living in Vincennes, Detroit, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and in a few



other villages and sparse settlements here and there; also a very few thousand frontiersmen enjoying a semi-civilized mode of life, between the Alleghany Mountains and the Ohio River, and between Lake Erie and the Kanawha River. More than thirteen millions of civilized, free, independent people now occupy the same territory. This contrast between a hundred years ago and the present day clearly shows the superiority of civilization to barbarism—of Christianity to Paganism.

In conclusion, from the brief notes presented it is manifest that at least four different peoples or governments have at different periods, within historic times, claimed ownership of the Great Northwest and exercised civil authority over the inhabitants, sometimes ruling them by military power. These were, first, the various Indian tribes that occupied the country; second, the English and French governments—the latter, after claiming ownership and exercising authority, civil and military, over these extensive regions from 1671 to 1763, a period of ninety-two years, finally surrendering all claim of title to it at the last-named date; the former (the British government), after claiming title for nearly two centuries, ultimately, by acceding to the provisions of the treaty of Paris, ratified in 1784, surrendering perpetually all right to ownership and authority. Lastly, by the Government of the United States, which, in pursuance of the ordinance of 1787, enacted by Congress under the Articles of Confederation, established civil government here during the next year, under which benign rule the people of the Great Northwest have, for more than three generations, enjoyed a degree of prosperity and happiness seldom, if ever, paralleled.

The United States, in a few brief months after establishing a territorial government “Northwest of the River Ohio,” adopted a constitution, and became thereby a constitutional government, a NATION, under whose just and equitable legislation and wise statesmanship, for the last ninety-two years (just the number of years of French rule here), the Great Northwest has become emphatically great—great, not only in territorial extent and prolific soil, but also great in the immensity, variety, and value of her productions—in the excellence of her common schools—in the amplitude of her educational facilities for all of school age—in the number and superiority of her higher educational institutions, colleges, and universities—in the number, variety, and character of her benevolent institutions—in the number of liberally sustained Christian churches, whose pulpits are generally occupied by a competent learned ministry—and in the intelligence, the virtue, the intellectual and moral culture, the Christian civilization that characterize her more than thirteen millions of inhabitants.

## THE PICTURESQUE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The principal dates, names, and general results connected with the American Revolution we have learned during our school-days, but how seldom do we contemplate the picturesque in its history! There are other truths embalmed by history than those which are treasured in the note-books of political economists or statistical collectors, results of higher value than any theory of wages, or of population. These are the lessons of a moral and religious nature, of single-hearted patriotism, of generous self-denial, and transparent public virtue, through which the virtues of the fire-side and *home* are clearly seen. When they come before the eye embodied in incidents that are picturesque, they lose none of their value, but deserve and command as much genuine interest and admiration as were ever bestowed on the happiest combination of Nature's or of Art's results. If some matter-of-fact persons prefer to wander through dusky avenues where the grim skeletons of departed ages are preserved, may there not be others who prefer a ramble through that picture gallery whose walls are clothed in colors undimmed by time, and forms and figures that realize the spirit of the past?

The sense of the beautiful is an instinct of our nature which tells us through mere impressions what is homely or picturesque, just as the instincts of the body teach us what is sweet or bitter, fragrant or offensive; and it has equal scope, be the object of contemplation the record of man's high doings or the workings of Nature's changing scene. In each the mind may discover much, or may see nothing. In Nature the commonest sights and the commonest sounds are rich for the poet and poor for the man of prose. To the voice of the wind, to the common notes of the winter night, there are many souls in which no echo is awakened, no thought aroused, except, perhaps, the thought that it is very cold out of doors, or very comfortable within. Yet to others how mournfully and how powerfully do all these voices speak! A great poet has said that there is nothing so like the voice of the Spirit as the wind, and I myself have heard from a young and mourning mother's lips, who dreamed not of technical poetry when she spoke, a thought which was the whispered echo of that spirit's voice, and showed how strongly the poetic instinct may operate unconsciously. For what technical poet is there who could suggest a more poetical idea than hers, when she heard the sighing of the wind on the first

night of a mother's desolation, and said that she thought it brought a message from the fresh grave of her buried child to beg its mother to come and sit and sing by its lonely pillow? Yet this was the voice of the same wind to which the prosaic man listened without emotion.

There is no exclusive theory of poetic sentiment. We are told that it is

“The *meanest* floweret of the vale,  
The *simplest* note that swells the gale,  
The *common* air, the sun, the skies,”

that can awaken bright associations in the mind of man. Indeed the golden threads of history's romance are interwoven in the russet garment of every day's doings, so that you have only to hold it in its true light to see it shining and glittering as gayly and brilliantly as if the hand of an enchanter had worked it for holiday attire, and woven it all of golden tissue.

Is there a school-boy, or one who remembers his school-boy days, who, when reminded of it, will not acknowledge the enduring feeling which some one incident in the history of our Revolution must have awakened in his generous bosom, and that, too, less because the moral was striking than because the incidents were picturesque. The classical student is familiar with the mournful tragedy which, in the reign of the first emperor of Rome, cost the empire the flower of its army, and wrung from the lips of one, whose career of prosperity knew no interruption but this, a bitter lamentation, “Quintilius Varus, restore me my legions.” It was the cry of that emperor when he thought of his soldiers massacred amidst the forests of Germany, led thither by the rashness of an experienced general. Under a succeeding reign, a victorious Roman army, led by Germanicus, penetrated these very forests, and came, as it were by chance, to the scene of former discomfiture. Beautiful and impressive as is the narrative which the Roman annalist gives of the scene which then ensued, more picturesque is the parallel which our own early history affords, and it is the romance in this parallel which has always impressed me, for in it there seems all the poetical accessories that sometimes make history so picturesque.

On the evening of July 8, 1755, in the deep recesses of what was then a Pennsylvania wilderness, a young Virginian soldier, just twenty-three years of age, emerged from the forest and found himself, after a toilsome and solitary journey, in the presence of a large and well-appointed British army. The sun was just setting, and cast its bright beams upon the still waters of the river that flowed gently by, and on the gay banners and burnished accoutrements of this proud array. Officers and men were alike inspired with cheering hopes and confident anticipations. Every man was neatly

dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were formed in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed upon their burnished arms, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur. Thus it was that the young Virginian, George Washington, then a colonel in the militia, having been detained by sickness on the road, rejoined the army of General Braddock, the Quintilius Varus of his time. The noon of the next day's sun looked down upon a scene of savage victory and ruthless massacre. But the sequel of that gay parade I need not repeat.

How picturesque must have been the doings of the "Old Congress," and it is indeed a great misfortune that its secret doings and deliberations are almost entirely lost to our history. The witnesses of that conclave have one by one gone down to the grave. How little concord prevailed at some periods may be inferred from the following anecdote, for which I am indebted to the retentive memory of one of my aged friends, who has not forgotten his revolutionary lineage.

On the 8th day of May, 1776, while Congress was in session in Philadelphia, the sound of heavy artillery was heard down the Delaware. It was soon known that it proceeded from the gunboats that had been sent to protect the river from the British cruisers. Hitherto no sound of actual war had reached this portion of the province, where the inhabitants were more pacific in their tone than was suited to the ardor and exasperation of New England. As the sound of the first cannon burst upon the ear of Congress, old Samuel Adams sprang upon his feet and cried out with much exultation, to the infinite dismay of some timid members who sat near him, "*Thank God! the game's begun, no one can stop it now.*" "I wish that man was in *heaven*," was the ejaculation of one of his neighbors. "No, not in heaven," said another with a countenance of unmitigated disgust—"not in heaven, for I hope to get there some day *myself*."

In concord or discord, the work of the Old Congress was almost miraculous, and it is a pity that beyond its general results we know but little. What a rich addition to our history would it be if the illuminated record of these councils were by some kind act of Providence yet rescued from oblivion! What wish is there nearer to the heart of the American historian than that this record may yet be saved, that the scrutiny of some one who has forgotten perhaps that he had ever a drop of the "blood of the Revolution" in his veins, may yet find some portion of that record in a forgotten trunk in some neglected garret? That there was in such a body discordant opinions, hotly and angrily maintained, that there were some corrupt motives and selfish purposes is no doubt true, but that the vast and controlling ma-

jority was purely patriotic and imbued with the true spirit of heroic virtue the result has shown, and after all the one answer to all criticism, the best test of all work, is *result*.

How picturesque, how almost miraculous, was the work of the "Old Congress," for although it met as a mere deliberative convention, with hardly a shadow of authority under the law or provincial constitution, it became almost imperceptibly the government itself. It raised armies, appointed generals, levied taxes, made treaties, without even the semblance of regular authority. Such the success, such the result of justified revolution.

It would be in vain to attempt in this article to point out the many picturesque incidents of that great struggle which began with the session of the first Congress, in September, 1774, and terminated at the signing of the Provisional Treaty, on the 30th of November, 1782. Equally vain to endeavor to trace the romance of the Revolution even through its battles. There was not one, beginning at Lexington and ending at Yorktown, that had not some coloring of romance about it. Trenton, Princeton, and Germantown emphatically so; and the whole Southern campaign, from the rout at Camden through the bright series of victories at Guilford, till the British troops were hemmed in at Yorktown, was a tissue of exploits picturesque as they were gallant. But to judge more accurately of the romance and purity of our Revolution, contrast it for a moment with that other of history's records which was so soon after written—the revolution in France. I have often endeavored to find, either in the aggregate or in the details, any trait on which the poetical instinct can dwell in the annals of Revolutionary France. They were tragic enough, but it was that unvarying, unmitigated tragedy which nauseates the mind with horrors. There was no more poetry in it than there is in the gallows. There was not a leaf, or a flower, or a fragrant herb ever cast into the boiling caldron, or bubbled to its surface; but it was like witchcraft's dread mixture which the poet tells of, the fermentation of coarse ingredients. There was no object of sympathy. The Republic itself was no creation of beauty, even as it sprang from its birthplace. There was the helmet and the sword and the Gorgon shield, with all its hissing snakes, but there was not the majestic beauty or the stately step of the Goddess. When the Republic fell, after it had so often changed its garb from one costume of frippery to another, and so often washed its bloody hands, I know nothing to compare it to in all its mutilated and unpitied deformity than that most disgusting of all its horrible pictures, when Robespierre lay extended on a table in the Committee of Public Safety, with his hands tied behind him like a common felon's, his jaw broken

by his own cowardly pistol-shot, dressed in a sky blue silk coat, his powdered hair and lace ruffles dabbled in his own blood. It was the very incarnation of French republicanism in its last unpitied agonies.

In its less appalling traits, Revolutionary France was a great theatre, where a play was played with all the ranting and strutting and tinsel of the acting drama; and their great men, from Mirabeau, the greatest of them all, downward on the roll to the poorest strolling patriot of the smallest section, each was but the mock hero of his own stage, where virtue is faction and blood and carnage was the only reality. If, with its full record spread out before the eye, one was called upon to point his finger to any incident that deserved the name of purely picturesque, it could not be done further than by indicating the heroic conduct of the two advocates who volunteered to defend the king at the bar of the Convention, and the last hours of the poor queen, that star which shone so brightly in its occident, and shot forth a new beam as it touched the rugged borders of its last horizon, widowed and childless, a gray-haired young woman, who died divested of all a woman's beauty, save that which mantled on her cheeks in childhood and crimsoned them at her last moment on the scaffold—the inextinguishable beauty of a modest woman's blush. All else was fantastic horror and nothing more. What a contrast does it present to the romantic dignity and virtuous grace of our Revolution! Compare the old Continental Congress, an assembly which in gravity and heroism would have done honor to ancient Rome, with the notables, or the Assembly, or the Convention! Take Mirabeau, or Roland, or Brissot, or Dumouriez, and contrast each and all of them with the true chivalry of our annals, our soldiers and statesmen, and the palm is ours. Our men of chivalry in the field I need not name. In the councils of the American Revolution true chivalry was not wanting. The history of the Old Congress, from its first feeble convocation to its eclipse under the federal Constitution, is of itself a rich record of romance. Much could be said of the romantic character of the men of the Revolution, but let us look only at that of Washington. He was a perfect character of romance and chivalry in its highest sense. Nor were those traits of his character, which in the common estimate might pass for prosaic and purely matter-of-fact, at all at variance with his more shining qualities. His strict sense of justice, his systematic disposition of his time, his rigid determination on all occasions to claim what was due to him, his willingness to give that only which he had a right to give, his sense of religious obligation, his deference to the world's well-ascertained proprieties—all these were as much parts of his high chivalric bearing as was the dignity of his personal appearance, surpassed by no knight of real or fictitious chivalry, the daring gallantry of his

spirit, his quick, impetuous temper, or any other trait that poetry more readily consecrates.

A comparison has often been made by able hands between Washington and that fierce creation that sprang from the caldron of revolutionary France—Napoleon Bonaparte. It would be in vain even to attempt to retouch these contrasted portraits, but taking the record of their lives in our hands, let us be attentive to its last page—a page of deep and touching interest—the record of their death, for the death of each was a characteristic comment of his life. The one an illustration of all the gentle virtues which constituted his heroism; the other a fit farewell to a life of storm and tumult. The one that may not inaptly be likened to the last anchorage of some war-worn frigate, whose broad ensign has floated o'er many a just battle; the other the shipwreck of a private cruiser, whose flag has been long an emblem of terror to a peaceful world, whose decks are stained with blood, and at the height of the tempest founders on some obscure rock in the centre of an ocean's desolation.

Washington died on his own farm in the centre of the land to which he more than any other had given freedom and peaceful independence. The simple narrative of the details of his death, as preserved by his secretary, is beautifully characteristic, and so well known that it need but be referred to. The spirit of Washington returned to the power that gave it with neither agony of mind or body. His last accents breathed gratitude to all around him and peace and good will to men. As his noble figure lay on its last pillow, it lay in sweet repose, wasted by no long disease, deformed by no fierce convulsions. It was a scene of sorrow, but a scene of peace.

What a contrast to this gentle death was the last hour of Napoleon's trial. Darker and more tumultuous was the Imperial exile's death. "Head of my army," were the last words which escaped his lips, intimating that his thoughts were watching the current of a heavy fight. He who thought to conquer Europe found a prison in which to die. In the evening, desolate, surrounded by a surging sea, in the midst of a storm of wind and rain, the elements themselves in strife, in a whirlwind of delirium Napoleon's spirit took its flight.

It would require a volume in which to point out the many picturesque incidents of the American Revolution, for in its aggregate and in its details it was romantic. It was the effort of a dependent people to stand by itself, to govern itself. It involved a long and unequal contest, the desolation of many a field of prosperous industry, the sacrifice of many a cherished life. But it involved no wanton desolation; it was a war of defence; it was a war

for home. There was no fanaticism, there was no persecution, there was no scaffold. There was throughout the high dignity of that character peculiar to our Revolutionary forefathers, and embellished by the gentler grace which the refining spirit of the age hung around it.

The soil we stand on is filled with the bones of those who lived for us—the spirits of the mighty dead are above us and about us. The object of their trials, the recompense of their sufferings, was our Union. To perpetuate that Union, to save it from danger, let it come from what source it may, let us remember the beautiful in our history, and the righteousness of our existence as a nation; let us hang on the Union's sacred walls and stand on its noble porticos the pictures of the romantic deeds and the statues of the men who performed them. In imperishable records let their just praises be written, and then, when the agent of faction or mistaken zeal shall broach his calculations of the Union's value, or the Constitution's obligation, let him be led thither, and while he kneels in veneration, some interceding spirit must prompt him to carve on the arch of the Union, *Esto perpetua*.

DAVIS BRODHEAD

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## THE FRENCH SPOILIATION CLAIMS

For the forty-first time within the past eighty years a report is presented in Congress in favor of the settlement of the French Spoliation Claims. "These remarkable claims," as they are characterized by the Senate Committee, have perhaps ceased to be remarkable in themselves, and become so because of the fact indicated that after repeated public acknowledgments of their justice, and repeated recommendations for their adjudication, they still remain unpaid.

Except to the claimants concerned, the history of the claims is pretty much a forgotten chapter. Singularly enough the very treaty of alliance with France which weighed so heavily in our favor during the war of the Revolution, became, less than twenty years later, during the wars of the French Revolution, a burden, vexation, and source of anxiety to us. By one of the articles of that treaty, the United States guaranteed, in case of any future rupture between France and Great Britain, to secure to the former her possessions in the West Indies, this being one of the considerations on which France on her part guaranteed the sovereignty and independence of the United States. The French Revolution followed, and France seized the cargoes and vessels of neutrals, Americans among them, in con-



sequence of England's attempt to stop all traffic with French ports. When the United States complained, and presented claims for damage done to her private shipping, France presented the counter-claim that our Government had failed to observe the treaty of Alliance of 1778, not only in not attempting to defend the French West Indies, but also by actually declaring itself neutral in the contest between Republican France and the monarchies of Europe. In September, 1800, the dispute was finally settled by offsetting these claims against each other—France agreeing to release the United States from the onerous obligations of the treaty of 1778, and the United States releasing France from the payment of the claims for captured vessels and cargoes. By this arrangement, the United States herself assumed the debt due by France to the owners of the despoiled vessels and cargoes in question, and she continues to this day to remain their debtor. The descendants of these owners are before the present Congress as the original claimants stood before the early sessions of Congress, from eighty to sixty years ago, petitioning for the payment of the claims.

Among the reports presented to Congress, the one drawn up by Charles Sumner in 1864 is exhaustive of the subject, and it is reprinted as an appendix of the report now before the Senate. The whole question is there discussed with great clearness and ability, and the obligation of the United States to the petitioners reaffirmed in unequivocal terms. A point of practical moment concerns the amount for which the Government may be liable. Senator Sumner looked into this matter carefully, and ascertained that there were eight hundred and ninety-eight vessels included in the claims from which France was released prior to 1801, the value of which was officially estimated in 1799 at \$20,000,000.

Notwithstanding the numerous favorable reports made, twice only have bills been passed by Congress for the payment of the claims, one of which was vetoed by President Polk, and the other by President Pierce. The present Senate bill provides for "the ascertainment of all the facts in the controversy, and a settlement of all the questions of law arising by the Court of Claims, with a right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States." The objections against the payment, as given in the vetoes and adverse minority reports, are that the claims are stale; that at the time they arose there was war between France and the United States, and that they have been embraced in subsequent settlements and conventions.

## REPRINTS

## DISCRIMINATION AGAINST AMERICAN PRISONERS IN ENGLAND DURING THE REVOLUTION

The facts brought out in the following discussion in the British House of Lords might never have come to the notice of the writer, had not ex-Governor Horatio Seymour placed in his hands a copy of *The New York Packet and the American Advertiser*, published at Fishkill, N. Y., Oct. 25, 1781. The paper also contains a long official report from Gen. Nathaniel Greene, of the recent victory at Eutaw Springs, with details of casualties in the several regiments under his command; cheering letters from Virginia, giving accounts of some of the successes of the allied forces at Yorktown; an account of the celebration at Peekskill, October 18th, of the anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne; an epistle in poetry purporting to be from Gen. Burgoyne, in his dilemma at Yorktown, to Sir Henry Clinton; several items of news from Europe for May and June, and several quaint and curious advertisements.

From the report of the proceedings in the House of Lords, July 2, 1781, it seems that on June 29th Messrs. Lullman and Farquharson had been examined at the bar of the House of Commons on "the Petition of the American Prisoners confined in the Mill Prison at Plymouth," that Mr. Fox had moved in the Lower House for an address to his Majesty that the American prisoners be placed upon the same footing as the French, Spanish, and Dutch prisoners.

July 2, this subject being the order of the day: "The Duke of Richmond then rose and said that he would trouble their

Lordships with a few words, and but very few on the occasion before them. He would address himself merely to the feelings and the compassion of the House, for it was on that only that the true merits of the case depended. It had come out, even in the partial proof which they had heard at the bar, that the American prisoners had a smaller allowance of bread by one-third than the French, Spanish, and Dutch prisoners. Without entering into the politics of the question, or paying any regard to the particular situation in which these people stood, he would beg the House to consider and to treat them as men, as fellow-creatures, suffering the calamities of close confinement. He called upon them to say whether there was any sound and sober reason why the wants, the appetites, the necessities of an American should be less than those of a French man, a Spaniard, or a Dutch man? If not, was it either consistent with humanity, or with the national character, that an invidious distinction should be made with regard to them and to them only? How different was this from the conduct of the nation in the last war! At that time the glory which we acquired did not so much depend on the achievements of our arms as on the distinguished humanity with which we treated the prisoners that fell into our power. The example that we set forced from the gratitude and justice of our enemies the most honorable testimony of our conduct. The most eminent and venerable officers of France spoke of our behavior in terms of commendation and rapture, and by this the name and glory of the nation was exalted to a higher station of grandeur than it could have been elevated

by the triumphs of conquest. If this, then, was the line which we so successfully pursued, which may be said to be if not the natural, at least the frequent enemies of Great Britain, how much more did it become us, both from tenderness and policy, to exhibit proofs of national magnanimity in favor of those people in whom we once delighted, and whom we now wish to call our fellow-subjects? It was by this that we could hope to conciliate and reunite the affections of this country and America.

“Perhaps some noble Lords might be inclined to call them, as one of the witnesses at the bar had done, Rebels. Others might say, and he would be one of the number, that they were fighting for freedom and for the constitution. He would not, however, enter into this, nor would he trouble the House by entering into so minute a discussion of the question as he had intended, but since that time the same matter had been taken up in another place, and from the issue of the business there, he was able to form a pretty accurate presentment of the conclusion here. The Minister had set himself in opposition to it, and from the observation which he had been able to make of the system which he had, without success, resisted for the last fifteen or sixteen years, he was convinced that what the Minister thought proper to refuse in the Lower House, would not be granted in this. The reason, then, why he had brought forward this business, and why, having brought it forward, he thought it proper to say so little on the subject, was that, considering the matter as a question of humanity, he had brought it forward in the confidence which

he had in the feelings and the generosity of their Lordships, and now he said so little because from the issue of the matter in another House, he knew that there was no prospect of succeeding in this, and therefore it would be idle to give their Lordship’s much trouble on the occasion. He therefore said he would conclude with saying that he wished to move for an address to his Majesty, to place them on the same footing as the prisoners of France, Spain, and Holland. He paid a very warm encomium on the liberal conduct of the Commissioners of sick and hurt, and said that from their behavior in a recent instance, in which he had been applied to by the Dutch to enquire into the situation of their prisoners, they had shown the most honorable inclination to do everything in their power to provide for the accommodation of the prisoners of war. But at the same time they had themselves proved that the American prisoners had an inferior allowance of bread, the most essential requisite for the support of life. A noble Lord (Lord Abbington) had suggested a wish that the motion might be delayed. If there was any reason for this he would very cheerfully comply with his Lordship and the House in that respect.

“Lord Abbington said that he considered the Americans as illegally confined, and he wished to see that question inquired into; there were no other reasons that he had for wishing the noble Duke to delay his motion.

“The Duke of Richmond then moved for an address to his Majesty, similar to that moved for by Mr. Fox in the Lower House.

“Lord Sandwich opposed it, on the

ground of the evidence given at the bar, by which it appears that the Americans had a sufficient allowance of wholesome, nourishing provisions, and that they had continued in a state of remarkable health for a period of four years. He said that they had more than the soldiers on board the transports, and it would be therefore a great injustice to that valuable body of men to agree to the address proposed. Nor was the provision of the general body of labourers throughout the kingdom in any respect equal to the allowance made to these people.

“The Earl of Coventry and Earl Ferris supported the motion on principles of humanity, and declared that they considered it at once as impolitic and disgraceful to make a distinction of the nature that was made in this instance, since it tended to exasperate and to widen the breach between this country and America.

“Lord Loughborough opposed the motion, and defended the allowances that were made in the case of the French, Spanish, and Dutch prisoners, and of American and British prisoners, on physical principles. He said that it was necessary to proportion the allowance made to men in prison to what they were accustomed by their habits of living in general. To give them a greater quantity would subject them to disease—or to give them less—or to give them a change of diet. In France they were in the habit of eating much more bread than they did in this country. Mr. Howard, in his account of the prisons, said that the common fixed allowance was a pound and a half of bread. In England, the common average provision to the prisoners in the several county gaols was

one pound of bread per man per day. The noble Lord drew from this conclusion that the provision to the American prisoners ought to be in the same proportion.

“The Duke of Richmond answered the learned Lord with great success. He said he had not answered the plain question which he had asked, and which was the immediate point in issue, whether the appetites of an American were less than those of a Frenchman? Unless he proved this he proved nothing. He had been led, as well as the witness at the bar, his countryman, to make an estimate of the wants and necessities of the people of this country, by a comparison of what was required for subsistence in that part of the kingdom. He thought that the conclusion was not just. The people in that part of the country, the labourers of the lowest sort, had more than a pound of bread per day, and he therefore thought that the argument, coming as it did from persons who could not judge of this country but from their knowledge of that, did not and ought not to weigh. The learned Lord had misrepresented one fact, that the average allowance of bread to prisoners in the county gaols was one pound of bread per man per day. He knew that in several counties it was otherwise. In Sussex, they were allowed two pounds of bread per day.

“Lord Loughborough spoke again and stated several counties in which he knew the allowance was one pound per day. In regard to the observations which the noble Duke had made on Scotland and oatmeal, he could only say, that when he stooped to such an argument, he placed

him, inferior as he was, in a state so much above him that he disdained all reply.

“The Duke of Richmond said that the noble Lord’s disdain, or his respect, was to him a matter of the most perfect indifference. He might either disdain to reply or choose to speak, just as he pleased. He might sit down with a flourish instead of an argument, and might, without reason, take offence at an assertion because he did not find it convenient to give a direct answer. Great orators made it a practice when an argument touched them to leave it unanswered, and this the noble Lord had done. He had not attempted an answer to the simple question which he had asked, on which all the subject depended, but he had misconstrued an observation into an attack against Scotland. He was above the meanness of a national reflection—but he had said, and still maintained it, that a Scotchman was not a proper judge of an Englishman’s stomach.

“The House divided on the motion :

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“Non-contents. . . . . 47”

So it seems that the humane proposition of the Duke of Richmond respecting the starving Americans, prisoners of war in the terrible “Mill prison,” was voted down.

M. M. J.

UTICA, N. Y.

THE TRACK OF THE NORSEMAN

[This is a monograph, by Jos. Story Fay, of “Wood’s Holl,” Massachusetts. So far as the words “Holl” and “Hole” appear to be concerned, there is little or nothing in it, yet it is reproduced here to show what the author thinks, as writers who interest themselves in such mat-

ters have a right to be heard. A tolerable exhibition of cartology would be sufficient to dissipate the notion that “Hole” is a relic of the Scandinavian visits to this region, which, no doubt, were made, the fact being one that no Newport windmills or Dighton rocks can ever dissipate ; the accounts of the Sagas pointing definitely to the mild climate of the coast of Rhode Island. The Sagas stand in no need of vindication so far as windmills, pictured rock, “*eykts*,” and philological discussions may be concerned.]

It is now well established that in the tenth century the Norsemen visited this country, and coasting down from Greenland, passed along Cape Cod, through Vineyard Sound to Narragansett Bay, where it is believed they settled. In the neighborhood of Assonet and Dighton inscriptions upon the rocks have been found and traditions exist that there were others which have been destroyed. The name of Mount HOPE is supposed to have been given to the Indians by them, and it is a little curious that those antiquaries, who have tried to identify the names in Narragansett Bay with the Norsemen, did not look elsewhere on their route.

The Rev. Isaac Taylor, the author of a work published by Macmillan & Co., of London, entitled “Words and Places,” dilates upon the tenacity with which the names of places adhere to them, “throwing light upon history when other records are in doubt.” He shows the progress and extent of the Celtic, Norwegian, and Saxon migration over Europe, by the names and terminals which still exist

over that continent and even on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and says, "the knowledge of the history and migrations of such tribes must be recovered from the study of the names of the places they once inhabited, but which now know them no more; from the names of the hills which they fortified, of the rivers by which they dwelt, of the distant mountains upon which they gazed." He says, "In the Shetlands, every local name without exception is Norwegian. The names of the farms end in —seter or —ster, and the hills are called —hoy and —holl;" and yet he also says, "the name of Greenland is the only one left to remind us of the Scandinavian settlements which were made in America in the tenth century." Would the author have made this exception to his axiom as to the durability of names had he remembered that the Norsemen called the southern coast of Massachusetts VINELAND, and then had seen that we still have "Martin's" or "Martha's VINEYARD?" Had he sighted Cape Cod and entered Vineyard Sound as the Northmen did, in rounding Monomoy Point, the southeast extremity of the cape, he would have seen on his right a high sandy hill, on or near which is the lighthouse, overlooking a land-locked anchorage on the inside, called Powder Hole; a score or more of miles further along, across the sound on his left, he would have seen the hills now called Oak Bluffs and the Highlands, and under their lee, a deep bay and roadstead long known as Holmes' Hole, unfortunately changed to Vineyard Haven; crossing over to the main-land again, a little further west, he would have come to the

bold but prettily rounded hills forming the southwestern extremity of the cape, and behind them, the sheltered and picturesque harbor of Wood's Hole.

Proceeding thence toward Narragansett Bay, along the south coast of Naushton, prominent hills on the west end of that Island slope down to a roadstead for small craft, and a passage through to Buzzard's Bay, called Robinson's Hole: —the next island is Pasque, and between its high hills and those of Nashawena, is a passage called Quick's Hole. Now these several localities are unlike each other except that all have hills in their vicinity, serving as distinguishing landmarks. Why is not the word Hole, as applied to them, a corruption of the Norwegian word Holl, meaning hill? The descriptive term Hole is not applicable to any of them, but the word Holl is to the adjacent hills, while there is little else in common between them. The localities now called Quick's and Robinson's Hole are passages between Elizabeth Islands. Wood's Hole is a passage and a harbor, Holmes' Hole, now known as Vineyard Haven, is a deep bay or anchorage, and Powder Hole was formerly a capacious roadstead, now nearly filled with sand.

It may seem to militate with the theory advanced, that south of Powder Hole or Monomoy Point, is a locality called on the chart Butler's Hole, which lies in the course from Handkerchief Shoal to Pollock Rip, where there is now not only no hill, but no land. But it is to be considered that almost within the memory of man there was land in that vicinity, which has been washed away by the same strong and eccentric current that has nearly filled up Powder Hole harbor

and made it a sand-flat, and which still casts up on the shore large roots and remains of trees. With this in mind it is not wild to suppose that Butler's Hole marks a spot where once was an island with a prominent hill, which the sea-kings called a Holl, and which has succumbed to the powerful abrasion of the tides which have moved Pollock Rip many yards to the eastward, and which every year make and unmake shoals in the vicinity of Nantucket and Cape Cod.

It would seem a matter of course that the Norsemen, after their long and perhaps rough voyages, when once arrived in the sheltered waters and harbors of Vineyard Sound, should have become familiar with them and should have lingered there to recruit and refit, before proceeding westward; or, on their return, to have waited there to gather up resources before venturing out on the open ocean. Indeed, it is recorded in their sagas that they brought off boat loads of grapes from those pleasant shores. What more probable than that they cultivated friendly relations with the natives, and in coming to an understanding with them on subjects in common, should have told them the Norwegian terms for the hills and headlines of their coast, and that the Indians, in the paucity of their own language, should have adopted the appellative Holl, which they were told signified hill, so important as a landmark to these wandering sea-kings! Why may not the Northmen have called them so, until the natives adopted the same title, and handed it down to the English explorers under Bartholomew Gosnold, who gave their own patronymics to those several Holls, or Holes as now called? The

statement of "the oldest inhabitant" of Wood's Hole, on being asked where the word Hole came from, is, that he "always understood that it came from the Indians."

There being no harbor on the shores of Martha's Vineyard island west of Holmes' Hole, the voyagers would naturally follow the north shore of the Sound and become familiar with the Elizabeth Islands, and be more likely to give names to the localities on that side than on the other. Between Wood's Hole and Holmes' Hole the Sound is narrowest, and they would be apt to frequent either harbor as the winds and tide might make it safe and convenient for them.

It seems to confirm the views here advanced that in no other part of this Continent or of the world, where the English have settled, is to be commonly found the local name of Hole, and yet here in a distance of sixty miles, the thoroughfare of these bold navigators, there are no less than five such still extant. How can it be explained except because it is "the track of the Norseman?" It is not natural or probable, with their imperfect means of navigation, that they should have passed from Greenland to Narragansett Bay, leaving distinct traces in each, and yet to have ignored the whole intervening space, and not to have lingered awhile on the shores where they found grapes by the boat load, and which must have been as fair and pleasant in those days as they are now. It is to be hoped that, at least, our people will not be in haste to wipe out the local names of Vineyard Sound, when it is so likely that they are the oldest on the Continent and give to Massachusetts a priority of dis-

covery and settlement over her sister States. Only let us correct the spelling, and give proper significance to them by calling the places now named HOLE by the appropriate title of HOLL.<sup>1</sup>

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### NOTES

TEXAS AND TYLER—The somewhat lengthy article in the present number of the MAGAZINE treats of the times when politics *were* politics, when presidential campaigns were not colorless in respect to principles, and when the difference between the parties was not indicated chiefly by the proportions of vituperation and personal abuse which they respectively employed. There were excellent haters in those days, but there were also fundamental questions affecting the life of the nation, concerning which the best minds entertained widely conflicting views. Our leading article, written by the son of the late President Tyler, is a reminiscence of those days, and possesses a special value, inasmuch as it is the work of an ablegate, fully qualified to speak his principal's mind. It, however, does not present any flattering view of the power of human discernment, where Calhoun appears urging "the peculiar institution" as essential to the welfare of the South, and, indeed, of the whole nation; nor where Tyler maintains that the same institution is "a matter of climate." They forget that it was human institutions that were so poorly regulated. Hence, though hardly a generation has passed, their

views on that subject have been reduced to rubbish, while the Republic survives.

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PROGRESS AND PREJUDICE—A Magazine of American History cannot fulfil its mission, if the management is contented by making it a repository of unsifted material and verbose documents. There are two antiquities, a past and a future, as extremes meet; and historical research has a double value, in that out of the dusky past it affords light for days to come. That antiquary presents a pitiable figure who adores the past, because it is the past. Antiquarian and historic research should have a direct bearing upon present and coming issues, and thus yield a fair proportion of useful results. The study of history is essential to progress, yet how poor will be the progress when this study is prosecuted under the influence of prejudice. National prejudice is sufficiently deleterious, but local, provincial prejudice is worse. National prejudice may, possibly, be dignified in some degree by patriotism, but provincial prejudice is belittling and every way small. It too often concerns itself with the honor of historic actions that were essentially dishonorable; suppresses or ignores unwelcome truth, defends whatever is peculiar to the bailiwick, and regards those who presumed to have any unpleasantnesses therewith as hopelessly bad. This spirit might adorn the Pickwickian author of a monograph on the source of Hampstead Ponds, but it can confer no special benefit upon the sources of history. It must be obvious to well-ordered minds that, so far as possible, prejudice, whether national or local, alike demands elimination; for it is

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<sup>1</sup> It is natural that the English having no word spelled *Holl* (pronounced like roll, toll, poll, knoll, etc.), should spell the word from its phonetic sound *Hole*, though its meaning is *hill*.



hardly to the credit of the country that we should even be obliged to look to the Libittinarii for that relief so reasonably expected from historians.

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MOULTRIE AND GADSDEN — E. S. Thomas, in his "Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years" (Hartford, 1840), says: "Among the eminent men of Charleston, S. C., in those days [1795-1800], besides the Rutledges and Pinckneys, already mentioned, were Generals Moultrie and Gadsden. Each of those veterans of the Revolution were, I should think, upwards of seventy when I first saw them. Moultrie was not more celebrated for his bravery and skill in war, than for all those virtues that adorn the domestic circle in peace. He was the best company of any man I ever saw of his years, and could set the table in a roar whenever it suited him. The old loved, the young venerated and respected him. He was a great favorite with the ladies, whose faithful admirer and most chivalrous defender he had ever been. General Gadsden was his senior. I saw only enough of him to learn to appreciate him as a soldier of the Revolution, and a patriotic and most enterprising citizen."

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THE WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS at Tappan, Westchester County, New York, was built in 1700, and partly of materials brought from Holland. When occupied by Washington during the Revolution, it was owned by Johannes De Wint, a West India planter. The parlor in which was signed the death-warrant of André, and which was the office of Washington, was decorated with eighty-nine Dutch tiles,

about five inches square, and on them were represented as many subjects taken from Scriptures or the Apocrypha. They are painted in one color—purple, on a white ground, and some of them, by their grotesqueness, give proof of their Teutonic origin. For example, the whale that swallowed Jonah is pictured as holding the prophet by his waistband, and the sight is not suggestive of serious thoughts. For some reason these tiles have recently been removed, and are not now accessible to the student in pottery.

CUSH

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THE FIRST LION IN THE UNITED STATES —The first lion put in an appearance in America in 1796. This noble animal, according to the advertisement, was caught in the woods of Goree, in Africa, when a whelp, and brought thence to New York. He was between three and four feet high, measured eight feet from nostrils to tail, was of a beautiful dun color. He was between six and seven years old when he emigrated, and was "uncommonly strong built." His legs and tail were as thick as those of a common sized ox. He is described as tame as any domestic animal. This "beautiful" creature was exhibited at "the Ball Alley in the Fields [now the City Hall Park] next the corner of Murray's Street in Broadway." S.

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THE FIRST AMERICAN CARGO OF COTTON TO ENGLAND—This important initiative of "King Cotton's" rule in the foreign commerce of the United States was made by Captain Robert Sheffield, of Fairfield, Ct., an uncle of the late Mr. Joseph E.

Sheffield, the venerable and liberal founder of the Yale College "Sheffield Scientific School." As early as the beginning of the present century, in his ship "Sovereign," of 220 tons, he took out 450 bales from Charleston, S. C., touching at the port of New York, and clearing for Liverpool, his cargo covering the deck of his vessel, from stint of hold-room. On arrival at Liverpool, the dealers would not at first believe that his cotton was from this country, so that he was obliged to *bond* it, until he could obtain a formal consular certificate. Captain Robert Sheffield afterward built the "Mars," and made this vessel the first Liverpool packet from New York.

This eminent shipmaster of the olden time, who had also signalized himself during the Revolutionary War in the United States naval service, lived to the age of ninety-four, and ended his long life very peacefully about 1836, at the Sailor's Snug Harbor, where his friends persuaded him, toward the last, to spend his remaining old age. These facts we have recently received from his now only surviving nephew, Captain Pascal Sheffield, of Southport, Conn., who, some fifty years since, took out the first load of cotton from Apalachicola to Liverpool, in his good ship "Warsaw." He then met with merchants who remembered his pioneer uncle above mentioned.

W. H.

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THE NEWBURG CENTENNIAL.—If the expectations of the citizens of Newburg, N. Y., are fully realized, the series of centennial celebrations will be rounded off in that place next year in a fitting and bril-

liant manner. At Newburg Washington had his last headquarters; there the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain was publicly proclaimed; there Washington restrained his officers from committing an enormous blunder in threatening Congress for its apparant neglect of them; there he nipped in the bud the project of making him Dictator; and there the grand old army of the Revolution—that depleted but indomitable, long-suffering, victorious body—was disbanded. Next spring and fall there will be much to recall in the way of Newburg associations. The question now is to provide ample means and in ample time for the celebration. It has not yet been determined what day in the year to celebrate as a general jubilee, since several events are to be commemorated at the same time, but as a centennial memorial it is proposed to erect at Washington's headquarters, on the bluff overlooking the river, a plain shaft or column with inscriptions respecting the most important incidents occurring at that point. It is proposed further to erect a building or "temple" similar to that which the Revolutionary soldiers built for the peace festivities, and to purchase and keep in order adjacent grounds in which many of the veterans, dying in camp, were buried. The city of Newburg has already appropriated \$5,000 for the expenses and the citizens promise \$5,000 more, while Congress is asked, as stated in the April number of the MAGAZINE, p. 291, to make an appropriation both for the monument and celebration. The sum proposed in the House resolution is \$25,000.

After the Newburg festivities comes the evacuation of New York by the British, which will be duly observed.

QUERIES

FRENCH EXILES—When Chevalier John Keating came to Philadelphia from France, after the execution of Louis XVI., he was accompanied by some thirty of the French nobility. Did they settle there permanently, and what is their history? Keating, who lived to an advanced age, died at Philadelphia in 1856.

ARMOR

CHARLES BLASKOWITZ—What is known of this individual, whose name appears as the author of several Revolutionary maps? Was he an engineer-officer, and in what service, British or Hessian? Some of his work displays much skill and accuracy.

SELDEN

THE NEW ROAD, NEW YORK—There are certain manuscript references which make mention of a redoubt at the "New Road in New York," during the British occupation, 1781. Information is sought respecting this road. Can it be located?

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THE CHESSY CAT—What is the origin of the saying, "Grin like a chessy cat"? Has "chessy" anything to do with "Chester"?

CHAT

THE CARDINAL OF BOURBON—Who was "the cardinall of Burbon," mentioned in the Maine Collections [series 2, vol. II., p. 26] as sending Stephen Bellingier, of Rouen, into the region of Massachusetts Bay, in 1583; and what were the relations of the men of Rouen to the New England coast in the sixteenth century?

DIEPPE

GATES' "NORTHERN LAURELS" AND "SOUTHERN WILLOWS"—What is the best authority for the statement that Lee cautioned Gates on his way to the Southern department, to beware lest he exchanged his "Northern laurels for Southern willows?" Colonel Peter Horry gives the story as follows:

On his way from the Northern States General Gates passed through Fredericksburg, where he fell in with General Charles Lee, who, in his frank manner, asked him where he was going.

"Why, to take Cornwallis."

"I am afraid," quoth Lee, "you will find him a tough piece of English beef."

"Tough, sir," replied Gates, "tough! then begad I'll tender him. I'll make *piloo* of him, sir, in three hours after I set eyes upon him."

"Aye! will you indeed?" returned Lee. "Well then send for me, and I will help you eat him."

Gates smiled, and bidding him adieu, rode off. Lee bawled after him, "Take care, Gates! take care! or your Northern laurels will degenerate into Southern willows."—*Life of Marion*.

THE KOSCIUSKO SCHOOL—In the report of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society for 1827, occurs the following paragraph: "The Managers have heard with pleasure that an institution, denominated the Kosciusko School, has been founded in New Jersey, and that one of its prominent objects is to qualify young men of color for usefulness in Liberia. The name of Kosciusko is associated with this school, in honor of that illustrious individual who, on his final departure from America, in-

trusted to Mr. Jefferson a fund to be applied by him to the purchase and education of African slaves, which fund is, on certain conditions, to be appropriated to the benefit of this seminary, which will long stand, we trust, a monument of the charity of that noble foreigner, whose valor and services in the cause of freedom and humanity, are revered throughout our country and the civilized world."

Where was this school located and what its history? T.

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### REPLIES

ETHAN ALLEN AND SIR HENRY CLINTON [VIII. 221]—Whatever *proof* there may be of Allen's having ever entertained treasonable purposes—and after all my reading of Allen's history, I know of none—Sir Henry Clinton's note certainly cannot be so classed. Clinton is simply stating in a memorandum of mere reports about the American Army, "by the best accounts Ethan Allen has not yet joined, tho' much discontented." Joined what? Presumably the English Army. At this time, January, 1781, Allen was not in military service, having retired from it discontented. Why? The Vermont Assembly, October 30, 1781, had instructed him to negotiate an exchange of prisoners with the British Commander Haldeman, and then "to discharge the volunteers raised for the defence of the frontier." Allen obeyed, whereupon Captains Hutchins and Hathaway preferred charges against him. The Assembly listened to the charges and summoned him to appear. Allen appeared, answered the charges, and re-

signed his commission. The Assembly subsequently considered the charges, and on the testimony of two of Allen's staff officers—Stephen A. Bradley and Joseph Fay, men distinguished in State affairs as of undoubted patriotism and probity—*dismissed* the charges, appointed a committee to return to Allen "the thanks of this house for the great service he has done the State since his appointment of Brigadier-General," and accepted his resignation. These charges against him for *obeying the orders* of the Assembly, and their *consideration by* the Assembly, naturally caused his "discontent." The same Assembly re-elected him Brigadier-General of the First Brigade five months later, April 11, 1781, and two months after Clinton records the above *hearsay*. This reappointment, as Mr. Gilman says, Allen "declined to accept, but with the promise that he would render any service desired of him at any time, although not formally commissioned; and that promise was faithfully observed." As soon as Allen was reappointed and had declined, he offered his military service to one who certainly had no kind feelings toward him—the Governor of New York. Again, supposing Clinton to refer to a hoped-for union of Allen with the British, like his estimate of the purpose for which the Pennsylvania line mutinied, the wish was, in Clinton, father to the hearsay he recorded. The Pennsylvania emeute occurring at this time gave Clinton high hopes of securing several thousand "discontented" American troops to his own army; but his hopes were dashed by the indignant act of the "discontented" in lynching his emissaries. It were as just to suspect

these soldiers of treason on account of their mutiny, as to suspect Allen of treason on the mere *hearsay* memorandum of Clinton. If Allen was a traitor, or even entertained the toryism which he charges, it is believed unjustly, on his brother Levi—let us have the *proof*.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

WESLEY AS A BISHOP [VIII. 227]—There is not the slightest evidence that John Wesley ever received Episcopal consecration. On the contrary, writing to Coke while the latter was in America, about 1785, he says: "One instance of this, of your *greatness*, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be called *Bishop*? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call *me* a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content, but they shall never, by my consent, call me *Bishop*!" (See Whitehead's "Life of Wesley," p. 17, ed. 1845.) In the same work (prepared by Rev. John Whitehead, M.D., Wesley's *literary executor*, to whom he willed all his papers for this purpose), vol. ii., p. 291, the author says that "some years ago" (he wrote in the last century) "Erasmus, Bishop of Crete, visited London, driven from his see by the Turks for baptizing a Mussulman into the faith of Christ. That the known liberality of Mr. Wesley should induce him to be kind to a stranger in distress is not to be wondered at, but the report circulated in some periodical publications of that time, that Mr. Charles Wesley had offered him forty guineas to consecrate his brother a bishop, is totally without foundation, and has not even the shadow of probability to give it

credit." However, some of the followers of Wesley, who have the "Apostolic Succession" bee in their bonnet, have taken up the matter seriously, and discussed it. Coke, who was a contemporary of Whitehead and Wesley, did not credit the story, as the letter he wrote to Bishop White requesting consecration (he being already a Presbyterian of the Church of England) is still in the archives of the Protestant Episcopal Church (see White's "Memoirs," 3d ed., p. 408 et seq.). I think some discussion of this matter will be found in Tyermore's "Wesley," Stevens' "Methodism," "The Southern Review," and Whitehead's "Life of Wesley," republished by Rev. Thomas H. Stockton, 1845, and now scarce.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

THE MAYFLOWER [VIII. 293]—This flower is in its prime in the Middle States in May, and not in April, as in Massachusetts, and so valuable an authority as Gray states that it derives its colloquial name from the month of May, in which it blooms so bountifully. It is called throughout Pennsylvania and Maryland "the trailing arbutus." WILKES

COST OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO FRANCE [VIII. 294]—The treaty between Louis XVI. of France and the United States, February 6, 1778, was a most important factor in producing the subsequent bankruptcy of France. The empire was fearfully in debt when this treaty was made, and the war to which it gave rise cost France, according to Audouin, 1,400,000,000 livres—nearly \$300,000,000 of our money. While this enormous

drain was exhausting rapidly the resources of France, the insane extravagance of the Court did not cease nor abate. Necker, who was ever wide awake to the financial dangers of the kingdom, plead in vain, and was dismissed on account of his remonstrance.

The peace of 1783 gave but a brief respite to already insolvent France. Calonne followed Necker as Minister of Finance. His efforts to stay the rushing tide were no more successful. February 22, 1787, the deficit in the treasury was estimated at about 150,000,000 livres—\$30,000,000. When Necker was recalled, this same year, he found in cash in the treasury of France 419,000 livres—\$83,800. The efforts to remedy this terrible bankruptcy resulted, July, 1789, in the French Revolution. Whether this was the *immediate* result of the American Revolutionary War, or of the mad craze for pleasure which wasted the revenues of the empire *at home*, each one can decide for himself.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

COST OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO FRANCE [VIII. 294]—According to the report of Calonne, Minister of Finance to Louis XVI., France expended fourteen hundred and forty millions of francs, or about two hundred and eighty millions of dollars, in assisting the Colonies during the Revolutionary War. Jefferson states in his Memoirs that Necker reported the same figures at the opening of the States-General at Paris in 1789. \*

THE GRAHAMS—On this subject [VIII. 206] I may say that the Rev. John Graham, of Suffield, kept a complete diary

with a record of births, deaths, and marriages of all within his precinct. This record, however, cannot now be found. General Lyman and the Rev. John Graham, of Suffield, were intimate friends, notwithstanding the strictures of the latter upon the former. The statements in Cothren's "Woodbury" need correction. The first John Graham had two wives. The first was Love Sanborn, December 14, 1719, by whom he had three children, Elizabeth, John, and Robert. She died March 1, 1726, while he was in Stafford, Conn. He soon after married Abigail Chauncy, who was the mother of the other children, among whom was John Graham, afterward of Suffield, who was born at Woodbury, where his parents resided at the time. CONNECTICUT

SALT RIVER [VIII. 297]—Webster's Dictionary, p. 1587, says: "The phrase '*To row up Salt River*' has its origin in the fact that there is a small stream of that name in Kentucky, the passage of which is made difficult and laborious as well by its tortuous course as by the abundance of shallows and bars. The real application of the phrase is to the unhappy wight who has the task of propelling the boat up the stream; but in political or slang usage it is to those who are rowed up.—*J. Inman.*" H.

EAGLES AND FISH HAWKS ON THE HUDSON—Under this title [VIII. 358] a contributor to the MAGAZINE describes the habits of birds on the Hudson in the last century. St. John de Crevecœur, whose account is here recited, was the first French Consul at New York after the

peace. He had lived for many years in the New York Colony. In the Colonial Records of the Chamber of Commerce, in a note to a sketch of the Verplanck family by the late Gulian C. Verplanck, will be found an account of a scene which M. de Crevecœur witnessed at the house of Mr. Samuel Verplanck, at Fish-kill, when the hawk took from the water a fish weighing twenty-one pounds, which was robbed from him by a bald eagle, who in turn, frightened by the cries of Mr. Verplanck, dropped the fish, which was served for dinner. Mr. Verplanck is credited with saying that these birds were his usual purveyors when he had a fancy for a fish dinner.

This fish story must be taken as the fish itself, "cum grano salis." Audubon confirms the habits of the white-headed eagle, king of birds, and the fish hawk or osprey, but in his account of the latter bird he says that the largest fish he had seen it take out of the water was a weak-fish, weighing somewhat over five pounds. The bird carried it with difficulty, and dropped it on hearing the report of a shot fired at it. This was at Great Egg Harbor, on the Jersey coast, where both birds and fish abound. The fish mentioned by Crevecœur could not have been sea-bass, but what are now called striped-bass. S.

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 PORTRAIT OF GENERAL POOR [VIII. 294]—The only extant portrait of General Enoch Poor, of New Hampshire, who died in the Revolutionary service in 1780, while commanding one of the two brigades in Lafayette's Light Infantry Division, was drawn by Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, on the fly-leaf of a

Common Prayer Book, during service. The Colonel presented the sketch to General Poor, who was unaware what his distinguished Polish friend was about. This souvenir is now carefully preserved by one of the General's descendants, and a copy of it is in my possession. The sketch was made in 1780. A. B. G.

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 LOG CANOES. [VIII. 340]—In reply to an inquiry regarding canoes, I will say, although aware that the old writers do not mention "dug-outs" as having been used by the Iroquois, that I have little doubt that they did, for the account which I give in my article is a well-authenticated family tradition, and is as reliable as anything which cannot actually be proved. Possibly in the pre-historic days they used nothing on the Mohawk but the elm-bark canoe, and they may have learned to make the dug-out from the whites, for this latter kind of canoe has continued to be in use here down to a late day—in fact, I remember some of them in my boyhood. S. L. FREY

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 SHARPLES VERSUS HEATH—In the notice of the supposed Sharples portrait of Washington [VIII. 224], reference is made to a painting of "Stuyvesant's Army Entering Sing Sing." This is probably an error, and refers to a drawing made by William Heath, of London, which the Putnams reproduced in Knickerbocker's New York, editions of 1850 and 1867, of Stuyvesant Entering New York. The portrait of Washington was exhibited by Mr. Walters in the spring of 1854, not 1834. It was not accompanied by any other picture. W.

## SOCIETIES

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY met May 11th, Vice-President Ellis in the chair, when Mayor Green, the Librarian, made his monthly report, and the society proceeded to pay its respects to the memory of the late Ralph Waldo Emerson. Dr. Ellis was the first speaker, alluding first to the scene when, fifteen months ago, Mr. Emerson read before the society his paper upon Carlyle, the last that he ever read, and one which was prepared thirty years before, and saying that "it is no secret, but a free confession, that the quality, methods, and fruits of his genius are so peculiar, unique, obscure, and remote from the appreciation of a large class of those of logical, argumentative, and prosaic minds, as to invest them with the ill-understood and the inexplicable. He was signally one of those, rare in our race, in the duality of our human elementary composition, in whom the dust of the ground contributed its least proportions, while the ethereal inspiration from above contributed the greatest." The speaker also quoted from a letter by Emerson, who, in reply to a demand from a friend for arguments in support of his position, the need of arguments being felt by many who failed to be convinced by his semi-vaticinations, said, "It strikes me very oddly that good and wise men at Cambridge and Boston should think of raising me into an object of criticism. I have always been—from my very incapacity of methodical writing—'a chartered libertine,' free to worship and free to rail, lucky when I could make myself understood, but never esteemed near

enough to the institutions and mind of society to deserve the notice of the masters of literature and religion. I have appreciated fully the advantages of my position; for I well know that there is no scholar less able or willing to be a polemic. I could not give accounts of myself if challenged. I could not possibly give you one of the 'arguments' you cruelly hint at, on which any doctrine of mine stands; for I do not know what arguments mean, in reference to any expression of a thought. I delight in telling what I think; but, if you ask me how I dare say so, or why it is so, I am the most helpless of mortal men."

Judge E. R. Hoar wrote, saying, among other things, that Emerson's "address in September, 1835, at the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Concord, seems to me to contain the most complete and exquisite picture of the origin, history, and peculiar characteristics of a New England town that has ever been produced."

Dr. O. W. Holmes spoke of "the loftiest and divinest of our thinkers," alluding elegantly to a class of those who reverently attended the obsequies of Emerson, as "the guardians of ancient formulæ, vigilant still as watch-dogs over the bones of their fleshless symbols;" also quoting the late Mr. Burlingame, who, after his return, said, "There are twenty thousand Ralph Waldo Emersons in China." James Freeman Clark also spoke.

It was announced by the Chair that the council had appointed Mr. James Russell Lowell to write a memoir of Mr. Longfellow for the society's proceedings. The appointment of the society's biographer



of Mr. Emerson was deferred till the next meeting. Dr. Holmes presented a deed of mortgage of a house in Northampton, England, dated 1683, in the handwriting and with the signature of Thomas Franklin, a relative of Benjamin Franklin. The deed was sent to Dr. Holmes by Mr. Bellows, of Gloucester, England, the author of the miniature French Dictionary. Professor C. E. Norton read two letters which he received about a year ago from Mr. Darwin, containing interesting facts about the friendship existing between Franklin and members of the Darwin family. Colonel Henry Lee spoke of a portrait at the State House, said to be that of Rev. Francis Higginson. After careful study and comparison with another possessing similar claims, it is believed that the one at the State House is an original. Dr. Ellis remarked that before the time of Blackburn and Smibert there must have been a portrait painter in Boston, as is proved by the existence of several well-authenticated portraits.

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NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting of this society was held May 4th. In the absence of the President, the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter took the chair.

The corresponding secretary announced several recent donations, namely, the seal of the extinct Middlesex Canal Company, an interesting relic of a corporation by which was constructed a work of internal improvement which, when it was finished, and for many years afterward, was considered a masterly piece of engineering, one of the wonders of the vicinity, presented by Mr. Robert H. Eddy, whose fa-

ther, Mr. Caleb Eddy, had charge of the canal for many years; a cane made from the "Old Elm" on Boston Common, blown down February 15, 1876, belonging to the late Mr. Henry W. Alger, of West Bridgewater.

Rev. Charles A. Downs, of Lebanon, N. H., read a paper entitled "A Border New Hampshire Town in the Vermont Controversy."

The subject is a difficult one, because of the number of the actors and variety of motives which influenced them. The motives are these: 1. Grievances, real and fancied. 2. Neighborly sympathy. 3. Self-interest. 4. Patriotism. 5. Policy, American and British.

Many of the earlier grants were given before much exploration had been made, so that different grants often overlapped. The Masonian grant of the territory of New Hampshire was bounded by a line sixty miles from the ocean. The commission of Benning Wentworth gave him jurisdiction over a much larger territory westward, till it met His Majesty's other governments. Massachusetts and Connecticut had established their western boundaries at a line twenty miles from the Hudson River; New Hampshire claimed the same line, and Governor Wentworth made many grants of townships in the present territory of Vermont, the first being Bennington, 1750. Charles II., by letters patent, had granted a territory to the Duke of York, whose eastern boundary was the Connecticut River. So New York also claimed the territory of Vermont. These rival claims became an element in the controversy. In 1764, upon the appeal of both provinces, the king decided that the west bank of the

Connecticut River should be the boundary between the two provinces. But upon the Revolution and the cessation of royal authority, New Hampshire laid claim to the territory of Vermont.

The people of Vermont, harassed by the agents of New York, declared their independence of all authority, and organized a State Government, 1777, and sought recognition from Congress and admission into the Union, New York openly opposing, because she claimed the territory as her own. In the meantime, certain towns of New Hampshire, in the valley of the Connecticut, dissatisfied with their relations to New Hampshire, conceiving themselves wronged and oppressed by that Government, accepted an invitation to unite with the people of the new State. New Hampshire alarmed at this loss of territory, entered her protest before Congress. New York did the same, and Congress, on that ground, refused to recognize the new State, declaring that Vermont must abandon all territory claimed by these States before she could even hope to be admitted to the Union as a sovereign State. The primary purpose of those at the head of the Government of Vermont was recognition as a State. This purpose was a dominant one, and overruled all other considerations. Finding that her admission of the New Hampshire towns stood in the way of this recognition, she indirectly dismissed them by refusing to give them certain privileges. The New Hampshire towns refused to return to their allegiance, because the grievances were still unredressed, and fell back upon their town organization and became "little sovereignties," claiming to administer all their affairs as

such, without interference, till they saw fit to connect themselves with some larger sovereignty. They said that they had been arbitrarily connected, first with one government and then with another, at the caprice of royal authority; but that authority was annulled by the Revolution, and the right, which had always been theirs, having now come into their own hands, they chose to decide for themselves their State connection.

Various conventions of these discontented towns were held, when, at Charlestown, 1781, these towns, with a number from Vermont, decided to unite with New Hampshire, and become a part of that sovereignty. This alarmed Vermont, and by the diplomacy of Ira Allen the committee of the convention were persuaded to substitute Vermont for New Hampshire. New Hampshire in her turn was alarmed at the threatened loss of so large a part of her territory, and uttered threats and protests. Nevertheless, the New Hampshire towns consummated the union. Congress again declared that Vermont could receive no recognition until she abandoned all claim to territory of New Hampshire and New York. General Washington wrote an unofficial letter to the Vermont authorities advising them to dismiss all claims to the New Hampshire towns, and intimated the necessity of coercion if she refused; whereupon she receded again from union with the towns on the east of the Connecticut River. The New Hampshire towns remained for a time independent, but finally returned to their allegiance.

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1881-82, make

a pamphlet of seventy-two pages. They contain a brief abstract of the proceedings of the year, with the address of the President, the late Hon. Zachariah Allen. There were many meetings of the Society during the year, and at twelve of them papers were read. The address of the President, after a résumé of the history of the Society for the year, and an exposition of its present condition, elaborately discusses the question, Why the Rhode Island Colony was subjected to hostile aggression from the other four Colonial Corporations of New England, and why it was excluded from the Confederation which was known as The Four United Colonies of New England. The general impression is that the hostility to the Rhode Island Colony had its origin in difference of religious opinion. Mr. Allen, with abundance of historic illustration, maintains that it was due rather to greed of gain, and that Roger Williams was banished because he denied the right of magistrates in the Bay Company to take the lands of the Indians without compensation to the aboriginal owners, and for the same reason he and his followers were persecuted in their new homes. While the point is not new, it is timely in the general re-examination that is making of the true history of New England, and we are glad to see such a collection of authorities preserved in a permanent form. Rhode Island owes it to herself to vindicate her own history.

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting at the rooms of the Society, on Tuesday evening, May 9, the Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, the President, occupying the chair. By the report of the

Directors, it appeared that during the year there had been 35 deaths, and 137 had been added to the membership. There are at this time 881 annual members, and 572 life members. Appropriate notice was taken of the gift to the Society by Mr. George I. Seney of \$29,000 to buy books, in addition to a special fund, and 4,655 volumes were added to the library. Addresses were made by the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter, of New York, and the Rev. Dr. Storrs.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The last meeting of the society was one of considerable interest. The Librarian, Mr. H. W. Bryant, in his last report shows that the collections of the society in its new quarters at Portland are growing rapidly. He acknowledges the fourth case of books from Mr. E. F. Duren. He says: "This case alone contains upwards of five hundred different titles. We are also indebted to Deacon Duren for a profile likeness of his distinguished grandfather, the late Judge Samuel Freeman, born in 1743, died 1831. Judge Freeman is said to have resembled General Washington, and the profile shows a similarity in the contour and size of his head. With the profile is received an advertisement of Judge Freeman's paper mill, in Saccarappa. It is called a 'Rag Lesson,' and it is as quaint as the language of poor Richard himself, whom the Judge evidently revered.

"The gift, by S. L. Boardman, Esq., of Augusta, of the *United States Literary Gazette* for 1824-25 is very opportune, as it contains the earliest poems of Longfellow."

## LITERARY NOTICES

THE HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE, EXTENDING FROM THE EARLIEST SAXON TRANSLATIONS TO THE PRESENT ANGLO-AMERICAN REVISION. With Special Reference to the Protestant Religion and the English Language. By BLACKFORD CONDIT. Pp. 469. A. S. BARNES & CO. New York and Chicago, 1882.

The recent publication of what may be called the Westminster Version of the New Testament has served to show what a large hold the English Bible has upon the popular mind. On the day of its issue there were in this country advance orders for it by the hundred thousand. Edition after edition has since been sold, until the number of copies in circulation can only be expressed by seven figures. The secular press reprinted it as supplements; it was the subject of discussion in their columns, as well as in the quarterlies and the religious weeklies. It was, for a time at least, a fashion, and we had become, as it were in a day, a nation of Bible readers. It was only natural that the interest in one version should inspire an interest in all versions, and that men should desire to know something of the history of the English Bible, something of the origin and pedigree of a book which, more than all other books, had influenced not only our religion, but our language and our literature. A ready welcome was thus prepared for a work like that of Mr. Condit; it gives, in chronological order, the information and facts that were most desired. It was characteristic of the Saxons that they would have the Bible in "a tongue understood of the people," and as early as the year 680, Caedmon made a poetical paraphrase of portions of the Holy Scriptures. With this paraphrase Mr. Condit begins his work, telling what remains of its history and giving specimens of its language, that we may better contrast it with our own version. This course he pursues in his subsequent chapters, and we are thus able to trace our language through twelve hundred years, during many of which, aside from some books of devotion, the Bible was almost the only book, and to it, perhaps more than to all other sources, we owe the present form and structure of our English tongue. After Caedmon had showed the way, paraphrases and versions multiplied, and it was no small undertaking to bring together in one view the history of them all, to trace the Word through Guthlac, Aldhelm, King Alfred, Schorham, Wycliffe, Tynedale, Coverdale, Matthews, Cromwell, Chekes, the Genevan, the Bishops, Rheims, Douay, and King James' Bibles, to say nothing of the multitude of other versions both before and since our authorized version. The facts were widely scat-

tered, and it required patience, judgment, and learning to gather and properly present them. These Mr. Condit has exercised, and his work is admirably done. We have here all that the general reader can need in his investigation of the subject, and to those who would pursue their researches farther and verify the author's statements and facts, the means are furnished in the copious references and footnotes which are given. A mere glance at them will show how wide a range of reading they cover. It will also show that the reading has not been confined to works of a past age, but that the literature of the subject in our own day has been diligently studied, and, if he quotes "Fox's Martyrs," as he needs must, so also he refers to works like Green's "History of the English People." In examining Mr. Condit's volume the reader will be particularly struck with the struggle for ascendancy between the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin tongues. It was for freedom and independence, as it began before and was continued after the Norman Conquest. If the Latin prevailed, it meant dependence and inferiority, not only in literature and language, but in politics and religion. It was not in the nature of things for the Saxon to be dependent, either in civil or in ecclesiastical matters, and when the Latin tongue was rooted out, he became really free. We cordially commend this volume to our readers; it is a story that has been often told, but not often so briefly and admirably. It will find a permanent place in our literature. The publishers have shown their appreciation of it by giving it a handsome form and binding, and as a frontispiece a portrait of Wycliffe. If not the Alpha and Omega upon the history of the English Bible, as the symbol on the cover might seem to indicate, it will be long before it will have a successor of equal worth.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, BY HENRY CABOT LODGE. Pp. 306. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co., 1882.

Among the men who laid the broad foundations of this Government, not the least distinguished was Alexander Hamilton. The marks of his genius and statesmanship are to be seen in our Constitution, and his influence has largely shaped the policy of the Republic during the century of its existence. It is hardly too much to say that but for him we might have had no Constitution, and that the confederation of States might have gone to pieces, wrecked by intestine strife. He had served the country in the Cabinet and in the field, and in both had been the counsellor and friend upon whom Washington leaned. But foremost man as he was; invaluable as were his services; leaving behind him in the *Federalist* and other papers the commentary upon the Constitution and laws; the father of our financial and

revenue systems; compelling, by his logic and eloquence, the adoption of the Constitution, and so saving it in the New York Convention; saving the country from falling into the hands of a miscreant like Burr—despite all these and many other services of like nature, it is remarkable that we have never had a popular life of Hamilton. We have had various attempts to write his life more or less complete, beginning with 1804, and ending with 1870, but none of them has been of a popular character. They have done much to preserve his fame as a statesman, and but little to give him his deserved place in the hearts of the people. It remains to be seen whether the work of Mr. Lodge will supply a real want. It is the second of the series of American statesmen projected by the publishers, and might, perhaps, but for local pride, have been first on the list, for certainly Hamilton held no second rank in the long line; there are few of them to whose greatness he has not largely contributed from his storehouse of thought. Mr. Lodge, in some respects, was eminently fitted for the task he has chosen, as he exemplified in his work on the American colonies. He has given us a volume full of absorbing interest to men of thought and culture—men who are studying the origin and theory of government, or the career of the soldier, lawyer, and statesman, but he does not tell us, or at any rate in sufficient detail, what we most want to know of the man. He discusses at full length in the appendix the moot question of Hamilton's birth, but has little to say of his death. Law and Politics, The Constitution, The Treasury and the Financial Policy, Party Contests—these are some of the subjects necessarily treated in any life of Hamilton as a statesman; but there is another and a different side even to the life of a statesman. He was a husband, a father, a friend; he was a Christian man; and these are points passed lightly over. We fear a life of Hamilton for the people, which shall teach them to garner him in their hearts, remains still to be written. The material is ample: it can be gathered from the seven volumes of the Republic and from other sources, and it would make a good companion to the sketch of Mr. Lodge. We are not at all content with Mr. Lodge's explanation of Hamilton's consent to be forced into the duel with Burr—that it was from a fear lest a refusal might disqualify him to serve his country afterward in some expected emergency. We believe that he was actuated simply by deference to the sentiment of the age. The code was everywhere accepted; he had been a soldier, and there must be no doubt of his courage. He had the sense to abhor the whole system, and he so declared on his death-bed. In the letter he left, to be given to his wife in case he fell, he wrote: "The scruples of a Christian have determined me to expose my own life to any extent rather than subject myself to the guilt of taking the life of another;" but he would not so

far rise above his age as to refuse to meet his antagonist. When he fell, he was taken, not to his own home, as Mr. Lodge states, but to the Bayard House, now 82 Jane Street. There Bishop Moore visited him, and the next day administered the Communion to him at his own earnest request, and there he died. The city, the country mourned over his untimely death, as they had over the death of Washington, as they have since for Lincoln and for Garfield; they felt that a great man had fallen.

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ECCLESIA ANGLICANA. A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST in England, from the Earliest to the Present Times. By the Rev. ARTHUR CHARLES JENNINGS, M.A., Jesus College, Cambridge, Vicar of Whittlesford. Pp. 502. New York: THOMAS WHITTAKER, 1882.

The history of the English Church is in some sense the history of English Christianity in all the world. For many centuries it existed, if we may credit the historian, alone, and it was not until the reign of Queen Elizabeth that the adherents of the Church of Rome, and the various bodies which now with that church represent the Christianity of the English race, became separate communities in Great Britain. Christianity was planted there not later than the second century; the English Church was organized and has since continued. Some would go still further, and insist that the English Church was planted by apostles, or by apostolic men, and derives her hierarchy from the Druidical superstition, and see in its flamens and arch-flamens the Bishop and Archbishops of the Christian Church, but fond dreams like this we may easily dismiss, and see in them what Thomas Fuller quaintly calls the flams and arch-flams of history. This is not the fault of the author of *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and he handles the vague traditions that have come down through the ages, covered with the dust of antiquity and sustained by no sufficient evidence, cautiously and carefully. He deals not with conjecture and surmise, but with proved facts. He holds the pen, not of a partisan, but of a historian. Such are his candor and impartial mind, that he carries us with him in his conclusions, and his history of the Church of the Celts and of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons has a real interest for us, as being not fiction, as is sometimes urged, but history. We follow him through the Anglo-Norman period, through the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, through the Reformation, and down to the times of James the First, and it is easy to see that we are studying the history of the Christianity of our own country. All of our great religious bodies, so far as they are of English origin, owe their source and deri-

vation to the English Church: her history is their history. It is in this way that *Ecclesia Anglicana* finds a place for notice in these columns, not because it is a history of the English Church, but because it is a history of English, and, therefore, of American Christianity, because whatever may be our affiliations, we find here the ancestral home and trace the descent of our heritage. Mr. Jennings has worked with diligence and with judgment, and while his history was primarily intended for students, it will be found no less suited to the general reader. We should not like to endorse all his facts or conclusions; we note some things where we believe he is mistaken, some things that he has omitted, some confusion in manner; but, upon the whole, his book will be found trustworthy and valuable. It is, however, unfortunate that in it, where there is any direct allusion to this country, the author does not seem to have been aware of the difference between the Pilgrims of the Mayflower and the Independents of Massachusetts Bay. But we can speak in terms of high praise of his volume as a whole, and we regard it as a valuable contribution to history. It is handsomely printed, and there is a good index.

CEREMONY AT THE SEALING OF THE CENTURY BOX BY THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the evening of Forefathers' Day, December 22, 1881, to be transmitted to their successors in 1980. 8vo, pp. 39. Boston, 1882.

This is the account of a most interesting ceremony, such, doubtless, as never before occurred in America. The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston, the oldest military organization in the United States, when preparing to participate in the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, in 1880, remembered that when it was the military escort at the two hundredth anniversary of the same occurrence in 1830, a roll of its members doing duty had been carefully preserved in the records. It was discovered that of the ninety-five officers and men on the roll of 1830, only thirteen survived the fifty years, among whom are Hons. Marshall P. Wilder, Robert C. Winthrop, and the venerable Josiah Quincy. Of those on the roll in 1880 it is not possible that *one* will survive the century to elapse before the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary arrives. The idea—so suggestive—of preserving this list expanded into a resolution, unanimously adopted, that a committee prepare rolls of present members, with brief details of each one's history, to collect documents, papers, and such other material as could be best transmitted, and seal the same in copper or tin

boxes, not to be unsealed until the years 1930 and 1980 respectively. In addition to this, thirty gentlemen, mostly men of letters, were invited to prepare papers on various living subjects of general interest at the present day, confidential manuscripts, to be preserved in these boxes. Twenty-seven such papers were written. One paper, on Architecture, by Henry Walter Hartwell, was illustrated by thirty-two photographs of public buildings. These and other articles of value which will convey to posterity fifty or one hundred years hence faithful and full accounts of the present day, were, on the 22d of December, 1881—Forefathers' Day—and in the presence of a thousand witnesses, sealed in a copper box, and that in another box also full of similar articles, the one marked 1980, the other 1930, and delivered to the custody of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company for safe keeping and transmittal.

HISTORY OF THE INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND, With Eliot the Apostle. Fifty Years in the Midst of Them. Vols. I. and II. By COL. ROBERT BRODEY CAVERLY, author of *Genealogical, Poetical, and other works*. 8vo, pp. 396 and 398. Boston: JAMES H. EARLE, 1882.

The two volumes, bound in one, are accompanied by fourteen illustrations, being dedicated to the Rev. Elias Nason. The volumes are full of fight, but, nevertheless, they also represent the amenities of literature and civilization, appealing, at the same time, to a large class of readers.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Showing the Operations, Expenditures, and Condition of the Institution for the Year 1880. 8vo, pp. 772. Washington: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1881.

This volume has the uninviting appearance which invests so many public documents, but is, nevertheless, one of large value and considerable interest, though the contents are too numerous to be dwelt upon. No less than a hundred and twelve pages are devoted to a bibliography of Herschell's writings. An illustrated article is devoted to the wonderful Luray Cavern, in Page County, Virginia.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON. BY C. A. BARTOL. 8vo, pp. 20. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 283 Washington Street, 1882.





J. Q. Adams



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## PRICKING AN HISTORICAL BUBBLE

THERE is no work more needed than a series of biographies of men conspicuous in the political history of the United States. The average American citizen is most deficient in information concerning American statesmen, the founders of the Government, and the prominent actors in history, from the period of the War of the Revolution to the War of Secession. The American knows more about the leading statesmen of every country in the world than of his own. This is owing in great measure to our school teachers, historical writers, publishers, and the parents of American children, who prefer to have them read of the Rise and Fall of Rome rather than the Rise and Progress of the United States. It is time that a movement was made to educate our children in the science of American government and American politics. It is time that we made a department in our colleges and universities to qualify young men to be educators of the people, not alone in theology, law, medicine, engineering, and in agriculture, but in politics. Ours is a government by the people, and it is quite as important to have men educated to look after the political body as after the physical man. Most of the young gentlemen who come home with degrees from college can tell all about the Draconian Code, but can give but little information concerning the Alien and Sedition laws. They have the story at their fingers' end of Cæsar crossing the Rubicon, but are rather loose in their recollection of Aaron Burr's sail down the Ohio. They know all about the burning of Rome by the Gauls and Nero, but know little of the burning of Washington by the British and the disgraceful flight of Madison and the members of his cabinet from the capital. They will narrate what they know about the first Roman embassy to Greece, but fail to enlighten you of the first embassy of the United States to Russia. They will be found quite familiar with the story of Cæsar's death in the Senate house and the rent made by the envious Casca, but will find it difficult to tell what prompted Bully Brooks to strike down Senator Sum-

ner in the Senate chamber. There is hardly anything in ancient African, Asian, and European history, that they will not be ready to expatiate upon, even to the amount paid by the Holy Church for ceding Ravenna and other places to King Astolphus of Lombardy, but are sure to be at fault in regard to the facts about the ceding of Louisiana by France and the disposal of Florida by Spain to the United States. They are up in history in regard to Pompey's desertion of Cicero, but are ignorant about John Quincy Adams' apostacy to his friends in Massachusetts and the Federalists who sent him to the United States Senate. For these and other reasons it is desirable that cheap editions of the lives and times of the prominent actors in the political life of our country should be issued. "Books embodying in compact form the result of extensive study of the many and diverse influences which have combined to shape the political history of our country" are greatly needed, and will be productive of much good.

Referring to the marked indifference of the general American readers and patrons of public and private literature, Parton, in his "Life of Aaron Burr," makes an unpleasant revelation of the neglect of our people to read the lives of our great statesmen and the history of American politics. He says: "Among the volumes which 'no gentleman's library is complete without,' and which, in most gentlemen's libraries, slumber on the shelves with uncut leaves, are the forty ponderous octavos containing the works of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton. That these volumes should be so utterly neglected as they are, is not creditable to the national intelligence." He adds, "In the Mercantile Library of the city of New York, which counts its subscribers by thousands, the condition in which these books were found by me two or three years ago was as follows: First volume of each set showed marks of having been taken out and looked through two or three times. The second volume had evidently been handled by some *one* adventurous person, and about half of its leaves were cut. Beyond the second volume no traces of the hand of man were discovered; a boundless contiguity of virgin pages gave the reader a pleasing consciousness that he was the explorer of untrodden regions." "Yet," continues Mr. Parton, "it is by the perusal of these works, aided by the memoirs of the time, that alone a knowledge of the country's history during the period in which alone it had a history can be obtained."

In view of the indifference of the general reader to prying open these sealed works, we read with pleasure the announcement that a prominent firm will publish a compact and cheap edition of "American Statesmen" who have been most conspicuous in our political history. Our young men must educate themselves to read these works as they educate themselves to

smoke cigarettes and to eat tomatoes. The first of the series, "The Political Life of John Quincy Adams," by John T. Morse, Jr., has been before the public for some weeks. It is a brief and partial sketch of that versatile, Quixotic, and distinguished son of Massachusetts. Mr. Morse brings into bold relief the strong features of Mr. Adams' character, but omits, glosses over, or apologizes for his many eccentric, weak, and irregular characteristics. Mr. Adams was more ambitious than virtuous. He preferred office to consistency and devotion to principles and party. This infirmity but few public men of our country have been exempt from. John Quincy Adams had the affliction in its worst form. He was what John Randolph called "a ratter." His trapeze performance, in vaulting from the Federal spring-board into the Democratic ring, is characterized by Mr. Morse as "evidence of great courage and strength of mind." His admirer and biographer adds, "Instead of being tergiversation it was a triumph in a severe trial." With an ordinary political performer this gymnastic feat would be pictured as a clumsy summersault or as exhibiting his agility. To our mind his desertion to the Democratic party in the United States Senate, in 1805, was as shameful as anything in the history of political treason. Mr. Morse says he voted against the wishes of the party that sent him to the Senate and expected to hold him in the bonds of partisanship, and "no bribe was needed to secure his vote." If Mr. Morse had not told us in the next breath that Dr. Rush was the go-between for Jefferson and John Adams and John Quincy Adams, and that "as early as November, 1805, John Quincy Adams was approached by Dr. Rush with tentative suggestions concerning a foreign mission," and that Mr. Madison, then Secretary of State, and even President Jefferson, were apparently not disinclined to give him such employment, provided he would be willing to accept it at their hands, the reader might be led to believe that Mr. Adams acted from patriotic motives. But did Mr. Adams indignantly repel the offer and resent the insult to bribe him? No; he replied with the meekness and humbleness of the mercenary member of the Legislature, "He would not refuse a nomination merely because it came from Mr. Jefferson." He had no scruples about accepting office from the man and the party who had been the malignant enemies and defamers of his father—from the man who, only two or three years before, had turned him out of office to the great mortification of his mother. We venture to say there could not be found a jury of intelligent men, Republicans or Federalists, that would not at the time have convicted John Quincy Adams of deliberate and mercenary treachery to the Federal party.

The fact is that, great as John Quincy Adams was, he was a trimmer and a time-server. He passed from one extreme of political opinion to an-

other as Satan described by Milton, went bobbing around the globe. It can be said of him, however, that he boxed the political compass with more agility and success than Butler. It is to Butler's credit that he behaved with more fairness to the party that sent him to represent it in Congress than Mr. Adams did. He did not go over to the enemy's camp and enlist to fight in their ranks (in the Republican uniform) against his old friends and party, until he returned them his commission and turned in his old soldier's clothes. Not so with Adams. He no sooner saw the Democratic wave rising under Jefferson's administration than he began to exhibit the signs which with politicians precede treason. He differed with his party friends on certain questions, and began showing what Mr. Morse describes as "independence," and "great courage of mind." He joined the Democratic ranks and voted against his party. This, according to Morse, was a "triumph in a severe ordeal." Further on, Mr. Morse tells us that, for his "imperfect allegiance to the party ['imperfect allegiance' is a new definition for treason], he gave more offence than satisfaction, and he found himself soundly berated in leading Federalist newspapers in New England, and angrily threatened with expulsion from the party." In a word, the intelligent, religious, and respectable portion of the community which constituted the Federal party repudiated Mr. Adams and called upon him to resign. The rage of the Republicans of the country against Roscoe Conkling for resigning his seat in the Senate was nothing compared with the violence exhibited by the Federalists of New England toward Adams. They threatened that he should "have his head taken off for apostasy," and gave him to understand that he "should no longer be considered as having any communion with the party." "Henceforth the Federal party was to be like a hive of enraged hornets about the renegade. No abuse which they could heap upon him seemed adequate to the occasion. They despised, they loathed him; they said and believed that he was false, selfish, designing, a traitor, an apostate, that he had run away from a failing cause, that he had sold himself. The language of contumely was exhausted in vain efforts to describe his baseness." And the acts which the most intelligent and respectable characterized as base and treacherous, his biographer and eulogist calls "courage," "strength of mind," and "patriotism." Was there ever such an abuse of compliments? Mr. Morse, like most of our biographers and historians, is an artistic whitewasher.

Some writer has said that the Adams family are of the sort of men who make up a party of themselves. If any other organization attempts to join them, they immediately secede, under the impression that something must be wrong if they are not in the minority. Notwithstanding their great love of

office, it will be found that no member of that illustrious family has hardly ever remained in a party long enough to see it die, and if they should join it after death they could not keep up with the procession. After the defeat of old John Adams no member of the family ever could keep up with any political procession.

Jefferson, on one occasion, alluding to the eccentricity of John Randolph, remarked that the politics of a man come from his temperament. Observation has led us to believe that many men's politics are made by the party majorities in localities as well by their temperament. We find to-day in Congress old Whigs and Republicans representing Democratic districts, and old Democrats representing Republican districts. Most people would say that principles and patriotism were at the bottom of these transformations. The Adams family,—from the time President Adams took French leave of Washington or, to use the more elegant language of Mr. Morse, from the time “the irascible old gentleman, having experienced a very Waterloo defeat in the contest for the Presidency, had ridden away from the capital, actually in a wild rage, on the night of March 3, 1801, to avoid the humiliating pageant of Mr. Jefferson,” which pageant, Mr. Morse forgot to mention, consisted of Mr. Jefferson riding down Pennsylvania Avenue on horseback, unattended, to the capitol, where he dismounted and tied his horse to a stake, and entered the Senate chamber to be “inaugurated,”—have shown a bilious temperament and a most unhappy disposition. Ex-President John Adams returned to Massachusetts a soured and disappointed man. His son, John Quincy Adams, shortly after his father reached home at Braintree, arrived from Europe, after eight years' creditable service in diplomatic stations. He, too, was grim-faced and sulky, and, like most office-holders out of office, took a gloomy and desponding view of the future. The father, the son, and the whole family imparted their grievances to their friends in Massachusetts, which created more or less unhappiness and demoralization among the Federalists. Young Adams was made still more unhappy by President Jefferson's removing him from the office of Commissioner of Bankruptcy, to which he had been appointed by one of the “midnight judges” created by his father the night before he took his departure from Washington, without saying as much as, “Goodby, Mr. Jefferson.” This shameful partisan act of President Jefferson, in turning out the only Adams in office, greatly vexed and offended Mrs. Adams, his mother, one of the noblest and best of women. Mrs. Adams had reason to expect better things from President Jefferson; she had been a mother to his daughter Maria, whom he adored. When a bright-eyed, fair-haired, motherless girl, in foreign lands and in Philadelphia, she was her companion and

protector. Mrs. Adams was warmly attached to Maria, who afterward became the wife of Mr. Eppes, and keenly felt the blow aimed at her promising son John. Her letter of condolence to Mr. Jefferson, on the death of Mrs. Eppes, is a model in its way. It breathes the sentiments of a true mother. There were but few women in the country, at the time, like John Quincy Adams' mother.

Adams being out of office, rather rusty in the law, and with no encouraging prospects of making a respectable living by his profession, began to exhibit an itching desire to secure office. What a strange infatuation comes over most men after holding a public place for a few years! They seem to lose all desire and ambition to return to their former occupation. The loss of office seems to turn the current of the lives of many men into a downward stream, and they who might have been distinguished in their professions and bright examples to all become abject failures. We have no evidence that John Quincy Adams ever held any high position as a lawyer. In fact, he was never long enough out of office. His only appearance in court that we can recall, in about forty years, was in the *Amistad* captive case in 1841. He lived in and on office nearly all his life, and died a richer man than Webster or Clay. It is due to Mr. Adams to say he did not live extravagantly.

We infer from Mr. Morse's account of Mr. Adams, that about the time he returned from Europe in 1801, his law practice was not in the way of his accepting office and removing to Washington, where retainers in the United States court were then not so common as now. Waiting for Boston clients was dull business, and so we find Mr. Adams ready to serve the people in any capacity, State or United States representative. There were divisions in the Federal party, then, as there are divided leaders in both of the great parties to-day. Mr. Morse informs us that "the select coterie of gentlemen in the State who, in those times, bore an active and influential part in politics were nearly all Hamiltonians, but the adherents of President Adams were numerically strong." Affairs were becoming serious with Mr. Adams. He had been removed from the position of Commissioner of Bankruptcy which paid well, and law business was not encouraging. He was the representative of that portion of the Federal party that was attached to his father, ex-President Adams; but that faction was not strong enough to elect him to the Legislature or Congress. Like all parties in a minority, the Jeffersonians were ready to make a dicker with the Adams faction. The student of history will find that Adamses were just as ready to make a bargain, in 1802, as John Kelly and Tammany Hall in 1882. To quote the language of his son Charles Francis Adams, referring to the situation at the time and the relations the Adams

family held to President Jefferson: "Yet in the ardor of their hostility to Mr. Jefferson they were ready to overlook a great deal." That is, the family and friends were willing to make great sacrifices, provided the Democrats would unite on John Quincy Adams and elect him to office. With the understanding that he was ready to forget the past and, if elected, give a reasonable support to Mr. Jefferson's administration, he was put forward as an independent candidate for a seat in the House of Representatives. In the same district, in the county of Essex, resided Colonel Pickering, formerly Secretary of State in Washington in Adams' cabinet. Colonel Pickering represented the Alexander Hamilton wing of the Federal party in Massachusetts, as Collector Robertson represented in New York the "Garfield Republicans." Pickering, although a member of Adams' cabinet, opposed his re-election in 1800. He favored George Washington for "a third term" and took an active part before Washington's death to bring him forward. He was a politician and did not believe that Adams could be re-elected. His judgment proved correct. Colonel Pickering was placed in nomination for Representative against Adams by the Federal party. As a matter of course the Democrats played false to Adams—they supported their own candidate and elected him. Adams failed by less than sixty votes, and Pickering by about a hundred. Mr. Charles Francis Adams moralizes over the defeat of his father, and writes that "the people appeared to be very indifferent in regard to the election." He adds, "Such coalitions are seldom hearty, especially at first." It will occur to most persons that Charles Francis Adams and some of his sons have realized this fact in a painfully humiliating way.

A little later on we find John Quincy Adams again in the market prepared to dicker with Democrats in the Massachusetts Legislature, to which place he had been elected by a coalition. Two vacancies were about to occur in the United States Senate at this time. The two branches of the Legislature were controlled by Federalists, but that party was somewhat divided after the manner of the New York Legislature in the contest for Senator between Conkling, Depew, and others. Charles Francis Adams tells us that there were what he calls many "intermediate men" in the Massachusetts body. These were what we would call "independents," or rule and ruin men. So the Adams family were the original Jacobs, "independents," "bolters," and "scratchers"—gentlemen who talk civil service reform and vote the Democratic ticket. An attempt was made to push Colonel Pickering through to an election, which failed; and a perseverance in it threatened to be followed by the election of a full-blooded Democrat. The "intermediates" were more magnanimous than the half-breeds in the New York

Legislature—they would support Pickering only on one condition, and that was they should have one of their own men, or they would elect a Jeffersonian Democrat. A compromise was made, and Pickering and Adams were chosen United States Senators, which duty they entered upon March 3, 1803.

As we lift the curtain of history and show the principal actors upon the political stage during the administration of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, the reader will learn how John Quincy Adams and his father drifted away from the old Federal landmarks and finally brought up in the Democratic camp. It was patriotism and principle, of course, that carried John Quincy Adams by slow and easy stages into the support of the extreme measures of President Jefferson. Mr. Morse tells us so, and we must believe it. It is amusing to note the diverse sentiments and feelings which public men manifest toward great public principles or institutions, according to the different modes in which they affect them personally. We never knew an eminent statesman or a second-rate politician, who made a short turn in politics and jumped squarely over the fence into an ancient enemy's pasture, who did not claim that he was actuated by high principles of honor and patriotism.

About the time Mr. Adams took his seat in the United States Senate, it began to be apparent to the observing and ambitious politician that the Federal party was on the "down grade." Washington was dead; Hamilton killed by Burr; Jay retired to private life; Marshall on the bench; Wolcott up for Cowes and a market—the party divided into guerilla squads; most of its members, like Hessians, ready to hire out to the best paymaster. John Quincy Adams looked abroad, and saw the grand old party crumbling to pieces. Had he been a natural-born leader, a splendid opportunity was open to him to rally the broken and disorganized Federal ranks; but he was not. He was a natural combatant, but not a leader. Mr. Adams, with the foresight, sagacity, and thrift of a New Englander, saw no political future for him by following the Federal party. It was natural that he should come to the conclusion that, if he was to remain in public life, his course and action were not in the direction of the languishing Federal party. He therefore determined to shape his course accordingly, and he played his part with great astuteness. He approached the democratic camp by circuitous routes. It was clear to Jefferson, Madison, and Dr. Rush, that Mr. Adams was heading in that direction. It would have been too plain and scandalous to have gone right over into the Democratic ranks. He had four or five years to serve as Senator, and had ample time to play his little game, which, after a while, became so apparent that the entire Federal press of the nation opened fire on him for his glaring treachery. Who can doubt that Adams listened to the song of the siren, and was se-



duced by the voice of the charmer when we find Mr. Morse furnishing the evidence that he was tampered with by the tempter? On page 68 Mr. Morse writes: "As early as November, 1805, Mr. Adams, being still what may be described as an independent Federalist, was approached by Dr. Rush with tentative suggestions concerning a foreign mission." The reader who follows Mr. Adams' course in the Senate from this date, November 5th, cannot doubt that he was voting on all important measures brought forward by the administration, to secure a foreign mission. Follow Mr. Adams and Mr. Morse, and no one will have any reason to doubt, on the evidence of Mr. Adams' votes, that the Federal newspapers that were charging him with treachery, and with having sold himself to the Jeffersonian Democracy were, to a certain extent, justified. Circumstantial evidence in some instances is more convincing than accepted proof.

The Federalists everywhere were so shocked at Mr. Adams' bold apostasy that they expressed their indignation in the most pronounced and acrimonious way. It was made so hot for him that he was forced to resign. To his shame and disgrace he had only been out of the Senate a short time before he unblushingly accepted office from President Madison. He resigned at the close of Jefferson's administration, and one of the first acts of President Madison's was to nominate him as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Mr. Madison took office on March 4th; on the 6th, Adams' name was sent to the Senate. The Jeffersonian Democracy, though largely in the majority in the Senate, were not then prepared to reward treason. Mr. Adams was not confirmed. On the next day, March 7th, they resolved that "it is inexpedient at this time to appoint a minister from the United States to the court of Russia." This was the easiest way to let off President Jefferson and Mr. Adams, but the President was determined not to be snubbed by the Senate. It took him and his henchmen some three months to bring the members of the Senate to the point of confirmation. The usual tactics used by every administration from Jefferson to Hayes and Garfield were brought to bear, and by the aid of the pressure of administrative patronage Mr. Adams was confirmed June 26th.

S. G. Goodrich, whose uncle represented Connecticut in the United States Senate from 1807 to 1813, writes: "It is curious and instructive to know that soon after March, 1808, John Quincy Adams, having lost caste with the Federalists of Massachusetts, went to Jefferson and accused them of treasonable designs, and was consequently made a good Democrat, and sent as Minister to Russia." The distinguished men who took part in the Hartford Convention some years later, George Cabot, William Prescott, Harrison Gray Otis, Stephen Longfellow, James Hillhouse, George Bliss,

and many others were decidedly of the opinion that it was Mr. Adams who invented the calumny that the Northern Federalists convened at Hartford with treasonable designs against the Union. Indeed, the Federal press of New England ventured the charge from day to day that Mr. Adams was the author of the shameful story. Twenty years had rolled by when the story was again revived by the appearance of a letter written by Mr. Jefferson to Mr. Giles, a famous Virginia Democrat, dated December 26, 1825, detailing the disclosures of Adams respecting the designs of the Eastern Federalists in 1808. His letter was brought out previous to the Presidential election of 1828. It produced considerable excitement among the leading men of Massachusetts, and for a time, "The American Statesman" informs us, "alienated in a measure the affections and impaired the confidence and esteem of many of the friends of Mr. Adams in that State." On November 26, 1828, thirteen citizens of Massachusetts, residing in or near Boston, addressed a letter to Mr. Adams, asking from him such a full and precise statement of the facts and evidence relating to this accusation as might enable them fairly to meet and answer it. We infer, from the response of "the thirteen citizens of Massachusetts" to Mr. Adams' reply, that he did not "enable them fairly to meet and answer" the charges.

Mr. Adams was not a popular representative of the American people in foreign countries, nor a successful diplomat. We are made to understand this by Mr. Morse. He was at the Russian court during the most exciting and eventful period in the history of that country. He was there during the whole period of the great wars of Napoleon. He was there during the time Napoleon advanced into the very bowels of the Muscovite land with the grandest army that ever made Europe tremble under its march. He was at St. Petersburg when Moscow was burning, and must have witnessed first the despair of the Russian people and then their rejoicing over the disasters that befell Napoleon's grand army. He might have witnessed, too, the forced marches of the allies upon Paris and the capture of that gay capital. It was an opportunity which many Americans would have made more of than Mr. Adams. There was nothing specially brilliant in his stay at the Russian court. Mr. Morse tells us that "he was less liked by his travelling fellow-countrymen than by the Russians." It is a matter of family history that the Adams family were cold, uncivil, imperious, and repelling. It was like encountering an iceberg to approach any of them. It ought not to be called rudeness and bad manners, but refined superciliousness which gave men to understand that their pottery was of a finer texture than any one else's.

Mr. Morse in his account of the meeting of the American Commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, to negotiate peace with the British Commissioner, reveals

Mr. Adams' infirmity of character. He exhibits him as a man of very bad temper, inordinate vanity, and great self-sufficiency. He adds that, owing to his irascibility, he came very near defeating the object for which the Commissioners met. He sulked and relinquished his duty because Messrs. Clay and Gallatin differed with him on certain points, and left the business for some time to be managed by Messrs. Clay and Gallatin. In fact, the true character of Adams was shown. He could agree with nobody but himself, and there was some doubt about that at times. Adams and Clay, as we find recorded in Adams' diary, were about as combative and factious as Hamilton and his father in Washington's cabinet meetings. It was a cock-fight between them nearly all the time at Ghent.

Mr. Adams was continually in a quarrel with almost every man he was brought into contact with officially. He had the infirmity of character to be forever repelling friends and making enemies. Mr. Morse makes it appear pretty clearly that Mr. Adams was impressed with the idea that every man who differed with him on great questions was influenced by personal considerations. In regard to the ratification of the Spanish treaty to acquire Florida, he charged Mr. Clay with urging the editor of the *Washington Gazette* to oppose it. He records in his diary: "In spite of the continuous, systematic, and laborious effort of Mr. Clay and his partisans to make it unpopular, it was ratified by a handsome majority, there being against it only four votes—Brown, of Louisiana, who married a sister of Clay's wife; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, from mere political subserviency to Clay; Williams, of Tennessee, because he hated General Jackson, and Trimble, of Ohio, from some 'maggot of the brain.'" Such were the views entertained by this "Christian statesman" toward his friends and acquaintances with whom he was in daily intercourse. He was not a believer in the divine injunction, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor."

Mr. Adams returned from eight years more of diplomacy abroad, to drop his lines in the pleasant place of Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet. He, of all the Adams family, was favored with a succession of the highest honors. He returned to find the party which had first brought him into public life scattered and almost destroyed. It is known in history as the "era of good feeling," as there were no longer any formidable party divisions. There was anything but good feeling among the members of Mr. Monroe's cabinet, particularly during the last four years of his administration, for the reason that every member of his cabinet was a candidate for the Presidency, as were several of the leading members of Congress, including General Jackson, Clay, and Lowndes. Every member of the cabinet was shaping his course to make interest to secure the nomi-

nation. Mr. Adams fancied that he was appointed Secretary of State with a view of becoming the successor of Mr. Monroe. The office of Secretary of State was looked upon as the stepping stone to the White House. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe went from the State Department to the Presidency, and why not Mr. Adams? He had every reason to expect that he was in line for the highest office of the nation.

To Mr. Adams as Secretary of State belongs the credit of originating what is falsely called the "Monroe Doctrine." Properly it is the Adams doctrine. He was the first to suggest it, and on his recommendation President Monroe said in his annual message to Congress in 1823: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continent by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization." Mr. Morse calls attention to the fact that both Mr. Adams and President Monroe used the phrase "continents," including thereby South as well as North America. Mr. Adams was in advance of the public men of the times on this question, but on that which became the all-absorbing and exciting one for nearly half a century, he was far behind the leading statesmen and politicians of the North. He was not outspoken on the question of slavery, for reasons which will be explained hereafter. Mr. Morse apologizes for Mr. Adams not being more pronounced on this vital question. He makes the weak and flimsy excuse that pending the agitation of the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union of States by Congress, "Mr. Adams, who was deeply absorbed in the perplexing affairs of his department, into which this domestic problem did not enter, was at first careless of it."

What a weak subterfuge is this! Here was a measure which, in respect to the excitement it produced and its influence upon our national destiny, has no parallel in the history of the government, and we are gravely told that Mr. Adams was so engaged in other matters that he was not at first interested in the domestic problem, and was careless of it. What an admission to make, what an apology to offer for a man whom his biographer claims to have been one of the foremost statesmen of the times! Here was the country shaken from centre to circumference on the admission of Missouri as a State, and Mr. Adams was so perplexed with other affairs that he actually went to sleep while the whole country was in a fearful state of excitement. "Nero fiddled while Rome was burning." Mr. Morse relates "at first he was careless of it," but during what period of Mr. Monroe's administration was Mr. Adams watchful, active, and outspoken against the advance of slavery? While every representative from the free States except

two or three "dough faces," with some few from slave States were found voicing the free sentiment of the North as almost every legislature in the free States declared against admitting any more slave territory, Mr. Adams was acquiescing in cabinet councils with Calhoun, Crawford & Co., and on the constitutional right to admit Missouri as a slave State was writing down in his diary that while slavery was a curse and an abomination "there was no way at once of preserving the Union and escaping from the present emergency save through the door of compromise." It is Lavater, we believe, who says that "he who writes what he should speak and does not speak what he writes is either like a wolf in sheep's clothing or like a sheep in wolf's skin."

Let us not be charged with being cynical because we direct the reader's attention to the fact that in the opening contest of freedom against slavery John Quincy Adams was not on the side of freedom. The record made up by the members of President Monroe's cabinet on the question "Had Congress the power to prohibit slavery in a Territory" is not creditable to their honesty or patriotism. Their action was a scandalous deception put upon Congress and the country. So disgraceful was the record that it mysteriously disappeared from the archives of the State Department during President Monroe's administration and no trace of it has yet been found. John Quincy Adams was a party to the fraud. On the question of admitting Missouri the North and South were divided by Mason and Dixon's line. The Federalists and Democrats of the free States stood firmly together. For the first time in the history of the country the Democrats of the North presented almost a united front against the advance of slavery. Mr. Benton in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate" relates why the Democracy yielded to the slave power and deserted the cause of freedom. The South said to the Democrats of the North "There can be no united Democratic party if you continue to make war on our institutions." That threat had its effect. The attentive reader of history will find that from that time up to and after the Civil War the Democratic party as a party was the auxiliary of slavery.

The inquirer has but to read what the advance guard of freedom, the Lundys, Tappans, Leavitts, Hoppers, Goodells, Denisons thought of Mr. Adams' conduct during the controversy over the admission of Missouri to understand that he was not a friend of the cause they had so much at heart. It is notorious that every member of Mr. Monroe's cabinet opposed the prohibitory clause against slavery for the reason that every member was a candidate for President, and it was known that no man could possibly reach the Presidency unless he was on the side of the South and preferred by the Virginian dynasty. On the passage of the bill admitting Missouri

as a slave State, President Monroe submitted to his cabinet the question of approval, and the bill having been approved by Mr. Adams and the other members of the cabinet it was signed by the President, and the victory of the slave power was complete. Slavery was fastened upon the Territory of Arkansas and the new State of Missouri, and the dark cloud, surcharged with its numberless wrongs and woes, rolled heavily across the Mississippi. And the man who acquiesced in this great wrong against freedom is canonized as the champion of freedom. How history is misrepresented—how the world is imposed upon!

Mr. Adams at the time favored the Missouri compromise, "believing it to be," he said, all that could be effected under the present constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union in hazard. The fact is Mr. Adams had the "Presidency on the brain," and his acquiescence in the cause of slavery reveals and demonstrates the sacrifices of principle and of conscience that the aspiring public men of the Nation were compelled to make in order to secure the favor and support of the exacting and dominating power, that so long and so completely dictated the policy of the government and the executive of the Nation. Mr. Adams, like all the public men who had their eyes on the Presidency, was playing his game. His participation in the fraud, by which Missouri was brought into the Union as a slave State, and his marked silence on the exciting question, did not aid him at all with the slave power to secure the high office to which he aspired. He received indifferent support from the men he had served. The South gave him feeble assistance. The fact is he was not their choice. He was a New Englander, and the policy of the South, from the organization of the government, was to trust only a slave owner in the office of President. Of the seventy votes that made John Adams President in 1796 he received but twelve that could not be counted as from reliable Democratic States, and ten of these were from Maryland and Delaware. Maryland and Delaware, for the first sixty years of the government, on all great questions were oftener found antagonizing the South than Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Of the eighty-four votes cast for John Quincy Adams in the Electoral College in 1824, four came from Delaware and Maryland and two from Louisiana. He reached the White House through what the journals of to-day would call a bargain. As John Randolph expressed it in a sentence of virulent satire, condensing the venom of a whole brood of cobra da capellos, "by a Union of the puritan and the blackleg of Blifil and Black George." Randolph used this language in the discussion on the Panama Mission, when Mr. Clay called him out. The duel ended with nobody hurt and a hand shaking. There was only a bowing acquaintance between

Clay and Randolph afterward. Mr. Morse tells us that "the story of the intrigue with Mr. Clay to secure the Presidency was never really believed by any one except General Jackson, and the beliefs of General Jackson are of little consequence." This flippant way of speaking of General Jackson would have been all very well for an old-fashioned Whig editor or orator in Jackson's time, but giving utterance to such sentiments is not a truthful reflex of history. Mr. Morse ignores what is the truth of history. No President, not even Washington, so enjoyed the confidence of the great mass of the American people as Andrew Jackson. They had unbounded faith in all he said and did, and the fact that they sustained him in the most audacious usurpations and flagitious acts, should have admonished Mr. Morse against indulging in such sneers and such loose talk. Jackson had taken possession of the hearts of the people, and the unceasing affection for the man was stronger with the masses than the wise words of the politicians' argumentation. It is perhaps true that but few believe in the story of a bargain, intrigue, and management told concerning Adams and Clay, but General Jackson believed it, and what is more, made the country believe it; and the belief in it by the country had more to do with defeating Adams in 1828 than any other issue before the people. A thousand presses rang with the charge, and ten thousand orators echoed it from ten thousand stumps. In the dram shop, on the muster ground, by the fireside, in the stage coach, and on the steamboat, it was the engrossing topic of discourse. Mr. Morse is quite mistaken in supposing that "the story was never really believed by any one except General Jackson." He ought to have known as well that "the beliefs of General Jackson" were of some account. The man who doubts it has failed to read Democratic newspapers, or to hear an oration from Samuel J. Tilden.

Mr. Morse is in error in stating that "if political boundary lines were disregarded, and the counting were simply of the number of persons throughout the country who had voted for Adams electors, and the number who had voted for Jackson electors, the preponderance of individual votes was handsomely on Mr. Adams' side." This statement is wide of the truth. The figures show that Jackson's aggregate vote in the Union was larger than Mr. Adams. His plurality over Adams was not far from fifty thousand. Adams received but about ten thousand votes south of the Potomac, while Lincoln in 1860 received nearly twenty thousand. Mr. Adams, although declared elected President of the United States by the House of Representatives, was not in the popular judgment at the time the choice of the people of the nation. Had the people of New York, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Vermont chosen their electors instead of

the legislatures of these States it was generally believed that Jackson would have secured a majority of the Electoral College. S. G. Goodrich, who was in the gallery of the House of Representatives at the time the vote was declared, writes, "the popular sentiment of the country was no doubt overruled by electing to the chief magistracy the second of the three candidates eligible to the office, and this was severely avenged four years afterward at the polls." Mr. Goodrich was not a Democrat.

Mr. Adams' administration had much to contend against. From the start every movement in and out of Congress was directed toward making it odious and unpopular. Shortly after the opening of Congress Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky proclaimed: "This administration must be put down even as if it were as pure as the Angels of Heaven." Such was the spirit manifested by the Democrats. Jackson organs and orators raised the cry of "bargain and corruption," and the hills and valleys over the land echoed back the shout. Mr. Adams had enemies outside and inside his councils. He was as unfortunate as his father in selecting the members of his cabinet. This mistake can be traced to "the era of good feeling," when party lines were abolished, as during Mr. Monroe's administration. The presidential contest of 1824 was not a political one, but simply a personal struggle. All the candidates were so-called Democrats. Mr. Adams failed to understand, in preparing the ship of state for a four years' voyage, that he must in the nature of things encounter adverse winds, tempests, and breakers, and that his success depended on true and tried navigators. He expected plain sailing and quiet seas; and supposed all his officers were patriots, and no one cared for promotion. Poor, deluded Mr. Adams! He soon found that one of his trusted pilots, Barbour of Virginia, was, in the language of Mr. Morse, "extremely anxious for the mission to England, in order to find a good harbor ere the approaching storm should burst." Mr. Barbour resigned the office of Secretary of War, and Mr. Peter B. Porter was appointed in his place. Several of Mr. Adams' shrewd, sharp friends, among them Thurlow Weed, strongly urged Mr. Adams to transfer McLean from the Post Office to the War Department, and to give the place of Postmaster-General to Porter, who was a thorough politician. Had this been done New York might have given her electoral vote to Adams in 1828, and re-elected him President. Jackson carried the State only by about 5,000 majority. Adams had been made aware of McLean's perfidy. While expressing the warmest friendship for Mr. Adams, he was secretly working in the interest of General Jackson. Mr. Adams ought to have learned from Washington's experience "that to seek to represent the minority in the administration is a problem as yet unsoluble." McLean was as much out of



place in his cabinet as was Jefferson in Washington's. McLean was rewarded for his treachery by Jackson, who made him a judge of the United States Supreme Court. It is needless to add that this trickster and trader McLean hailed from Ohio. In connection with this matter it may be well to say that Mr. Adams is the subject of laudation from every advocate of civil service reform, from the fact that he made but few removals from office. The reason was simply because every man in office belonged to his party. He had been eight years in Mr. Monroe's administration, and no doubt had more or less to do with providing places for nine out of ten of the men holding office in Washington and throughout the country. His election was a continuation of the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe regime. Hence there was no pressure from partisans such as we find when there is a change of parties going into power. It is easy enough to be honest when there is no temptation in the way. There were sagacious men in Mr. Adams' time who thought if he had been more of a partisan than General Jackson, he might not have been successful in 1828. The Barnacle family was found in every department of the Government during Mr. Adams' administration. And these "weighty buttoned-up men," as described by Dickens in his account of "The Whole Science of Government," was largely in the hands of old jobbers and contractors.

On leaving office, John Quincy Adams' conduct was as uncivil and churlish to President Jackson as that of his father had been to Jefferson. He did not call to pay his respects to the new President for the reason, it was alleged, that Jackson had omitted to call on him on his arrival at the Capitol. This hardly justified a gentleman reared in European Courts and in the best society of this country in doing a rude act. Jackson was a blunt old soldier, brought up in the backwoods and familiar with the usage of camps, but he was incapable of doing anything so discourteous. The fact is, there was a great deal of the overgrown school-boy about the members of the Adams family. We are told that when Jackson was being inaugurated as President, amid the shouts of the assembled thousands, Mr. Adams was taking his usual horseback ride. He had no interest in the grand spectacle going on at the Capitol. It was a cold day for the Adams family. How different was the course of General Jackson on the occasion of the last levee of President Monroe, when Mr. Adams, the elect and General Jackson were brought face to face, a writer, who was present, relates, "Mr. Adams was by himself; General Jackson had a large handsome lady on his arm. They looked at each other for a moment, and then General Jackson moved forward, and reaching out his long arm, said, 'How do you do, Mr. Adams? I give you my left hand for the right, as you see, is devoted to the fair. I hope you are very well,

sir.' All this was gallantly and heartily said and done. Mr. Adams took the general's hand and said, with chilling coldness, 'Very well, sir; I hope General Jackson is well.' It was curious to see the Western planter, the Indian fighter, the stern old soldier who had written his country's glory in the blood of the enemy at New Orleans, genial and gracious in the midst of court, while the old courtier and diplomat was stiff, rigid, cold as a statue. It was all the more remarkable from the fact that four hours earlier the former had been defeated and the latter was the victor in the struggle for one of the highest objects of human ambition."

We have no desire to set down aught in malice against the Adams family, nor to criticise them harshly. On the contrary, we wish to be fair, just, and impartial. We confess we find it difficult to conquer the prejudice we have against canters and pretenders. We have long entertained a warm regard and reverence for John Adams, next to that we have for Washington and Franklin. On the approach of every Fourth of July we found our patriotism freshly kindled and our admiration increased for "Old John," as we read how he directed Independence Day should be celebrated. Under the inspiration of his letter we have frequently waked the echoes of the early morn with Chinese crackers and miniature cannon. We had read of the "Old Man Eloquent" in the old House of Representatives, and of his burning and consuming indignation against the "Atherton gag law," which denied the right of petition and free speech. We had heard of him in the hand-to-hand contests with the champions of the slave power, and were carried away in admiration of the old man's earnestness and courage in defense of the right of petition and free speech. This was when he was not a Democrat. It was after the Democracy and the South had ignored and deserted him. He had served the propagandists of slavery with complacent silence for many years. His son, Charles Francis Adams, alluding to his election to the United States Senate in 1802, says he owed his election to the fact that he was not a "manageable party man"—that is, he believed in scratching and bolting while acting inside of the Federal party. We say in justice to John Quincy Adams, that he followed pretty nearly a straight line so long as he held office from the Democracy. We have no recollection of bolting or scratching during Madison's, Monroe's, or his own administration. He was almost as faithful to the Democratic party as the most devoted follower of that party. He was a "manageable party man" for nearly twenty years. During his administration he set his face very decidedly against giving places to old Federalists. He was looking for a re-nomination, and with the caution of an old politician, he did not want to offend the Democratic party on which he relied to nominate and elect him.

About the time ex-President Adams was returned to Congress in 1832, the Anti-Slavery movement made its appearance in several of the free States. It developed formidable proportions in Massachusetts. The organization of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, and its appeal to the conscience and reason of the country evoked responses in several localities. Auxiliary societies were organized not only in Massachusetts and New England, but also in New York, Pennsylvania, and other free States. Nearly all who engaged in the work were members of Christian churches. The best men in Massachusetts were making themselves felt in the formation of these societies. With the violence of the Pro-Slavery party against the teachings of the Sewalls, Tappans, Leavitts, Loring, Childs, Denisons, Garrisons and others, the Anti-Slavery men became more bold and defiant and stronger in their organizations, which encouraged here and there a representative in Congress, who had no favors to expect from Jackson or Van Buren, to speak out against aggression of the slave power. Mr. Adams was bold and eloquent in defense of free speech and the sacred right of petition, but in his highest flight of oratory and declamation his flashes of indignation never made the hair on the head of the slave owner stand on end like the quills of the fretful porcupine. His blows were not the telling ones that brought blood at every stroke dealt by Garrison, Giddings, Gerrit Smith, and other members of the advanced guard of freedom. Mr. Adams was not even an advanced Anti-Slavery Whig. There were Whigs and Democrats from Northern States in Congress during the exciting slavery contest from 1835 to 1848 who would not vote to admit a slave State into the Union. In 1836 Mr. Adams held that Arkansas had a right to come into the Union "with her slaves and her slave laws." In 1840, while earnestly and forcibly advocating the reception of petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he declared that he was not himself prepared to vote for it. On the slavery question he was not a leader nor a teacher. He was a trimmer, a tide-waiter, and a Micawber.

To do him justice, he was a brave old man as a champion in the cause of the right of petition and the freedom of speech. If he had moral convictions on the question of emancipation, he wrote them down in the sealed book of his diary, but he rarely, if ever, had the courage to express his convictions on the floor of Congress. His was not the bold and defiant denouncing of the wickedness of slavery like Giddings and Gerrit Smith. Mr. Adams did on several occasions utter hard and strong language against the evils of slavery, but no stronger than was used by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison. He did not press into the forlorn hope like Garrison, Stanton, Burleigh, Oliver Johnson, Lovejoy, Phillips, and a score or more who took

their lives in their hands when doing missionary duty. Fighting the good fight on the floor of Congress was parlor amusement compared to encountering the storms of brick-bats, cobble-stones, and rope's-ends. Nevertheless, John Quincy Adams did noble work ; but he is not entitled to be canonized as one of freedom's saints.

A well-known New England writer of Mr. Adams' party, referring to him at the time, says : " His age, the high position he had held, his vast experience, and unbounded store of knowledge might have made him the arbiter of the body. Such, however, was his love of gladiatorial displays that he did more to promote scenes of collision, strife, violence in words and deeds, than any other member. I remember one day to have been on the floor of the House when he attacked Wise, of Virginia, with great personality and bitterness. In allusion to the Cilley duel with which he was connected, he spoke of him as coming into the Assembly ' his hands dripping with blood.' There was a terrible jarring tone in his voice which gave added effect to the denunciation. Every person present seemed thrilled with a sort of horror, rather toward Mr. Adams than the object of his reproaches. In speaking of this scene to me afterward an eminent member of Congress said that ' Mr. Adams' greatest delight was to be the hero of a row.' There is no doubt that the rude personal passages which often occur in the House of Representatives derive countenance from Mr. Adams' example. It is melancholy to reflect how a great intellect and, on the whole, a great life were marred and dwarfed by inherent personal defects." Mr. Morse does not make his hero shine as a bright particular star in the many grand spectacular displays on the floor of the House during the exciting period from 1835 to 1846.

An old Anti-Slavery man, James G. Birney, characterized Mr. Adams' course during the exciting times in Congress on the subject of the slavery question as " eccentric, whimsical, inconsistent and unworthy of a statesman of large views." The criticism of other well-known Anti-Slavery men was even more severe against Mr. Adams. After all, perhaps, in view of the condition of public sentiment, we ought not to judge Mr. Adams with such severity and uncharitableness. The press and the pulpit of the North at the time were cringing to the slave power. Garrison and his followers, who dared to denounce the evils of slavery, were hunted down like wild beasts. It was safer then to be a forger, a counterfeiter, or a burglar, than an abolitionist. No felon could be treated with such barbarity as the respectable worshippers of slavery in Boston treated Garrison and some of the ladies who were acting with him in the cause of freedom. All the waters in the Charles River can never wash out that stain upon the character of our modern Athens. The press and the great publishing houses at the time to which we

allude were muzzled. Every book and religious tract, before being issued, was relieved of everything calculated to offend in the slightest way the sensitive nerves of the upholders of slavery. Most of the churches were as truckling as cheap Democratic editors. The reverend doctors of divinity and eminent professors at the head of universities and colleges preached the sacredness of slavery. The slave power was dictating morals, religion, and politics to the intelligent and Christian people of the free States. Let us say, then, in the way of apology for Mr. Adams, that no man ought to be sharply censured for not being beyond his age in virtue, humanity, and patriotism. And no man's friends should claim for him virtues which he does not possess.

HUGH HASTINGS

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### THE COOPER MONUMENT

The traveller unacquainted with its history or the object of its erection, traversing Butternut Valley even at this late day, is no doubt at a loss to account for the white marble column, surmounted by a vase and enclosed by a substantial iron paling, standing at the west side of the highway, some two and a half miles below the village of Morris. This monument has now become one of Otsego's old landmarks, having been erected by the late Judge William Cooper, of Cooperstown, January 7, 1801, to mark the spot where his eldest daughter, Miss Anna Cooper, was instantly killed by a fall from her horse, on September 10, 1800. I quote from "Chronicles of Cooperstown," published anonymously in 1838, but at this time her brother, the late J. Fenimore Cooper, is generally believed to have been the author of the "Chronicles:" "Miss Cooper was killed in the public highway about a mile from the residence of General Morris, in the town of Butternuts (now town of Morris), where a monument has stood thirty-seven years to commemorate the sad event. She is interred in the burying-ground of her family (at Cooperstown), under a slab that, singularly enough, while it is inscribed by some feeling lines written by her father, does not even contain her name!"

Miss Cooper, accompanied by several ladies and gentlemen, all on horseback, set out from Cooperstown early on the morning of September 10th, on a visit to the family of General Morris, twenty-five miles from that town, she being with a gentleman, some distance in advance of the others, when her horse shied at the barking of a dog which ran out from a farm house, and threw her. I have these particulars from a relative, now deceased, who was with the party.

## CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS IN THE COUNTRY OF THE ILLINOIS

Upon the termination of the seven years' war, and the cession by France to England of the Canadas and of her territories east of the Mississippi River, many of the Western Indians, who had been the allies and close friends of the French, refused to recognize the change of jurisdiction, renewed hostilities, by seizing Mackinaw and other military posts in the northwest, of which the English had taken possession, and in 1763 the great Indian chief Pontiac, who had under his command eighteen Indian nations, advanced upon Detroit, and held that important post in a state of siege for about four months. To suppress these and other apprehended Indian hostilities, a body of about twelve hundred English troops rendezvoused at Albany, in the State of New York, in the spring of 1764, being placed under the command of General John Bradstreet.

Among the officers attached to this expedition was Thomas Morris, a captain in the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, who singularly enough had been preceded by his father and grandfather in the same rank in that particular regiment. Another member of his ancestral family, an uncle, was at one time a Lieutenant-Colonel in the same regiment.

Captain Morris was a native of England, and came to this country to enter the military service. He was a highly intelligent and well-educated gentleman, as were many of the English officers who came to serve in the old French war. Among them was Richard Montgomery, afterward the famous General Montgomery, who, after serving here as a captain in the regiment with Morris, returned to Ireland only to come to America again in a few years, and marry an American lady of a prominent family, fix a residence on the banks of the Hudson, occupy a legislative position, and finally lay down his life under the walls of Quebec to establish our independence as a nation.

It was probably at Albany and during the seven years' war that Captain Morris formed an acquaintance with the family of Major Henry Van Schaack, a merchant of that city, who had been engaged in the western fur trade, and who had served in the then late war in the different capacities of lieutenant, paymaster and commissary of the musters. Major Van Schaack was in many respects a remarkable man, and no doubt found in Morris a congenial and active spirit, while their military relations probably

brought them into intimate intercourse. Major Van Schaack had married in Albany, in 1760, Miss Jane Holland, a lady possessing many refined and shining qualities, for which she was noted to the day of her death, which took place at Kinderhook, in 1815. She was a member of an old and highly reputable New York family in our colonial days, being a daughter of Hitchen Holland, who for ten years or more was a lieutenant and afterward captain of one of the independent military companies in the province of New York, and served through the seven years' war. His brother Henry was captain of a military company stationed at Fort Hunter as early as 1734, and was afterward in responsible civil stations. Another brother, Edward Holland, was at one time Mayor of Albany, and afterward Mayor of the City of New York and a member of the Provincial Council previous to the revolution.

In May General Bradstreet's army proceeded up the Mohawk River to Fort Stanwix, and thence westward by the usual route of the chain of military posts and the two great lakes to Detroit. In the progress of the expedition Captain Morris corresponded with Major Van Schaack's family, and some of his letters are still preserved.

In the latter part of August the expedition arrived at a place on the south side of Lake Erie, then called Cedar Point, being at the mouth of the Miami River, near the site of the present city of Toledo, and about fifty miles from Detroit. At this point General Bradstreet decided to dispatch Captain Morris up the river into the interior country, then a wilderness, to pacify the various tribes of Indians occupying that country, and reconcile them to their recent change of allegiance from France to England, consequent upon the treaty of 1763.

A scene took place in General Bradstreet's tent, where Morris was dining with the General after having been assigned to the command of this side expedition, which is thus graphically described by Morris in his Journal: " ' Morris,' said the General to Captain Morris, ' I have a French fellow here, my prisoner, who expects to be hanged for treason ; he speaks all the Indian languages, and if you think he can be of use to you, I'll send for him, pardon him, and send him with you.' I answered, ' I am glad you have thought of it, sir ; I wish you would.' The prisoner, whose name was Godefroi, was accordingly sent for, and as soon as he entered the tent he turned pale, and fell on his knees, begging for mercy. The general telling him that it was in his power to hang him, concluded with saying, ' I give thee thy life ; take care of this gentleman.' The man expressed a grateful sense of the mercy shown him, and protested that he would be faithful ; and indeed his behavior afterward proved that he was sincere in his promise. As General Bradstreet had pardoned him on my account, he considered me as his de-

liverer. Little minds hate obligations, and thence the transition is easy to the hatred of their benefactors ; this man's soul was of another nature, and though in a low station, a noble pride urged him to throw a heavier weight of obligation on him to whom he thought he was indebted for his liberty, if not his life ; and he had the singular satisfaction of owing those blessings to one who fancied he owed the same to me."

Morris' party commenced the ascent of the river on the 26th of August, about 4 P.M., at the same time the army proceeded to Detroit. An escort was assigned to Morris, consisting of about a dozen friendly Indians, two servants, and another French Canadian besides Godefroi, the latter speaking all the Indian languages, while Morris was well versed in the French. To this escort a few other Indians were afterward added, and among them several Indian Chiefs. On the next day after their start the party arrived at the Rapids, about six leagues from the river's mouth. Captain Morris published a journal of his mission which is full of adventures of a very interesting character, and from which a few extracts will be given in the course of this paper ; one of the first of these adventures is thus detailed. " On approaching a village," says Morris, " I heard a yell, and found myself surrounded by Pontiac's army, consisting of six hundred savages, with tomahawks in their hands, who beat my horse and endeavored to separate me from my Indians, at the head of whom I had placed myself on our discovering the village. By their malicious smiles it was easy for me to discover their intention of putting me to death." They, however, did him no injury, and the next day Morris went into a grand Indian Council, and addressed the Chiefs. " At the conclusion of the Council," says Morris, Pontiac said to my Chief: " If you have made peace with the English we have no business to make war on them ; the war belts came from you." He afterward said to Godefroi : " I will lead the nations to war no more ; let them be at peace if they choose it, but I myself will never be a friend to the English ; I shall now become a wanderer in the woods, and if they come to seek me there, while I have an arrow left I will shoot at them." He made a speech to the Chiefs who wanted to put me to death which does him honor, and shows that he was acquainted with the laws of nations. " We must not," said he, " kill ambassadors. Do we not send them to the Flatheads, our greatest enemies, and they to us. Yet these are all treated with hospitality."

Five days after Morris set out on his mission he made this highly interesting statement in his journal : " An Indian called the Little Chief told Godefroi that he would send his son with me, and made me a present of a volume of Shakespeare's plays ; a singular gift from a savage."



Well might Captain Morris characterize the presentation of that literary gift, coming as it did from an Indian savage, as a strange one. Such it truly was when viewed in itself alone, but, in connection with its attendant circumstances and its various surroundings, it assumes the aspect of poetry and romance. Let us take a view of it. The parties to that presentation scene were an American Indian and an English military officer; the place of presentation was a wilderness—the Indian's domain; the time was the year 1764, being one hundred and eighteen years ago; the witnesses were groups of Indians, braves and squaws, in aboriginal costume, and an English officer's military escort; the era in our history was the close of the last French and Indian war; and finally, to make perfect this wild and most interesting scene, the Indian's gift was a volume of Shakespeare's plays.

It adds to the interest of the scene to be assumed that Captain Morris, the fit and fortunate recipient of that Shakespearean gift, was an interesting character. He was at that time quite a young man, and our colonial historian, Francis Parkman, speaks of him as an officer of literary taste, giving him credit for military enterprise and resolution under trying circumstances. The publications also of Captain Morris, running through a period of fifteen years or more, show him to have been a highly intelligent and cultivated gentleman, a classical scholar, an interesting writer, an observant traveller, a dramatic enthusiast, and an intelligent and devoted admirer of Shakespeare. All which qualifications justly entitled him to the place which he has received in Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors."

Here the question arises, when, where, and under what circumstances did the Indian, Little Chief, come into possession of that book presented to Captain Morris. Some foundation, at least, for an approach to a satisfactory answer to the question is presented in the fact that an English army, commanded by General Braddock, invaded our Western country beyond the Alleghanies in 1755, being defeated by the Indians of that region, and General Braddock being killed, was not that book of plays, then, an Indian trophy of that defeat? What strongly, if not conclusively, confirms the view of this matter, is the other fact stated by Captain Morris in his journal, that in the same vicinity where he received the copy of Shakespeare, he saw an Indian in possession of General Braddock's horse. Morris thus notices this fact in his journal, under the date of September 5th: "We met an Indian on a handsome horse which had been General Braddock's, and had been taken ten years before, when the General was killed on his march to Fort Du Quesne, afterwards called Fort Pitt, on the Ohio." Do not the two facts of the book of plays and the "handsome horse" being in the possession of Indians of the same Western region, at the same time, and in the particular

vicinity indicated, with the " Braddock " former ownership there ascribed to the horse, render it a reasonable conclusion that they were both trophies of Braddock's defeat? The statements of Morris in his journal are positive, and show, from their incidental character, that *he* fully relied on the accuracy of the information he had received, for he makes no suggestion of a doubt on the subject, and there seems not the least ground for the suspicion of any sinister purpose on his part in its relation. His journal bears date at Detroit, September 26, 1764. The original is preserved in the London Archives. It was published by Morris, together with several other productions, in book form, in London in 1791, being twenty-six years after the Indian gave him the book.

" On the seventh of September," says Morris in his journal, " we arrived at the meadow near the Miami's Fort pretty early in the day. We were met at the bottom of the meadow by almost the whole village, who had brought spears and tomahawks in order to dispatch me. Even little children had bows and arrows to shoot the Englishman who was come among them."

At this time the volume of Shakespeare probably saved Morris' life, for, unconscious of the excitement, and while his escort had landed and gone up into the village, Morris remained at the river out of harm's way, having pushed his canoe to the other side, where his attention was engrossed by reading the tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra in the volume given him by Little Chief.

Captain Morris experienced in this expedition, at the hands of these hostile Indians, an amount of abuse and indignities scarcely conceivable for their number, their variety, their indecency and their cruelty; and it is a wonder that he escaped with his life. The Indians, among other abuses, stripped, bound him; threw him roughly on the ground; kicked him; dragged him into the river as if to drown him; struck him with a gun; drove him about with his hands tied behind him; tied him by the neck to a post, and prepared to torture him. Two Indian warriors, with tomahawks in their hands, seized him by each arm, and led him away threatening to kill him. An Indian on horseback gave him a severe cut with a switch. He often despaired of his life, and was frequently obliged to conceal himself in order to escape. But for the extraordinary prudence and craft exercised by the faithful Godefroi, Morris would no doubt have been murdered. Being a Frenchman and speaking the Indian languages Godefroi had great influence with the savages. He also understood their character and knew when to humor them and divert their rage. Godefroi most fully performed his promise to General Bradstreet to "take care of the gentleman."

Many abuses and privations having been experienced, and his mission

having proved a failure, Morris, after an absence of about twenty days, determined to make his way to Detroit without further effort at pacification. Although then only about fifty leagues from that place, he was obliged, in order to avoid the Indian villages and roaming savages, and perhaps escape death at their hands, to strike out further into the woods, and make a circuitous route of eighty leagues ere he accomplished his purpose, which he did, with his escort in safety.

In making this journey Captain Morris' mind was not inactive, and he thus philosophized and contrasted more favorably to the French than to the English the treatment which the Indians had received from the two nations. "My thoughts," says Morris, "were taken up during this day's journey in admiring the fine policy of the French with respect to the Indian nations, of which, from among a thousand, I shall select two remarkable instances, which I mention as not only worthy of imitation, but to wear out of the minds of such of my countrymen as have good sense and humanity, the prejudices conceived against an innocent, much-abused and once happy people, who have as deep a sense of the justice and benevolence of the French, as of the wrongs and haughty treatment which they have received from their present masters. The first of these is the encouragement given by the French Court to marriages betwixt its subjects and Indian women, by which means Louis got admission into their Councils, and all their designs were known from their birth. Add to this, that the French so entirely won their affections by this step, that to this day the savages say that the French and they are one people. The next instance, is the prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors under pain of not receiving absolution; it is what the French call *cas reservé*: none but a Bishop can absolve a person guilty of it. This prevented many mischiefs too frequent among the unfortunate tribes of savages who are fallen to our lot. From drunkenness arise quarrels, murders, and what not; for there is nothing however shocking and abominable that the most innocent of that innocent people are not madly bent on when drunk. From imposing on the drunken Indian in trade, abusing his drunken wife, daughter, or other female relation, and other such scandalous practices, arise still greater evils. When such things are done (and they are done), can we wonder that the Indians seek revenge."

Morris's description of his escape to Detroit, shows his good taste and competency for observation, by thus noticing some of the beautiful, and to him, novel scenery presented by the western prairie country. "We came," says Morris, "into extensive meadows; and I was assured that those meadows continued for one hundred and fifty miles, being, in the winter, drowned lands and marshes. By the dryness of the season, they were now beautiful

pastures; and here presented itself one of the most delightful prospects I ever beheld; all the low grounds being meadow and without wood, and all the high grounds being covered with trees, and appearing like islands; the whole scene seeming an illusion."

On his arrival at Detroit, Morris of course had much to say to his military friends about the rough usage and hardships which he had experienced in his mission among the Indians, but there is no doubt that he took the greatest pleasure in giving them the particulars about the copy of Shakespeare.

General Bradstreet's Indian expeditions were attended with success; and full possession of Mackinaw and of the other military posts in the north-west were recovered by expeditions sent out by him from Detroit. Thus, says Parkman, "after an interval of more than a year, the flag of England was again displayed among the solitudes of the Northern wilderness."

I do not know how long Captain Morris remained in Detroit, but he was there the next year and wrote the following letter to Mrs. Van Schaack, illustrating somewhat the manners of the age:

"DETROIT, August the 29th, 1765.

"MADAM:—Why did Captain Morris delay writing to his best acquaintance in petticoats so long? 'Tis a shame, that's certain, when considered seriously. But let us judge charitably; the man perhaps was busy; or sick; or in love; or lazy. To speak the truth, he has been all of them by turns. God help him; he is a poor little mortal that is ever offending. Tho he has not much flesh, he has much frailty, and a very puny constitution; and yet he must be in love forsooth. What girl in her senses would take him? True; but a man may flatter himself; we are all our own flatterers. This is a strange world, Mrs. Van Schaack: I know you think so. I wish I were in some snug corner of this earth with a few *selects*; a word of my own coining.

"I am going to a dance to-night. There is to be a ball on purpose for the strangers: and yet Mr. Van goes off this afternoon. He does not care a fig for the finest woman in Detroit, because he has a much finer woman at home; and for my part I have no heart to dance, as the girl who engrosses all my affections cannot be there.

"Mr. Van Schaack talked to me something about a letter from you; but I have not got it. Upon recollection, I believe your ladyship is in my debt; though I don't require to balance accounts with the fair sex with scrupulous exactness. Be assured, Madam, that I shall be extremely glad to hear from you; as I am not only anxious for your welfare, but flattered by the notice you have taken of me. I often think of you, and sometimes give you for a toast among the Madames and the Mademoiselles.

"I am, Madam, your most obedient humble Serv<sup>t</sup>,

"THOMAS MORRIS.

"MRS. JANE VAN SCHAACK."

In 1764, while General Bradstreet's expedition was in progress, and probably partially under its protection, Major Henry Van Schaack was in Western New York, *en route* to Detroit, on a business journey to that place, necessitated by the recent interruption of the fur trade, and by his unfin-

ished dealings with the merchants there previous to Pontiac's conspiracy. Western New York was at that time a wilderness. There was scarcely a white resident there except at the Forts. Indian supremacy did not cease until put down by Sullivan's expedition in 1779. As late as 1763, fifty armed soldiers with their officers, in guard of twenty-five loaded teams, were moving from Fort Niagara over the newly constructed postage road at Niagara Falls, when they were surprised by a body of Seneca Indians lying in ambush, and the whole party, with only two exceptions, were either massacred on the spot, or driven down the Devil's hole in the Niagara River, perishing there.

While in the Niagara region, Major Van Schaack wrote a letter to his brother, the late Peter Van Schaack, his junior by fourteen years, and then pursuing his studies in Kings College, New York. He introduced into it a passage from one of Shakespeare's plays, being the very excellent advice of Polonius to Laertes, his son, contained in the play of Hamlet, and which Shakespeare makes the father charge the son to "character in his memory." It reads thus :

"Give thy thoughts no tongue  
Nor any unproportioned thought his act.  
Be thou familiar, but by no means vulgar.  
The friends thou hast, and their adoption tried,  
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel.  
But do not dull thy palm with entertainment  
Of each new-hatched, unfledged comrade. Beware  
Of entrance to a quarrel : but being in,  
Bear it that the opposer may beware of thee.  
Give every man thine ear, but few thy voice :  
Take each man's censure, but reserve thy judgment.  
Neither a borrower nor a lender be ;  
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,  
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.  
This above all : to thine own self be true,  
And it must follow as the night the day,  
Thou can'st not then be false to any man."

Thus we have here these two pleasing and singular coincidences, taking place in our Western wilds in the summer of 1764. While Major Henry Van Schaack was at Niagara, in the then wilderness of Western New York, on his way to Detroit, writing a letter to his young brother in the distant East, giving for that brother's instruction an admirable extract from one of Shakespeare's plays, Captain Morris, Mr. Van Schaack's personal friend, was, at the same time, in the remoter and wilder regions of the Illinois country, also on his way to Detroit, receiving at the hands of a savage, a

volume of Shakespeare's plays, and reading therein while seated at the foot of a waterfall.

Captain Morris returned to England with his regiment in 1768. He has left in print the record of a pleasing little incident, which occurred on the occasion of his embarkation at New York, strongly reminding him of his Indian experiences in the Illinois country four years before. While in the Western wilderness Morris saw a white man cutting wood, and was surprised to hear him speak English, as the Indians and French had before been the sole occupants of that wild country. "On questioning him," says Morris, "I found he was a prisoner; had been one of Lieutenant Holmes' garrison at Miami's Fort, which officer the Indians had murdered. They cut off his head and brought it to the fort, and afterward killed all the garrison except five or six, whom they reserved as victims to be sacrificed when they should lose a man in their wars with the English. They had all been killed except this one man, whom an old squaw had adopted as her son." To this interesting history Morris makes this addition: "When I lay aboard a transport in the harbor of New York, in order to return to Europe, Sir Henry Moore, then governor of that province, came to bid me adieu, and was rowed aboard among others by this very Indian captive, whom I had seen cutting wood in the western wilderness. The man immediately recollected me, and we felt, on seeing each other, what those only can feel who have been in the like situations."

Captain Morris was in the military service about twenty years. After his return to England he seems to have given his attention to literary pursuits, for Mr. Allibone informs us that between the years 1786 and 1802, Morris published, in London, six different works. Among them was an octavo volume, published in 1791, entitled "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse." This book, among other things, contains his "Journal of his Expedition Against and Captivity Among the Indians," from which I have given several extracts. It is remarkably well written, and excites one's admiration for its naturalness, its directness and clearness of statement, its good taste, its artless simplicity, and its rare interest. Among other compositions in the volume last referred to, is one entitled "A Letter to a Friend on the Poetical Elocution of the Theatre, and the Manner of Acting Tragedy." In this masterly criticism, as I think I may venture to characterize it, Captain Morris, in whose character and history I have become deeply interested, makes marked allusion, at the expiration of a quarter of a century, to the ecstasy originally excited, and then evidently still existing in his veins, caused by his Shakespearean experiences in the wilds of America in 1764. This dramatic enthusiast, after placing in the highest position of admiration

the stage-performances of the famous French tragedienne Madam Du Menil, thus closes his criticism: "If the world ever afforded me a pleasure equal to that of reading Shakespeare at the foot of a waterfall in an American desert, it was Du Menil's performance of tragedy."

## HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK

From Fort Brewerton situate, at the west end of Oneida Lake, on May 4th, and from Fort Niagara, on July 22d, Captain Morris wrote these letters to Mrs. Van Schaack:

"FORT BREWERTON, May the 4th, 1764.

"MADAM:—I did not expect that I should have occasion to write to a *lady* for some time, except the lady who gave me birth; but I find myself under the agreeable necessity of sending a tender phrase or two to Mrs. Van Schaack.

"I have received two reproofs, of late, on your account; the one, grave and pathetic, the other, only implied in the bare relation of your displeasure at a neglect of mine.

"As I never knowingly *committed* any offence *in the presence* of Mrs. Van Schaack; I hope I shall meet with pardon for a sin of *omission* against the *fair absentee* whom I have sainted.

"The fear of being thought importunate was the reason of my not putting your name in my last letter to Mant, for, I assure you, you were in my mind at the time I concluded it.

"I am a singular man, and would run the risk of losing a *mistress* rather than be called a troublesome suitor; judge, then, whether I would tease a *friend*. I will now own to you that I am very glad it has happened; it is the greatest compliment you ever paid me. I construe your discontent a thousand ways, but every way flatters me. I fear I am a very vain little gentleman—I disdain the mediation that is offered me; I apply directly to you, madam, and am very proud of your condescending to take notice of my forgetting you.

"Now I have begun to talk to you, I dont know how to leave off; I can't quit you yet. Tell me who is she? What *kind* of young woman does Mrs. Van Schaack think would *suit me*? I sometimes divert myself with seeking out quaint resemblances amongst odd characters of different sexes, and puting them in pairs, but I never could find a female unaccountable to \* \* \* \* \*

"Your most obedient and humble servant,

"THOMAS MORRIS.

"Mrs. JANE VAN SCHAACK."

"CAMP AT NIAGARA, July the 22d, 1764.

"MADAM:—Once more a few lines to Mrs. Van Schaack; since once more she has honored *me* by employing her fair hand for my satisfaction and entertainment.

"As *your* letters, madam, yield *me* infinite pleasure, and as *mine*, at best, can afford *you* but little; if this correspondence should continue, what a debt should I have upon me! But mind how cleverly I could bring myself off; generous souls receive while they give; so, kind lady, we should be on equal terms.

"From you only I heard about the Dutch letter. Swearing is the vice (and not the only one) of the men in red. I am a great swearer myself; tho not when in company with the beautiful sex.

"You say, 'You should have had no objection to have been of the party at the bowl in the rock: ' Your presence would have made the water nectar to me; for I swear (since swearing is fashionable) that I would rather drink of what gushes from a rock, with good sense in petticoats, than of the best Madeira, with the dull, tho clamorous, male things, which most military meetings are composed of. I am sorry to pay you a compliment at the expense of my own sex or profession, and I must assure

you in order to make some amends that the most virtuous and most agreeable characters (for the former does not necessarily include the latter) which I have met with, are to be found among those gentlemen who wear his majestys livery.

“I am now to speak of the *fair incognita* to whose acquaintance I have been introduced unseen, or rather, on whose good nature I have been obtruded, by the swearing gentleman. Let her not be ashamed to tell me her wishes; but it would be needless; I can guess them. I should not say *them*, but *it*. There is but one wish for a virgin; *mutual love*; a valuable man, who may value her, because she is valuable, and values him. So much for the word *value*, and a spinster’s wish.

“O the naughty and intruding company, that would not let you go on! However, you have added three lines, after signing your name relating to this same \* \* \* \* \*

“Believe me, madam, your faithful friend, and most humble servant,

“THOMAS MORRIS.”

## LORD BALTIMORE’S COLONY OF AVALON

The following indicates the line of discussion in a paper by Professor Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University; but where is the proof that “the High Church party ever contemplated reunion with Rome?”

Contemporary with the Cape Ann plantation was Lord Baltimore’s colony in Newfoundland, or Avalon. Both were economic experiments, outcroppings of the colonial enterprise of the period. Both were undertaken primarily for fishery, secondarily for agriculture. Both failed for the time being, but both succeeded by removal of the colony to a more favorable locality. At first, Massachusetts prospered more especially through fishing, Maryland, through planting. Both colonies were founded by English capital, furnished in the one case by an enterprising nobleman, in the other by a stock company of English capitalists and gentlemen. The two colonies started out with the idea of toleration as a matter of public policy. In Maryland, Protestants and Catholics settled side by side, the former, however, predominating numerically from the very outset. In Massachusetts, Episcopalians and Puritans were at first sent out together, but the latter proved the stronger party. Both colonies were captured by Puritans in spite of the efforts of liberal stock-owners. Lord Baltimore had no thought of founding a Catholic asylum, and the Dorchester Company never dreamed of a Puritan refuge when they employed Episcopalians at Cape Ann. Lingard admits that the Catholics were not persecuted in England at this period. The contest lay between the Puritans and the High Church party, whose leading prelates seriously contemplated a reunion with Rome. Lord Baltimore favored Puritans, Churchmen, and Catholics alike. His motive was a naturally broad-minded Catholic spirit, combined with a natural desire to make his colony an economic success.



## VERRAZANO PROVED TO BE THE FIRST EXPLORER OF THE ATLANTIC COAST OF THE UNITED STATES

Among the corsair squadrons, chiefly of French origin, that began to prey on Spanish homeward bound and treasure laden vessels early in the Sixteenth Century, there was one that was led by an able navigator, and a daring seaman, Giovanni da Verrazano, or Jean de Varasenne. A Florentine by birth, he had seen service in the Mediterranean naval combats with the Mahomedan, and may have been to India with the Portuguese. Fitted out by *armateurs* like Jean Ango of Dieppe, he would be put in command of four or five light, but well-armed vessels, and would then cruise off the southwestern coast of Spain for Spanish or Portuguese prizes. We have few documentary records of any of these captures, in any French archives, either municipal or national. Those of Dieppe were destroyed in the bombardment of that city in 1694, those of La Rochelle by Mazarin in 1628, and those of Brest and St. Malo have disappeared. Could the papers of the old *armateurs* have been preserved, they would furnish much to interest the historian, relating to early exploring voyages, commercial enterprises, and mercantile ventures, in the new seas opened to commerce.

Owing to the division of the coasts of France among four admiralties, there were no central marine archives. The present *Archives de la Marine* date from the next century only, in 1673. M. Margry, in his *Navigations Françaises*, p. 158, refers to this want of collected information. The reports presented to the lieutenants of the admiralties were not made compulsory until the year 1543. A document in which Verrazano's name appears as about to undertake a long voyage to the East Indies in 1526, but which was probably intended to plunder the Spanish fleets, is given by Margry, p. 194, from the Fontette manuscripts in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, but not with minute accuracy. Jean de Varesam was a subscriber to the expedition in a sum equal to that of Jean Ango, the merchant prince of Dieppe, and was to be the chief pilot of the expedition. The corsairs were to make prizes "on the sea of the Moors or other enemies of the faith and of the King."

Before starting on this voyage he appointed his brother Jerosme de Varasenne his heir and attorney, by a paper, bearing his signature in Latin, Janus Verrazanus, and dated Friday, eleventh of May, 1526. We shall see

the bearing of this named brother and of his own peculiar sign manual presently.

By another paper he appointed Pierre Caunay master of one of his vessels called *La Barque de Fescamp*, of ninety tons, promising to pay him five hundred livres tournois on his return. This paper is not signed, but is witnessed by Jehan Desvaulx and Robert Bouton. The last is dated Saturday, twelfth of May, 1526. Neither of them bears the name of the place where they were executed. They were found eleven years since in the Archives of the Parliament of Rouen by Mons. Gosselin, the greffier, and were first published by Mr. Henri Harrisse, in the *Revue Critique*, for January, 1876.

Verrazano had seen much service by sea before this time, but no mention of him as a corsair is made, except by Peter Martyr, Bernal Diaz and Viera, who call him Juan Florin or Florentin. These notices relate to his capture of Spanish or Portuguese treasure vessels. Martyr, from hearsay only, attributes to him the capture of a Portuguese vessel in July, 1524, but after 1523 he is not known to have made any cruise in Spanish waters until 1527, when two documents found in the Archives of Simancas, speak of his having been taken prisoner with others, and put to death on their way from Cadiz to the North. The dates of the capture and of the execution are not given. A translation of these two documents, found by the late Buckingham Smith, in Spain, is given by Mr. Murphy in 1875. From the movements of the Emperor it is inferred that the date of these ought to be October, 1526.

We have no certain account of the doings of Juan de Verrazano in the year 1524. Nevertheless, by a letter from the Portuguese Ambassador, in France, to his sovereign, dated from Poissy, April 23, 1523, given also by Mr. Murphy, we learn that "Joano Verrazano" was preparing to go "*on the discovery of Cathay.*" We know, however, that during this season he captured three treasure laden vessels, two of them bearing a rich cargo from Mexico, and one from Hispaniola.

From a letter found in Florence, dated from Dieppe, July 4th, addressed to the King of France, it would seem that he had made a previous attempt to sail to the West, with four ships, but it is uncertain in what year this happened. This letter is preserved in the Strozzi collection, together with a cosmographical appendix, and these are signed Janus Verrazzanus, according to Professor Greene, who gives the texts of this manuscript in the *North American Review*, for October, 1837. The letter is accompanied by one of Fernando Carli, to his father, dated from Lyons, August 4, 1524. This last was first published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* in 1853.

The text of the first, or Verrazano letter, was first noticed by the historian Ramusio in or before 1553, and was printed in the third volume of his *Raccolta*, in 1556. The language of his version differs from the Strozzi version, though the sense is the same, and he speaks in his introductory *Discorso Sopra la Nova Francia*, of other letters in Florence from him, which had been lost or destroyed. This implies a belief in the genuineness of the letter he publishes. But two collateral proofs of it, not hitherto noticed, can here be cited. The first is that the Latinized form of his name, *Janus Verrazanus*, appears in the Document of Rouen of 1526, and in the letter of 1524. If this last letter were a fabrication, how could this have occurred?

Again, Carli says that his majesty (Francis the 1st), is expected to be in Lyons within three or four days, a fact which no one but a person resident there at the time would have stated, for the precise day of the King's arrival in Lyons is nowhere given. A party fabricating such a letter as the one of which he sends a copy would not have been apt to make such a statement.

Thus much for the genuineness of the letter published by Ramusio, of which there can be no reasonable doubt. Let us now examine another kind of documents which are contemporaneous and convincing.

Attention was drawn in 1852, by Mons. Thomassy, to a large parchment Mapamundi, preserved in the *Museo Borgiana* at the Collegio de Propaganda Fide, in Rome, undated, but on which appear the words *Hieronimus de Verrazano faciebat*, and a note along the coast of the present United States, which reads as follows: Verrazana sive gallia nova quale discopri | 5 anni sa giovanni da verrazano fiorentino | par ordine e Comandameto dal Crystianissimo | Re di Francia; or, Verrazana or New Gaul, which was discovered five years ago by Giovanni da Verrazano, the Florentine, by the order and command of the most Christian King of France. If the voyage was made in 1524, then the chart was made in 1529. It had been alluded to by the Cardinal Borgia in a letter to De Murr, in 1795, but attracted no further notice until Thomassy gave a short account of it in 1852.

We shall not attempt to criticise this map now, having done so in 1874 already, in a paper on Verrazano, read in 1871, before the American Geographical Society, and because the author of "Verrazano the Explorer" has exhaustively answered the doubts raised by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, in a volume published in 1875, affecting the genuineness of the letter of July 8, 1524, and the map in the Collegio, of which Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the above named society, had procured photographs from Rome.

We cannot now discuss the various objections to the letter, as beyond our present purpose, but shall only dwell on the remarkable geographical

confirmation of the originality of the map. Firstly, the author of the map, whose personality was questioned, turns out to be the brother of the navigator, and probably the *map maker* alluded to in the Caro letters. It was objected that in 1529 it was easy to copy Spanish maps of 1527, showing explorations along this coast made in 1525 by Estevan Gomez, who returned in November of that year. The fact that the coast lines on the two maps differed very widely was totally disregarded, but a forced agreement of the two *tracés* was presented, and it was assumed that Hieronimus had copied the supposed Hernando Colon map of 1527, or the Diego Ribero map of 1529. The appearance of a distinct representation of Block Island and of Cape Cod on the Verrazano map was ignored. The outline left by Gomez on the Spanish charts shows that he had not the least conception of our coast. A large estuary filled with islands and a coast running nearly East and West is all that he seems to get credit for, but in spite of this meagre survey we *must* believe that Verrazano copied him! <sup>1</sup>

At this period of the discussion a startling and unexpected discovery places the geographical priority of the Verrazano map at a date which precludes all speculation as to its originality.

A family bearing the surname of Maiollo had for three generations been map makers in Genoa. The first one known was Vesconte de Maiollo, from whose hand, between the years 1504 to 1549, fourteen maps are still preserved. Mons. Desimoni, of Genoa, who is deeply interested in these studies, had published a paper on the Cabots and two on Verrazano. Returning from the Geographical Congress recently held in Venice, he visited the Ambrosian Library in Milan. Here he looked over several nautical charts, and among them one by the Genoese Vesconte de Maiollo. The Prefetto, the Abbé Ceriani, drew his attention to the fact that the date of this last was 1527, and not 1587, as hitherto supposed. The figure 2 had been taken for an 8, but a comparison with a chart by the same draughtsman of 1524 satisfied them of its true date. Vesconte died about 1549, so there was no doubt about the date 1527, and a careful examination of its coast lines were made. Magellan's strait appeared on it, but all the western coast of South America was marked Terra Incognita. On the upper part of this no names appear in the Spanish chart of 1527, and but a few on the one of 1529. Above Florida is an isthmus similar to the one found on the map by Hieronimus da Verrazano, on those by Baptista Agnese, 1536, and by Münster of 1540 and 1545. The deep inlet found on maps after Cartier's voyage near Canada, is wanting. Yucatan is represented as an island, Temistitan appears and a *stretto dubitoso* below it. "A badia de Garay" appears near Florida.

From Florida to Cape Breton appear a series of names of French and Italian origin, but no Spanish ones. Many of them are the same, with slight differences, as those on the Verrazano map. *Luisa* is applied to the island and *refugio* to the port near it, deeply indented in the land, and with two islands and a rock in it, meant no doubt for Narragansett Bay.

De Costa counted over one hundred names from Florida to Labrador on the map in the Collegio de Propaganda Fide. Seventy-five of these are the result of Verrazano's voyage. Some corrections of these by the Signori Lurabroso and Fabiano are given by Desimoni in his *Studio secondo* of 1881. In his last *Studio* of 1882 he gives the names of Maiollo, Verrazano, Vlpus and Gastaldi in four parallel columns. The result shows that there was probably an original map older than the ones of 1527 and 1529, accounting for some variations of these two from each other.<sup>2</sup>

We shall not go into a detailed analysis of these Italian names at present. Desimoni has done all that is needed in this respect. The main fact that results from the discovery of the Maiollo map is, that no Spanish map could have suggested its North American outlines from Florida to Newfoundland in 1527, that it was made from an original exploration in or about 1524, probably by Giovanni da Verrazano, at the order of the King of France, who is commemorated by the name *FRANCESCA* placed along the above named coast before Cartier's voyage of 1534.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

<sup>1</sup> For the map illustrating this point, and an article refuting the theory, see page 257, Vol. II., of the *MAGAZINE*.

<sup>2</sup> For the argument proving the existence of a map in England, that is, the one presented to Henry VIII., in addition to those of 1527 and 1529, see the *MAGAZINE* at pages 21 and 22 of Vol. III., where the question is discussed, and where it is shown that a map like that referred to by Hakluyt must have existed prior to 1529. The discovery of the Maiollo map makes this a great deal stronger, and renders trifling with the voyage of Verrazano indefensible. On this Hakluyt map Mr. Deane says, that if Hakluyt "is to be relied on, our first point would seem to be made probable; namely, that the map was not only given by Verrazano to the King, but that it was a map made by him, or on his authority. Secondly, that the map was intended as a memorial of Verrazano's visit to our coast, would seem to be made probable, if not historically certain, by the recent discovery of a map in Rome, made by Jerome Verrazzano, a kinsman of the navigator." But, with the Maiollo map before us, how much clearer does this point appear.—ED.

## ACADIA IN THE REVOLUTION

Before the treaty of 1763, which followed the fall of Quebec, the whole country east of the Penobscot River, in Maine, was held by France under the name "Acadia." This territory has since been divided into three distinct political states. Each of them was at one time or another the scene of the operations here briefly narrated, and the French term is therefore made use of as more conveniently indicating the scope of the action.

At the period of the Revolution that part of Acadia now known as New Brunswick contained, according to the best estimate, about one thousand inhabitants. The only points of settlement were the St. John's River, and the vicinity of Chignecto and Chepody bays; the first included in the county of Sunbury, and the latter in Westmoreland. Adjoining the latter, on the south, is the county of Cumberland, in Nova Scotia, unquestionably the most productive part of that province. Here stood the two rival forts, *Beau Sejour* (afterward Fort Cumberland) and Lawrence, separated from each other by the little stream of Missiquash. The former was built by the French in 1750, to defend the region against the invading English; the latter was built by the English soon after as a counterpoise to the French stronghold, receiving the name of the commander of the force, Major Lawrence. *Beau Sejour* has long been abandoned as a military station, while the walls of its younger rival have been levelled by the hand of time.

"So universal," says Kidder, "was the sympathy for the Americans in the county of Cumberland, that in the townships of Truro, Onslow, and Londonderry only five persons would take the oath of allegiance to the British government, and therefore their members were excluded from the House of Assembly. In Kings County, N. S., a large liberty pole was cut and made ready to be hoisted, when the arrival of a detachment of Rangers put a stop to the movement."

Halifax was at this time the only port of sufficient importance to be affected by the tea tax, and this as well as other Eastern cities had merchants and civil officers who uttered their protests against the measure, and opposed the importation of the article, thereby losing royal office and favor. A "tea-party" was called, but was prevented from meeting by a merchant who was invited, but who proved more subservient to the tyranny than expected. (Murdoch's "History of Nova Scotia," vol. 2, p. 522 *et seq.*) But the port was expected to become the chief military station of Great Britain in

America, and the government patronage was too powerful, so that the spirit of freedom was practically extinguished there before the war broke out.

In Cumberland County, however, as in the more western colonies, a regularly chosen Committee of Safety assumed the direction of military operations, and on November 13, 1776, petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for aid in men, arms, and ammunition. The inhabitants of this county were principally Scotch-Irish families and their descendants, numbering one thousand one hundred and seventy-six. In consequence of this patriotic action a strong force was sent into the region, and many citizens were forced to fly, finding refuge chiefly in Massachusetts from the control of a cruel government.

One of these patriots was John Allan, a member of the Assembly; and it is to him more than any other that we owe the preservation to the Union of all of Maine east of the Penobscot. He was subjected to the pain of leaving his wife and children behind him in his flight, and in spite of his efforts to rescue them they remained for two years, some in imprisonment, others under espionage, and all in great distress.

Among the more fortunate refugees was Jonathan Eddy, who found a quiet home for his family in Massachusetts. He soon obtained from the authorities of that commonwealth a commission as colonel, with permission to make a military expedition against Fort Cumberland (*Beau Sejour*), in the expectation that the province would be delivered from British rule.

The military operations in the northeast began by the capture of the British armed schooner *Margaretta*, by a party from Machias, in June, 1775. This was the first vessel of the enemy captured in the Revolution. The *Margaretta* had come to Machias to convoy a cargo of lumber to Boston for the use of Gage's army. The people had recently erected a liberty pole, of which they were quite proud, but it was an offence to the master of the *Margaretta*, and he ordered that it should be taken down, on penalty of a bombardment of the little village. A town meeting was at once called, to meet on Saturday, when the people voted not to take it down. Some influential persons persuaded the irate captain to wait for another meeting, to be held on Monday.

On Sunday, while on shore, the captain himself narrowly escaped capture, and the next morning his convoy, manned by the young men of the place, pursued the schooner out to sea, and after a short but brisk engagement took her with all her armament and supplies unharmed. She was manned by forty men all told, and her armament consisted of ten six-pounders, twenty swivels and two wall-guns, though not all were mounted; she was also supplied with an abundance of small arms, ammunition, and pro-

visions. The crew of the lumber sloop consisted of about thirty men and boys, only twenty of whom had muskets, the rest being armed with pitchforks and axes; their only cannon was a wall-piece.

The victors received the thanks of the Massachusetts Congress, and two of the leaders were at once commissioned to cruise against the enemy. A portion of the armament of the prize was transferred to the wood-sloop, which was now named *The Liberty*, and she at once proceeded to cruise under the command of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien. It was reported that the British schooner *Diligent* with a tender was on the coast making surveys, and a few days later O'Brien, in *The Liberty*, and Foster, the other commissioned officer, in the wood-sloop, encountered the vessels they were in search of. Stephen Smith, a bold fisherman, with a few other men in a boat, had already surprised the captain of the *Diligent* while away from his vessel with but a small attendance, and captured them. The *Diligent* and her tender, therefore, fell an easy prey to the two Machias privateers.

The next incident in this quarter was the attack upon old Fort Frederick, at St. Johns, by Smith, in a sloop manned by Machias men. The fort and barracks were burned, and a brig laden with provisions for General Gage was captured.

The encouragement that these successes gave to the patriot cause in this region enabled Colonel Eddy to obtain men for his ambitious undertaking. At Machias he secured the services of Captain West and about twenty others, with whom, in September, 1776, he proceeded to Passamaquoddy Bay, where he was joined by a few more. From thence he continued to St. Johns, ascending to Maugerville, the chief settlement, some sixty miles up the river. The earliest English settlement on the St. Johns was at Maugerville, which was colonized from Essex, Massachusetts, in 1762. "The party amounted to near twenty men, besides two families that took passage from Newburyport, May 16, 1762, to St. John's River" (Chubb's "Sketches of New Brunswick," p. 101). At this time the number of families in this place was about one hundred, and all were earnestly devoted to the American cause.

On the 14th of May, 1776, the citizens of St. Johns had assembled in the meeting-house at Maugerville and chosen a committee "to make immediate application to the Congress, or General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, for relief under their present distressed circumstances." At the same meeting a series of resolutions as positive and extended as those of any New England town, were framed and adopted; and then the whole assembly subscribed to them. These resolutions formed a complete declaration of independence. In memoranda accompanying the official copy of



the resolutions, it is stated that "one hundred and twenty-five have signed, and that twelve or thirteen have not, nine of these being at the mouth of the river."

There joined Eddy's party here, one captain, one lieutenant, and twenty-five privates of the English, and sixteen Indians. His whole force now amounted to seventy-two men. Early in October they set off for Cumberland in whale-boats and canoes, arriving at Chepody Bay in a few days without having met with any adverse circumstances. Here they captured a lieutenant and thirteen men, who had been stationed on Chepody Hill to give intelligence of the approach of patriot forces and privateers. Proceeding to Merancook, they were joined by a number of French. A march of twelve miles through the woods brought the company to Sackville, where it was met by the Cumberland Committee of Safety, who freely expressed their uneasiness at the smallness of the force and its lack of artillery and supplies; yet in the hope of an early reinforcement from Maine, they unanimously joined in forwarding the campaign.

A scouting party having reported a sloop of the enemy to be lying aground on the flats below the fort, a party of about thirty was despatched to capture her. After a difficult march, they arrived opposite the sloop, and charged across the flats toward the vessel. The mud was so soft that they sank nearly to their knees at every step, and the unmistakable noise aroused the sentry, who at once alarmed the sergeant of the guard, though thick fog hid them from view. There were fifteen or more men on board, completely armed, and had a gun been fired, it would in a few minutes have brought the garrison from the fort down upon the adventurous besiegers. On coming upon deck, the sergeant ordered his men to fire, but they were told by the leader of the Americans, who overheard the order, that if they fired a single gun every man of them should be put to death. This so frightened the poor fellows that they surrendered without any further effort for defence. As the retreating tide had left the vessel resting on the mud, her sides were so high that the captors could not board without the assistance of the conquered guard, who let down ropes for them to climb up by.

At daybreak the remainder of the force arrived in a schooner and their whale-boats. Their presence was still concealed by the fog, and as soon as the tide had risen so as to float their boats, one party after another of soldiers from the fort came out to the sloop, probably to convey her cargo on shore, for she proved to be heavily loaded with provisions; as fast as the boat crews came on board they were made prisoners and quietly secured below.

The sloop at length began to float, and the fog breaking, the strange craft were discovered by the garrison. Perceiving that the sloop was get-

ting under way, instead of unloading, it dawned upon their astonished minds that she had been "cut out." The guns of the fort soon opened upon her, while a detachment of some sixty men marched down the river to attack the little squadron. But the vessels had a fair wind, and were already at such distance that the fire upon them from the fort effected no damage; and turning toward Fort Lawrence, on the opposite shore, they were beyond the reach of the muskets. Colonel Eddy here landed a portion of the stores in order to lighten the vessels for offensive operations. Leaving a sufficient guard at the fort, the main portion of the force recrossed to the Cumberland side of the river, and formed a camp about a mile below the fort.

In a few days they were joined by a sufficient number of the inhabitants to swell the force to about one hundred and eighty men. After detailing the necessary guards for the outposts, there remained some eighty men available for an attack upon the fort. A summons to surrender was sent to the commanding officer, but it was met by a prompt refusal. It was therefore decided to make an assault.

The fort embraced about an acre of ground. "Its intrenchment was fifty feet in width; the slope, twenty-five feet; and the embankment within, eighty feet in height, and the breadth on the top, four feet" (Williamson's "History of Maine," vol. ii., p. 452). On the outside were pickets, while along the declivity outside of them, piles of heavy logs were fixed, ready at a touch to roll down upon assailants with overwhelming violence.

The night of the 12th of November proving cloudy and favorable to a secret movement, Colonel Eddy ordered an attack. The approach was made in three divisions, one of which attempted to ascend the bank by ladders, while the other two made a diversion at other points. But the garrison was on the alert, and the attack was repulsed at all points. Colonel Eddy, in a letter written after his return, says that there were about one hundred men in the fort. Murdoch (see his "History of Nova Scotia," p. 577 *et seq.*) says that the fort at Cumberland was at this time "garrisoned by Lieutenant-Colonel Gorham and his Fencibles, two hundred and sixty in number. Of these the rebels surprised and made prisoners of forty privates and some non-commissioned officers from the outposts." The patriots, however, maintained their position before the enemy, and totally cut off his communications, feeling sure of taking the fort on the arrival of the expected reinforcements.

On the 25th of November there arrived in the bay a man-of-war from Halifax; and on the following day she landed nearly two hundred marines. Though observing this reinforcement, Colonel Eddy remained in his camp until the night of the 30th, when he was surprised and driven into the woods.

The stores having been captured or destroyed, the Committee of Safety advised a retreat to St. John, which was accordingly made, and Eddy's force wintered on that river.

But the reduction of Fort Cumberland and the rescue of the region from Great Britain was not yet given up. The patriot force continued to be augmented by refugees from Cumberland, while the man-of-war had returned to Halifax, leaving only some three hundred men at the fort; and in the spring Colonel Eddy importuned the General Court for supplies and a reinforcement of two hundred men, with which he professed the ability to reduce the garrison by investment. A treaty had also been made with the Indians on the St. John's, and in the course of the season it was extended to the Micmacs, in Nova Scotia, and the Quoddies, in Maine. By the excellent management of Colonel John Allan (who also had effected these treaties) the tribes were retained in a neutral relation throughout the war, though the British made great efforts to draw them into their service. The Penobscot, Quoddy, and St. John's Indians, with whom Allan had made a defensive alliance, allowed some of their warriors to enlist in the white companies in the Federal service. In this employ they rendered valuable aid, at least on the occasion of the British attack on Machias, in August of this year (1777).

Before spring, however, Colonel Eddy's force seems to have been wholly scattered, and the entire command in this department had been transferred to Colonel Allan. In February, Allan was endeavoring, by authority of the Massachusetts Council, to effect an exchange of prisoners with Colonel Gorham, the British commander at Cumberland. On May 16, 1777, Colonel Allan writes from Machias, "received advices that the ship *Vulture*, of fourteen guns, was at St. John, lying before the old fort; that the armed sloop *Gage* had gone to Cumberland to bring troops to enable the garrison to pursue up the river." The *Vulture* was the vessel which afterward bore such a prominent part in the treason of Arnold.

In consequence of this information, Colonel Allan, on the 30th of May, set out from Machias in boats for St. John. Intelligence reached him on the way that the British vessels had departed, but he continued his course, and, after a brief delay at Passamaquoddy, arrived in safety on the river on the 2d of June. Leaving a captain and lieutenant with twelve men to guard the falls and annoy the enemy, should any come to repair the fort, Colonel Allan proceeded up the river.

Numerous halts were made on the way to cultivate friendly relations with the parties of Indians who were frequently met. The principal settlement of these was at Aukpaque, situated on the north side of the river, about seven

miles above Fredericton. On Jeffrey's map the name is spelled "Ock-pack." The word indicates a beautiful expansion of the river. There are here numerous islands. Upon the largest of these (Sandous) the Indian fortifications and buildings were situated. A small stream enters the St. John at this point.

On landing, Colonel Allan's party was received by the Indians with a salute of musketry. After a satisfactory conference and needful rest, the force returned to the mouth of the river. Here they made prisoners of two traders who were suspected of having procured the visits of the British vessels. Many of the inhabitants had been pillaged by these enemies, and most of them forced to take the oath of allegiance to the king. As they had by this action gone on record as sworn subjects of the king, and were dejected and fluctuating, Colonel Allan forbore to enter any of their houses or to encamp near them, lest he should compromise them with the royal government.

On the 8th of June intelligence was received by Allan of the capture by West, near the mouth of the river, of a schooner from Halifax, with a valuable cargo, which he sent to Machias for safety. On the tenth, Colonel Shaw, with forty-five men from Machias, arrived at the mouth of the river. On the eleventh, the sloop of war Vulture again came into the harbor, accompanied by a smaller sloop, carrying supplies. The intrepid West boarded the supply vessel and would have overcome her, but such numbers appeared setting out from the ship that he thought best to give up the attempt. Yet the British were quite intimidated by this action, and left the harbor the next day.

On the 24th of June Colonel Allan writes urgently for three or four hundred men to defend the river and to rescue the oppressed people of Cumberland. A few days later there arrived in the harbor a squadron of the enemy, consisting of the ship Mermaid, of thirty-six guns, and the sloops Vulture and Hope, with their tenders, detached from Sir George Collier's fleet to operate with the force at Cumberland against the patriots in that region, and on the St. John.

Early in the morning of the 30th of June, the guard stationed on the "Reach," a short distance above Grand Bay, saw a barge coming up from the mouth of the river, and shortly after they discovered seven others lying on their oars about a mile distant. Information was immediately sent to the main body of the American force, which at once retired up the river, leaving Captain Dyer with a dozen men to observe the movements of the enemy. The company in boats soon landed, to the number of about one hundred and fifty. Captain Dyer allowed them to come within good mus-

ket shot, then fired and retreated. On the retreat they fell in with the flank guard, who fired upon them at ten or twelve yards distance, killing three and wounding two more. Captain Dyer immediately retreated up the river, taking with him his wounded men. The British loss in this skirmish was six killed and wounded.

The two British ships from New York, the *Mermaid* and the *Ambuscade* (32 guns), with a third vessel, were ordered to cruise between Machias Harbor and Mount Desert, to intercept the Americans on their way eastward. Troops to the number of three hundred now set off up the river in pursuit of the patriots, with special orders to capture Colonel Allan, for whom, dead or alive, a reward of four hundred dollars was offered.

Allan was at this time at Maugerville with the Indians, and he at once removed with them further up the river. Between him and the British force was a part of two companies under Captains Dyer and West, and on the 3d of July Colonel Allan gave these the permission, which they had asked, to retire to Maine by way of Passamaquoddy. They were closely followed in this retreat by the main body of the enemy; but from this time we hear no more of them in New Brunswick.

The British force now turned up the river, searching at every point for refugees from Cumberland, and for Colonel Allan. Wherever they could learn of an inhabitant who had furnished food or shelter to the Americans, they seized his goods and burned his buildings. The Cumberland people, finding that there would be no safety for them on the St. John, a few days later, guided by the Indians and the friendly Acadians resident upon the river, retired by the way of the Schoodic lakes to the coast of Maine.

Colonel Allan now kept closely to the Indians, in order to secure their continued adhesion to the American cause, and leaving Aukpaque, they retired to the French settlements a few miles farther up the river. The latter people were those Acadians who, in 1755, fled from their homes about the Basin of Minas in order to escape transportation by victorious Britain. They were ever found friendly to the American cause; and they were now ready and desirous of aiding Colonel Allan to the extent of their means, though at the risk of their own safety.

The British superintendent of Indians in Acadia, amply supplied with the means usually required to secure their attachment, was assiduous in his efforts to gain them over, offering pardon for past offences and security from all harm to such as would abandon their connection with the patriots. A document long in the hands of the High Sheriff of St. John County, N. B., is an invoice of supplies sent the Indian agent at a certain date. It has a list of seventeen different kinds of articles suitable to savage wants, and in

large quantities. He also had the aid of a Romish priest, whose influence was very great with those rude yet reverential children of the forest; but though the Indians availed themselves of the priest's professional services, they would not yield to his solicitations to unite themselves to the British cause. The Micmacs, in Nova Scotia, even were only partially won over, while all the favor the enemy obtained from the other tribes was their neutrality, and protection to the British crews while engaged in cutting masts on the streams emptying into Passamaquoddy Bay.

On the patriot side, Colonel Allan, at all times almost empty-handed, made hazardous journeys to their settlements or to other localities appointed for conferences with the Marachites, on the eastern shore of New Brunswick, and the Micmacs of Nova Scotia. On account of the non-arrival of promised supplies he many times found it necessary to leave his two boys, aged respectively eleven and thirteen years, as hostages with one or the other of the eastern tribes for months together.

It was chiefly by their personal regard for him that Allan was able to hold these tribes so long and against such odds. An incident or two will illustrate their devotion to him. The British were very bitter against him, and for years a price was set upon his head. The soldiers and even civilians sought, at every opportunity, to take him, dead or alive. As might be supposed, all dissatisfied Indians were incited against him, by whom his life was attempted repeatedly. One day, while sitting at the table in his room busy with some papers, an Indian acquaintance of the family entered. A few words were exchanged, and while the other members of the family were conversing with the colonel, the Indian, instead of going out, slipped unnoticed behind the wide open door. Presently another Indian—a powerful savage of the Micmac tribe—strode into the room, and directly up to Colonel Allan, who was seated in such a way that he could not readily rise.

The Indian drew his long hunting knife, and brandished it in the air, the blow probably delayed a little by the steady eye of Allan fixed upon him. Before the blow could fall the hidden Indian sprang forward and felled the intended assassin to the floor. The treatment of the offender was very merciful. By Allan's direction he was simply deprived of his weapons, placed in his own canoe, and started toward home.

At another time, when Colonel Allan was confined to his room with the gout, some members of the tribe he was with learned of a plan of the British to capture him while in this condition, and they at once wrapped him up in blankets and carried him to a remote place in the woods.

But it was not the Indians alone who were attached to him. The captain of an English merchant vessel one day sent a polite note, inviting him

to dinner on board his vessel, in remembrance of former times. This incident appears to have occurred on the St. Croix River, where the Indians had guaranteed a certain degree of protection to British vessels. Colonel Allan was pleased with the captain's courtesy, and was about setting out, when Captain Dyer, who suspected treachery, begged that he might go instead of his superior. The Colonel refused at first, but finally consented. Dyer proceeded to the vessel, and no sooner was he on deck than the perfidious captain cried in exultation, "Now, thank God, I have got you, you —— rebel!"

"No, you haven't got him," replied the brave Dyer; "you've only got me."

The enraged Englishman took Captain Dyer to Halifax, where this generous and devoted friend remained a prisoner of war until his death.

At length the St. John's tribe, his chief lever for influencing the more eastern, were so closely pressed on one side by the military power of the British, and on the other by the tempting gifts and stores of Mr. Franklin, their agent, that Allan decided to retire with them to Maine. Accordingly the whole body of the St. John's tribe, says Allan, "to the number of 128 canoes, containing near 500 men, women and children, left the river with me, . . . only a few families remaining to keep up a claim and give intelligence, when there was not more than a week's provisions for the whole. They left their little plantations well improved (and a good prospect) with a great part of their clothing, and after 28 days' journey, arrived at Machias, suffering many hardships and difficulties by the excessive heat and the lowness of the streams, which greatly obstructed the canoes." This journey was made in July and August, 1777.

From this time until the close of the war Colonel Allan and his wild wards remained mostly at Machias and St. Andrew's Point (the latter near the head of Passamaquoddy Bay) small parties of the Indians frequently making trips eastward, to keep up a friendly association with the other tribes.

This narrative, evolved chiefly from the mass of documents found in Mr. Kidder's valuable collection, gives, I think, a fair and perhaps a sufficiently complete view of the Revolutionary struggle in our neighboring provinces in the northeast. Our relations with the inhabitants of the Acadian region, during the century just closing, have been very intimate, and it is to be doubted whether there has been for a considerable time other than friendly feelings between the masses of the people in our contiguous territories, who came so near being of the same nation. If some portion of the citizens of each have at times been inflamed against those in the other, it must be attributed to the conflicting interests of the two great empires to which we respectively belong, rather than to any civil incompatibility or personal dislike.

GEORGE J. VARNEY

## TOPICS IN BRIEF

### DE KALB, GATES, AND THE CAMDEN CAMPAIGN.

The publication of the correspondence and orders of General Gates, bearing upon the battle of Camden, and the vigorous defence of that officer by Mr. Stevens, which appeared in the October Number of the *MAGAZINE* for 1780, invite a restudy of that disastrous campaign. A fresh fact is brought out in a letter from Lord Rawdon, published in the Third Report of the British Historical Manuscript Commission, which revives the point whether Gates did not make a mistake in declining to attack the British at Little Lynch's Creek, on or about August 10th. Rawdon, then in command, had taken post on the southern bank of the stream, and was known to have a force inferior in numbers to that of the Americans. His position, on the other hand, was naturally strong. Tarleton, in his account of the campaign, claims that Gates ought immediately to have moved up the creek, crossed it above, marched directly to Camden, and compelled Rawdon to meet him at a disadvantage, or abandon the place. Bancroft says on this point: "By a forced march up the stream Gates could have turned Rawdon's flank and made an easy conquest of Camden." Johnson, in his life of Greene, takes substantially the same view. In Rawdon's letter referred to, we now have the statement that De Kalb did actually urge an attack upon the enemy at the creek. The communication is from the English general to his mother, the Countess of Moira, and the material part, explaining also why he declined to fight Gates before Cornwallis arrived, runs as follows:

"CAMP NEAR TWELVE MILE CREEK,  
"ON THE FRONTIER OF NORTH CAROLINA, Sept. 19, 1780.

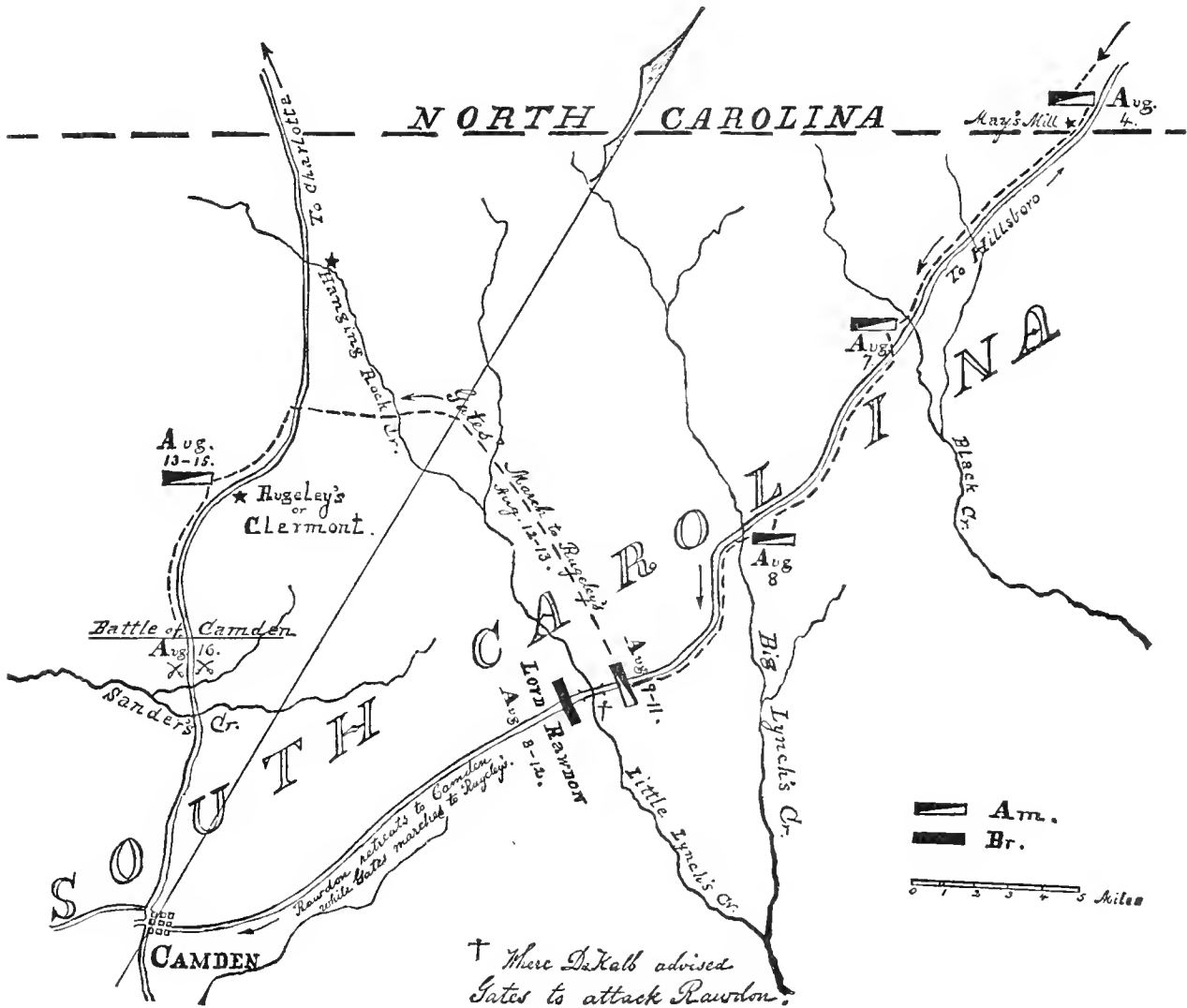
". . . Had I thought the tinsel of unweighed applause an object superior to the consciousness of having acted right, I should have given Mr. Gates battle whilst the command remained with me. It was in my power; I had fair prospect of success; the reputation to be attained was great; and if I was beaten there would have been credit in making a bold attempt, for the failure of which the disparity of force would have been a sufficient apology. But I felt that the step would be false; for, by maintaining the conduct which I pursued, I was certain of forcing the enemy either to retire across the Pedee, to attack me upon terms almost hopeless for them, or to take the ruinous part which they actually did embrace.

"De Kalb, who was a good officer, saw so clearly the consequences of reducing their attacks to one point, and thereby enabling me to unite my detachments, that he strenuously advised Gates to pass Lynches Creek and fight me, at all events; this was related to me by De Kalb's aid-de-camp (a relation of the M. de la Fayette), who was made prisoner. Gates rejected the advice, threw himself



across the country into the other road above Hanging Rock Creek, and gave us three days to prepare to meet him, in a country likewise very favorable for us.

“Since that action the sickness of the troops, added to want of provisions and almost every kind of stores has detained us inactive. We are now in march towards Hillsborough, where Gates has collected a small body of militia. At present there is no prospect of serious opposition, but I cannot believe that the Congress will not make an effort to stop the advance of our successes. We have reason to hope that we shall be joined by the greater part of the North Carolinians, who have certainly given strong proofs of faithful attachment to us. . . . It is now ten weeks since we have



heard from New York. . . . You must have been astonished at our warfare here after the representations which we perceive were made to you respecting the loyalty and peaceable state of His Majesty's Province of South Carolina.”

The aide who gave the information Rawdon refers to was Chevalier Du-buysson, holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the same who is commonly represented as preventing his general from being put to death on the field at Camden. Whether De Kalb meant that Gates should attack Rawdon directly in front or cross at a more favorable point and fight him

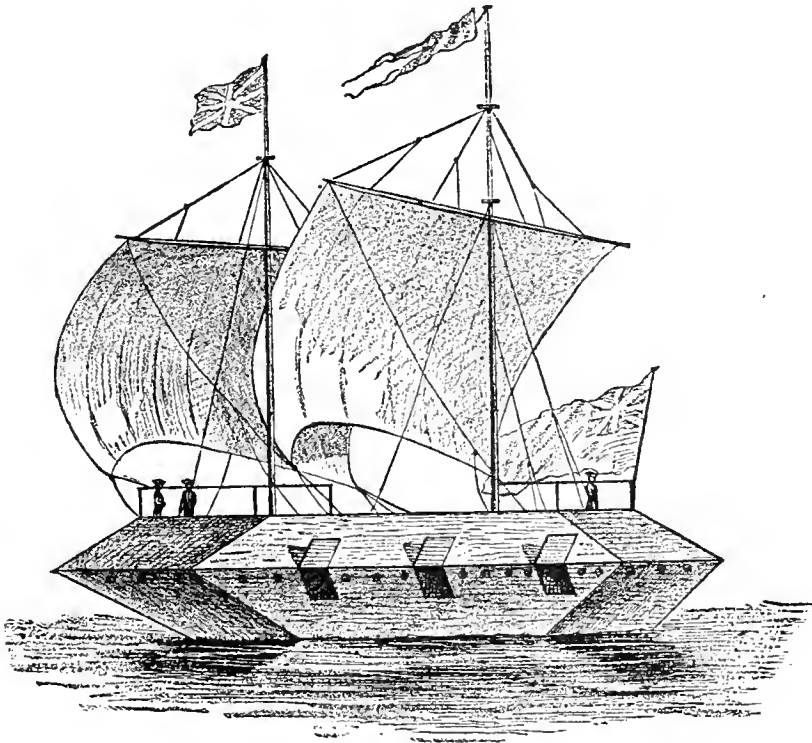
as soon as possible, is not distinctly stated, but it is worth noticing that he did in effect propose what Tarleton, who was on the spot, was of opinion should be done, and what Rawdon himself impliedly admits to have been excellent advice. The point with De Kalb evidently was: Push the enemy and prevent the concentration of his forces. Friends of Gates will defend the course he took in marching around by way of Rugeley's Mills, by showing that the delay brought him a large reinforcement of Virginia Militia; but did it not also work in equal if not greater proportion to the enemy's advantage?

It is not to be inferred from his advice at Lynch's Creek, that De Kalb was aggressive in this campaign. No one can read Colonel Horry's quaint reminiscences in his *Life of Marion*, without observing how anxiously he deprecated Gates' extraordinary haste and rashness in pushing down toward the enemy from North Carolina. Horry, who acted as aide to De Kalb up to the battle of Camden, states that on the weary march through the pine barrens, where "a forlorn hope of caterpillars" must have starved, the general "frequently foretold the ruin that would ensue." At Lynch's Creek he saw a possible advantage to be gained, and urged it; otherwise he constantly advised caution and better preparation, but Gates would take no counsel, unless in the last extremity, but his own. J.

#### A LAKE CHAMPLAIN GUNBOAT OF 1760.

The specimen of naval architecture reproduced below from the original in the Library of Congress, at Washington, is unique. The craft appears in a picture of the British lines and encampment at Crown Point, Lake Champlain, in 1760, but the absence of any legend or reference leaves her description an open matter. From certain allusions to be found in Knox's *Historical Journal* of that war, it is probable that she was the largest of the two or three sailing vessels which the English hastily constructed on the lake and with which they "swept the seas" of the French. The Commodore of the little fleet was Captain Joshua Loring, of the Royal Navy, and this quite likely did the honors of "flag-ship" for him. If so, it was a hulk of his own make, built at Ticonderoga during the months of August and September, 1759, just after the capture of that fortress by General Amherst. From Ticonderoga the British moved up to seize and fortify Crown Point, while Loring remained behind to build a "brigantine," which, with a sloop, was to constitute his movable naval force to operate against the French, who held the lower end of the lake with three sloops and one schooner. By October 10th, says Knox, the brigantine was completed, car-

rying the respectable armament of six six-pounders, twelve four-pounders, and twenty swivels, and manned by seventy seamen and sixty soldiers. She was doubtless formidable ; that she was a novelty in construction it needs no nautical eye to distinguish. Curtailing her ample sails and one might take her for a modern iron-clad. The sloop which formed the other wing of Loring's squadron was commanded by Lieutenant James Grant, of Montgomery's Highlanders. On October 12th the French vessels were sighted, chased and driven ashore, and Loring and Grant returned with enduring laurels. Whatever craft the illustration may represent, it is certain that if rough hewn and odd in shape and rig, she still rode proudly victorious, the Queen of the Lake. It might be added that, in 1758, Loring, in company with Colonel Bagley, built the sloop Earl of Halifax, on Lake George. This vessel was one hundred tons burthen, and mounted fourteen guns.



## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## SOME COLONIAL LETTERS.

## I. BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT AND THE INDIAN QUESTION.

[Communicated by *J. Carson Brevoort.*]CARLISLE 25<sup>th</sup> Novemb'r 1757.

DEAR SIR.

In consequence of the Proprietarys, and Mr Hamiltons requests, I send you the most exact accounts of the Kill'd and captivated, together with the Deserted Farms or Plantations within this County since the Defeat of Genl Braddock, that is in my power to Collect. this much may be depended upon that I'm rather below than above the true number in every thing here mentioned. It is said that Mr Smith Merch't in Water Street Philadelphia has Kept a perfect Journal of the Kill'd and taken within the Sundry Colonys as related in the Publick News, but I'm persuaded the Papers themselves fall short of the exact number

	Killed	Prisoners made
Of the Inhabitants	126	131
Provincial Troops of the Second Battalion,	44	36
	—	—
	170	167
Officers of Do. Lieutenants Armstrong Hoge and Halliday—Ensign Scot	4	
Plantations deserted, north of the Kittatinny Moun- tains	374	
Do. in the Old settled Val- ley situate betwixt the North and South Moun- tains	554	

Both within the bounds of Cumberland County.

A Number of the above mentioned Familys yet remain at Forts and with their Friends within the County, tho they have left their respective habitations, but of such I suppose not above two hundred at most.

The Woods and herbage so much favouring the Secret and Sculking manner which the Indians generally make their attacks, throws the person or Family attacked so much under the power of Pannick and Surprize, that the Enemy gains great advantage and but seldom meets with proper resistance, the surpriz'd party generally fleeing, not Knowing but that the Enemy are numerous, when perhaps they were but few; by these means together with theseperate Residences of the Inhabitants instead of that of Villages, it happens that such great numbers have fled and Evacuated the Country ; but a cause still higher, is the frowns of Heaven upon us which is not considered by many.

As to making head against the French and Indians, an Offensive War must be Carry'd into their Settlements ; and when Fort Duquesne is reduced (which can be but a tryfle to the conduct afterward necessary) if sundry Tribes of Indians now Our Enemies, do not immediately lay down the Hatchet in regard of us, and, as need requires, take it up against the French, then Should Sufficient partys well conducted be detach'd to their Several Towns Cutting and Burning all before them, and following the Enemy from place to place, so far as the Seasons and other Circumstances may admit, and if possible the French should be prevented of bringing any more Supply's to the In-

dians thro lake Erie, so that they must be oblidg'd to us for them, which might greatly tend to turn the Tables.

In case these measure have a good effect, a Strong English Settlement Should be made South West of Duquesne, Extending toward the Wabash. Such as the Scheme proposed by Mr Hazard or near that tenor as it will go best down with the Populace who shou'd be paid and oblidg'd to act as Soldiers for some time ; but as its not probable the Colonys will contribute anything to this scheme (except they are forced) so the expense for a few years would fall heavy upon the Crown. If I remember right the Traders have said that about the year fifty one the Twichwees made an overture of a Large Space of Land to the English in case of going there to live and assisting them against the French from whome they then apprehended some danger ; and were we masters of the Ohio and had drove off the French now there, the same proposal I think wou'd be made, or at least the Twitwees (whome it is said have the best claim) would sell a large space. I grant the Notion of Settling more New Lands when we can't Keep what we have may too justly appear Chimirical yet I'm of opinion we must either have a great deal more, or have none at all, and that in order to prevent the French who by a few years Possession wou'd Probably gain an entire influence over the Various Tribes of Indians, after which what Peace would they not break or what Barbarity would they not commit upon the Frontiers of this and the Neighbouring Governments ; and if this scheme or something equivalent does not soon take place I think there will be no living in Pennsyl-

vania, Maryland nor Virginia. All debaucherys and abuses among the Indians should be religiously avoided if ever we get footing among them again, and a Vallainous Trader or Interpreter that for low ends would make himself necessary, deceive the World and Corrupt even the Savage herds as they have often done heretofore should not be admitted, but perhaps Hang'd up without Ceremony— if God work by those kind of people any good among the Indians I'm greatly mistaken—pious Missionarys, shou'd by those whose Province it is to Propogate the Christian R'n be sent among the Indians as soon as they can be suppos'd to be admitted, and the sword of the spirit used in turn with that of the flesh—every thing is right in its own Season and no man can tell, when pious endeavours may have the desir'd effect.

In the Front of these hints I should have mentioned a Union of the Colony's, with good Militia Laws, Oblidging a proper Number at the instance of the Kings; Commanding Officer to March as far and stay as long as ever his Majestys and their own Interest requir'd ; the matter is now with us at Do, or Die. I beg the favour of you, if you shew any thing, to shew all I have wrote to the Gent<sup>n</sup> mentioned in Yours, for if I have wrote foolishly it is done with great Simplicity and I have long thought—please to present my thanks and Sincere Services to the Propr<sup>s</sup> and hearty good Wishes to Mr Hamilton, may God bless his Voiage for his own and the good of others

I am Sir your very Afectionate Humb<sup>l</sup> Servt

JOHN ARMSTRONG

RICHARD PETERS, ESQ.

II. GENERAL BRADDOCK TO GOV. MORRIS, OF NEW JERSEY.

[Communicated by *J. Esten Cooke.*]

SIR, I receiv'd your two Letters by Express last Night and am greatly oblig'd to you and M<sup>r</sup> Peters for the Steps you have taken towards laying in a Magazine of Provision for me, as also for the Supply you are Collecting of Forage.

I shall Signify to M<sup>r</sup> Swain by the ——— of your Messenger my Approbation of the Deposites being made at McDowel's Mill instead of Shippensburg. I dispatch'd an Express to you yesterday with Bills upon England for £4000. Sterling sent me by Governor Glen ; and upon Notice from you I will send the Draughts from the Deputy Paymaster upon M<sup>r</sup> Franklin for such further Sums as you may have occasion for.

GOVERNOR MORRIS.

(Page 2) I have order'd a party of an Hundred Men as a Guard to the people working upon the new Road which will set out this Day.

I am much oblig'd to yourself and your little Government for the present of Oxen they have made me and am, Sir,

Your Most Humble &  
Most Obedient Servant,

E. BRADDOCK

*Camp 5 Miles from Fort Cumberland*

*June 11. 1755.*

III. FROM GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE.

[Communicated by *J. Esten Cooke.*]

VIRG<sup>A</sup> WILLIAMSBURG Sept<sup>r</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> 1755

SIR I receiv'd Your Favo. of the 20th ult<sup>o</sup>—I am really very sorry & surpriz'd at the unmannerly Message sent You by the Assembly ; surely if Differ-

ences subsist between You & them, good Manners is due You as the Supreme Magistrate.

At same Time I am sorry Your Instructions prevented Your accepting of their Note for 50,000—With that Money & what we have rais'd here, wou'd have made a good Figure in prosecuting the Plan I wrote you the 29<sup>th</sup> of July ; but as Your Assembly appear obstinate in not doing what is their Duty at this Period, I must leave off any Thoughts of it at this Time.

After the Defeat of our Forces, if Col<sup>o</sup> Dunbar had entrench'd himself, built a Fort & sent in to the Governors for Reinforcements, he wou'd have prevented the French &c going to Niagara from the Ohio & at the same Time facilitating the operations of the next Campaign—Instead of this his great Inclination of going to Your City, he left our Frontiers expos'd to the Insults of the Enemy by Carrying with him the whole Regulars, the Six Pounders & Cochorns ; If he had made another Attempt I doubt not of having reinforc'd him with 1000 Men, who now must be employ'd all the Winter in protecting our Frontiers & to be in readiness for next Year.

I have not omitted writing to the Ministry the unaccountable Conduct of Your Assembly ; the Dangers we are in from the German Roman Catholicks, & I have no doubt the next Sessions they will seriously consider of it make some Alterat<sup>n</sup> in Your Constitution.

I much want to hear of Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley, I am under great Concern for him, as no doubt they have Collected all the Forces they cou'd to Niagara, as I hear most of their Men are gone from their Fort on

Ohio to that Place ; pray write me the News from thence, & of Gen<sup>l</sup> Johnson's success against Crown Point.

I wish You Health more ease & Satisfaction in Your Government than I conceive You now enjoy, & am with great Truth Sir

Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup> hble Servant

ROB<sup>t</sup> DINWIDDIE

P. S Pray give my Complim<sup>ts</sup> to Cap<sup>t</sup> Orme if with You. I have not heard from him since my Express ——— I give you the trouble of the enclos'd to Gen<sup>l</sup> Shirley which I pray the Fav<sup>o</sup> of You to forw<sup>d</sup> by first opportunity—As I know not where to direct to him.

GOVERNOR MORRIS

————

IV. FROM GOVERNOR COLDEN, OF NEW YORK.

[Communicated by J. Carson Brevoort.]

SPRINGHILL Dec<sup>r</sup> 15<sup>th</sup> 1765

DEAR SIR

I received your kind letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> of last month at a time I was so much engaged in publick business that it was not in my power to answer it & since I retired I was under a necessity of writing to the Ministry on the late transactions before I gave up the Government

You must believe I am very glad to be out of the way of the malice of wicked men I found Sir Henry was resolved to make himself easy. How far he will succeed, time must shew. He came away without any Instructions. The Kings order in his Privy Council of the 26<sup>th</sup> of July has renewed all the rage of the

Party against me as appeals from a verdict & Judgement are confirmed

Tho the Stamp Act was made use off to excite the mob yet the directing it against me arose from the resentment of the men who think their power is abridged by establishing Appeals. You can judge as well as I can what effects these seditious Transactions are like to produce in Great Brittain. The Dependency or Independency of the Colonies seems now to be brought to the Crisis, & it remains with the Parliament to give it the Proper Issue, whether the Parliament of Great Brittain shall submit to the Colonies or the Colonies to the Parliament.

The Assembly have before them M<sup>r</sup> Harrison's protest as Notary Publick in the Case of Cuningham I cannot tell you what is don in it but I hear young Smith is intraged at some part of it. I cannot conceive what they intend to do by this examination Can they intend to repeal the Kings order in his privy Council & to authorise Disobedience to it.

Perhaps you may learn things from England which I know not I hope you will communicate what you think may be of use to me

General Burton I hear designs for England by way of New York perhaps you may have seen him as he passes & you may know his opinion of the present state of Affairs

Capt<sup>n</sup> Johnson's patent is passed I suppose M<sup>r</sup> Banyar has it. The packet I hear is arived but I have nothing since from New York

I hope after this to be free from all business It will be a Deed of Charity to give me the pleasure of a frequent correspondence on such subjects as may be

most agreeable to your self & I shall  
make all the return in the power of

Dear Sir

Your most affectionate

& faithfull Servant

CADWALLADER COLDEN

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON Bar<sup>t</sup>

V. CAPTAIN GABRIEL BERNON TO GOV-  
ERNOR DUDLEY, OF MASS.

[*Communicated by Jeremiah Colburn.*]

NEWPORT ON ROAD ISLAND

July 27<sup>th</sup> 1702.

SIR,

Following your Excellency's order I had my commission read at the head of my company ; I have assured our settlers that I do not look upon them as soldiers but as my friends, that I only took the commission that there might be a head to our plantation ; that I believe my self to be the person most interested and most attached to the plantation ; they seemed to be grateful to your Excellency for it.

I told them that a Palisade around my house was necessary for a garrison, these matters are postponed on account of the harvest ; I can assure your Excellency that I will manage the whole with advantage of the Place, and that it will inevitably result to the profit of your Excellency, my self and our people in general.

Colonel Romer left Saturday for York he believes that your Excellency has every desire to finish the Castle. he is sorry to have left Boston before the work was finished.

In case of danger, to New Oxford, the people of Providence are the proper people succor ; I have spoken to your Excellency of Cap<sup>t</sup> Arnel and of Lieuten-

ant Wilkinson as the two persons the best behaved and the most generous that I have found in the Country. they are worthy of the esteem and friendship of all good people.

When I took leave of Madame your Excellency's lady, she told me to make inquiries about the horses for your Excellency, I have made the enquiries but I do not quite understand what kind your Excellency wishes. I believe M<sup>sier</sup> Arnel of Cananicot the best person to select them properly and the best disposed for the service of your Excellency. I will entrust it to him ; I congratulate myself however on the happiness of subscribing myself with profound respect

Sir, Your Excellency's

Very humble, very affectionate

and very obedient Servant,

GABRIEL BERNON

[To Governor Dudley]

VI. FROM GOVERNOR SHIRLEY.

[*Communicated by George M. Champney.*]

CAMP AT OSWEGO, Sept<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1755

SIR

As it is possible that your Wound may render you unable to proceed in Person to Ticonderoga, in such case I should recommend it to you, to order Major General Lyman, who I apprehend hath escaped unhurt, or Col. Ruggles, in case General Lyman should be unable to go in Person, to march the Forces under your command to that Pass, & take possession of it, and secure it against the Enemy, leaving with you such a Number of Troops as you shall judge sufficient for strengthening the Works at the Carrying Place, and erect-



ing such at Lake George, as you shall think absolutely necessary.

If nothing farther could be done this Campaigne than gaining Teconderoge, yet that would be carrying a great point for the protection of the Country behind, this Year, & facilitate the Reduction of Fort S<sup>t</sup> Frederick the next Spring

You will give me leave to press this matter again upon you, as what most nearly concerns his Majestie's Service, & the Interests of the Colonies; and must greatly redound to your own Honor and that of the army under your Command; and should be glad you would Consult your Field officers upon it.

I hope your Health will permit you to go upon this service in person, & earnestly wish your attempt may be Crown'd with all the Success you can desire, which I can't but think it will if you proceed, and am Sir

Your most Humble Servant

W. SHIRLEY

MAJOR GENERAL JOHNSON.

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THE EARL OF NORTHAMPTON TO  
KING JAMES

[The following letter is referred to in Neill's "History of the Virginia Company of London" (p. 54), as a letter of Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. Sainsbury, in the Colonial Documents, 1516-1660 (p. 14), makes mention of it, and gives a paragraph from it in modern orthography, which is copied by Neill. We now print the letter entire, believing that it has never been given before. Though not written by Southampton, it is nevertheless of particular interest in connection with the Bermudas, for-

merly called the "Isle of Devils." It is couched in those obsequious and very flattering terms likely to be relished by the pedantic king.

There is a reference to the Dutch activity at the North, where, aided by the men of Biscay, who had pursued the whale fisheries on the Atlantic in pre-Columbian times. The expedition which is reported at Bermudas appears to be that of Richard Moore, who reached Bermuda July 11, 1613.

This island was discovered by the Spaniards not later than 1511. Though the English found it full of all sorts of sweet sounds, like the Island of Prospero, the Spaniards had given it a bad name. In his reference to the Prophet Jeremiah, the Earl mangles the Vulgate; what he quotes is found in the eighth chapter at the seventh verse, in our version, reading as follows: "The stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord."]

STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC, JAMES I.  
Vol. 70, No. 23.

[1612, Aug. 2?] *Hen. Earl of Northampton  
to the King.*

Most excellent most gratiouse most redoubted and deer soueraine.

This flushe of threefolde aduertismentes meetinge me heer at Grenwhich in my garden yesterday within the compasse of one hower did put me in minde of the roses the violettes and Jilly flowers which I vse to send to y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>ty</sup> from hence also in the hardest time of the year and made me the more willing *ratione omnis*

to binde them vp and present them in a posie to the faire handes of my swete souerain whose fragrant vertues performes [*sic*] all places that haue the happinesse and the iudgement withall to reioise in him and thanke god for him as they ought and are bownde to doo.

The first concerninge the Archeduke came to me by M<sup>r</sup> Cranfelde (y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>ty</sup> most industriouse and vncorruptedly deuoted seruant) from a factor one the other side, and shall need no other coment then the texte onlie I will note that Ruben et Madian *diuiduntur inter se* and that if the Archeduke speede no better with his beneuolence to the Jesuites he will soone be weary of that charity.

The nexte is that the Moscouian companie haue not only aduentured but strangely prosperid in their viage within 8 or 9 degrees of the pole for the whalle fishinge for theie sawe 700 at the leaste and by the helpe of the Bisciaians whom theie hirid for their speciall in killinge those great monsters theie brought home 17 in the two shippes and might haue freightid more if their fletee haid bene sutable They make accompte henceforward to mayntein it as a certain trade which they doutid of befor none but the Hollanders that will neuer sit out whear one graine is to be gotten and in this aduentur leaste, bycause they vaunte themselves to haue bene the first offerers.

Another companie are in like sorte aduertisid of the safe arriuall of their shippes in the Bermudos vpon which Iland the Spaniardes affrightid and dismayed with the frequencie of Hurricanes which they ever meete about that place durst not aduentur but calle it *Dæmoniorum insulam* But from this Iland of

Deuilles our men haue sent some Amber and some seede perles for an assaie w<sup>ch</sup> the Deuilles of the Bermudos loue not better to retaine then the Angeles of Castile doo to recouer. The place aboundes in swine in fowle and wishe [fish] which moues our men to growe more confident in the safe possessione of a place which they haue possessid so peaceably.

Theas prosperouse euentes both in those and in all other place whear yo<sup>r</sup> M<sup>ty</sup> happie subiectes put in their foote makes me wonder at the cause whie your M<sup>ty</sup> should not thriue as well aboue them by their thankfulnessse, as they vnder you by y<sup>r</sup> prouidence But Jeremie fortolde what manie in our daies as it seemes are not verie apte to beleue that *Milvus in cælo cognouit tempus suum turtur hirundo et siconia custodierunt tempus aduentus siu populus autem tuus [meus] non cognouit indicium aduentus tui.*<sup>1</sup> &<sup>c</sup> and therfor I make no doute but as your people growes more iudiciouse and gratefull so y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>ty</sup> estate will likewise growe more prosperous and plentifull

Thus prainge god to continewe and to multiplie his blessinges daily vpon your M<sup>ty</sup> and youres that vnder the beste Kinge that we euer had we maie enioie the most happy time and that all theie that oppose ore repine maie speede as the Archduke hath don hitherto which will many Balames that come forth with a minde to curse fall as faste to blessinge when they come to the place whear the curse should light I humbly and affectionatly kisse your M<sup>ty</sup> faire hande and

<sup>1</sup> The correct text runs as follows: *Milvus in cælo cognouit tempus suum: turtur, et hirundo, et ciconia custodierunt tempus aduentus sui: populus autem meus non cognouit iudicium Domini.*

prayinge for y<sup>r</sup> preseruacion as for my  
sowle liue and die

Y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>ties</sup> most affectionat humble and  
loyall seruant and subiect till death  
Sunday at xii. H. NORTHAMPTON

[Addressed:] To the Kinges sacred  
and Royalle Maiesty. [Holograph.]

[Seal: The arms of Howard, Duke of  
Norfolk, with the motto of the Order of  
the Garter round the shield and sur-  
mounted with an Earl's coronet.]

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## NOTES

THE MECKLENBERG DECLARATION—  
The 107th celebration of the Declaration  
of Independence at Mecklenberg, North  
Carolina, was enthusiastically observed  
May 20th, when the oration was delivered  
by Senator Bayard, of Delaware. It has  
always been a tradition, that on May  
20th, 1775, the people of Mecklenberg,  
in advance of other portions of the coun-  
try, drew up a declaration, a copy of  
which appears in the *Charlotte Observer*,  
of May 26th. The account states, that,  
on May 19th, a Convention assembled in  
Charlotte, and that, on the evening of  
that day news was received of the Battle  
of Lexington, which led to the action of  
the 20th, the declaration being supported  
by seven years of labor to make its  
words good. The authenticity of the Dec-  
laration was not doubted until 1819, in  
which year it was published in the *Wor-  
cester Spy*. John Adams believed it to  
be genuine, but Mr. Jefferson treated it  
as an “unjustifiable quiz.” In 1825,  
however, there were, we are told, seventy-  
five living witnesses to the authenticity of  
the document. A number of ancient

tombstones also bear witness. The orig-  
inal draft was destroyed by fire in the  
year 1800. It is also said that the Dec-  
laration was published in 1775, in the  
Cape Fear *Mercury*, a copy of which was  
sent with a despatch to the Home Gov-  
ernment by Governor Martin, June 30,  
1775. In 1863 Col. John H. Wheeler  
found the despatch of Governor Martin,  
in the British Archives, but could not  
find the newspaper, which, according to  
a pencil note, had been taken out by An-  
drew Stevenson, United States Minister  
at the court of St. James, and had never  
been returned; while Mr. Stevenson's  
son reports that he could not discover  
the missing journal among his father's  
papers. Such, in brief, is the account  
given in the *Charlotte Observer*; and, in  
answer, it has been suggested that the  
living witnesses referred to confounded  
the paper now under consideration with  
a paper issued May 31st of the same  
year. There does not, however, appear  
to be any necessity for doubt; though, in  
the interest of some pet notion, one may  
doubt almost anything. The people of  
Mecklenberg County do not entertain  
any doubt, and celebrate the Twentieth  
of May every year with great enthusiasm.

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THE CHARLESTOWN MAY-POLE—In his  
Diary (vol. iii.) under May 26, 1687, Sew-  
all says: “It seems that the May-pole  
at Charlestown, was cut down last Week,  
and now a bigger is set up, and a Gar-  
land upon it. A soldier was buried last  
Wednesday, and a disturbance grew by  
reason of Joseph Phips standing with's  
hat on as the Parson was reading Service!  
'Tis said Mr. Saml. Phips bid or encoura-  
ged the Watch to cut down the May-pole,

being a Select-Man. And what about his Brother and that, the Captain of the Fisher and he came to blows, and Phips is bound to answer next December, the Governour having sent for him before Him yesterday, May 26, 1687." Again, Sewall says, under date of Friday, May 27th: Father Walker told me "He overheard some discourse about the May-pole, and told what the maner was in England to dance about it with Musick, and that 'twas to be feared such practices would be here."

In the same connection, we find by Frothingham's "Charlestown" (p. 205), that, October 30, 1686, Increase Mather said: "It is an abominable shame that any persons in a land of such light and purity as New England has been, should have the face to speak or think of practicing so vile a piece of heathenism." On what ground Mather denounced the May-pole as a vile piece of heathenism we cannot say, yet it was a piece of heathenism, though not much the worse for that. Neither he nor the builders of the Bunker-hill Monument may have been aware of the fact, yet the May-pole dance originally formed a recognition of the reproductive forces of nature. This was the prime use of the obelisk among the Egyptians. Descendants of the men who hated the May-pole have thus set up as their proudest symbol the obelisk of which the May-pole was a make-shift representation. The history of the Charlestown May-pole ought to be looked up. The story when told would prove that the same narrow feeling that destroyed Morton's May-pole at Merry Mount was opposed to that of Charlestown; which was destroyed by the men paid to guard the

property of citizens from destruction, being egged on by one especially charged with the maintenance of public order, the event being recorded by the Chief Justice without any sign of disapproval.

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EARLY RENT RIOTS—New York, July 3, 1766.—The following letter is just received from Claverack, near Albany, dated June 27: "For some months past a mob has frequently assembled and ranged the eastern parts of the manor of Renselaer. Last week they appeared at Mr. Livingston's with some proposals to him, but he being from home, they returned to Mr. Renselaer's son's about two miles from Claverack, where not finding him at home they used some insulting words, and left a message for Mr. Renselaer that if he did not meet them the next day at their rendezvous they would come to him. On the 26th the Sheriff of Albany with 150 men under his command, went to disperse the rioters who were assembled, it is supposed to the number of 60 in a house on the manor. On the Sheriff's advancing to the house they fired upon him, and shot off his hat and wig, but he escaped unhurt. Many shots were exchanged on both sides. Of the militia one man Mr. Cornelius Tenbrook of Claverack was killed and seven wounded. Of the rioters three were killed (two of whom were of the ring-leaders) and many wounded, among them was one of the chief instigators. The rioters retreated to Capt. Noble's house, where they formed a breast-work and did not quit the house till the Sheriff's party left the place. Col. Renselaer's horse was killed under him."—*Lord Chatham's Clippings.*

IULUS

ILLICIT TRADE DURING THE REVOLUTION—Philadelphia.—On Thursday last a number of persons, long suspected of carrying on an illicit and dangerous correspondence with the enemy (by way of Shrewsbury) and depreciating our money, were apprehended—On their examination before the President and Vice President, invoices of goods brought from New York, to a great amount, accounts of the sales of gold and silver, rates of depreciation, the routes and stages to the sea shore &c., &c. were found upon them—It appeared also, that by these means, persons were conveyed privately to New York. A new scene of villainy, in carrying lumber to New York from Egg-Harbour and its neighbourhood was also opened—The following persons were committed, viz. Patrick Garvy an assistant apothecary in the Continental service, who owns a part of the boat employed between Squam and New York, Samuel Clark, an inhabitant of New Jersey, living near Princeton, who has long followed this trade; Joshua Bunting, whose house was one of the stages; John Cummins, merchant of this city, and Joseph Griswold partners with Clark; and Joseph Stansbury deeply concerned in the lumber business.—*Pennsylvania Gazette & Weekly Advertiser*, Wednesday, November 29, 1780. No. 2633.

OLD MS. HESSIAN DIARIES—It has been recently stated on the authority of some European correspondent of our newspaper press, that the Journal of *Von Malsburg*, a Hessian officer in our Revolutionary War, *has just been discovered in Germany*. That this ancient "Tagebuch" is of much historical value, also

asserted, may be true; but that it has now for the *first time* come to light is, however, most certainly a *mistake*, as demonstrable by reference to Von Elking's "German Auxiliaries in North America in the War of Independence" (Hanover, 1863). Captain Von Elking there, under the head of "*Handschriftliche Quellen*," gives quite a catalogue of unpublished Hessian diaries written during that war, one of which is that of "*Hauptman Friederick von dem Malsburg*, beim Regiment vom Dittfurth, vom Februar 1776 bis 16 Nov. 1780."—Von Elking's work, as yet untranslated, and the best known record of our Revolutionary contest from the German standpoint, is written both with ability and apparent impartiality. See a copy in the Library of the N. Y. Historical Society, of which he was a member. W. H.

FRANKLIN ON THE WARPETH—The following letter is in the Franklin Collection made by Mr. Stevens:

Philad<sup>a</sup> July 5. 1775.

Mr. Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.— You have begun to burn our Towns and murder our People. — Look upon your Hands! — They are stained with the blood of your Relations! — You and I were long Friends:—You are now my enemy,—and

I am,

Yours,

B. FRANKLIN

"WHEN BATESSON-HOECK PUTS ON ITS CAP WE ARE SURE TO HAVE A STORM," a young lady informs me, is a common

saying among the old residents of this county and vicinity. She states that Bätesson-hoeck is the southerly point of the Catskills, and cap is equivalent to clouds, haze or fog. I cannot vouch for the correctness of the spelling of Bätesson-hoeck. I write it from sound.

A. MUNGO

*Hudson, 1882.*

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### QUERIES

A MORTUARY RING—Some workmen engaged in excavating near an old spring at Wood's Run, in the lower part of Alleghany, found a massive gold finger-ring. Around the outer periphery of the ring is inscribed, in bas-relief, "Tho. Scarlett, O. B. 29th Dec., 1729, ÆT. 61." A small topaz setting and the gold retain their original brilliancy. Who was Thomas Scarlett? The ring was found near the old Indian path between Shannopintown and Dogstown, followed by early Indian traders, and by Col. Bouquet on his expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764.

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

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ST. JOHN LUIS—In Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" (III., 625) we find among "The latitudes of certaine places vpon the coast of *Nuena Espanna*, and of diuers other places lying in the way from thence to Spaine," the following: "The \* isle of Iohn Luis or Iohn Alvarez in 41." On the margin is the note: "This is a very commodious Isle for us in our way to Virginia." The third volume of Hakluyt's work was published in 1600, and the accompanying entry is, "The Isle

of Bermuda in 33." Now, was the Isle of John Luis simply Nantucket, or Martha's Vineyard, or Gosnold's Cuttyhunk; or was it some island that Hakluyt saw on the map, and which in reality had no existence? GOMEZ

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CANAAN—In the third volume of Sewall's Diary, recently published, we read (p. 396) that on the ship which brought the Sewall family to Boston, in 1634, many were sick, and that one individual, Edward Bosworth, who was near his end, begged to be carried on deck, that he might view the land, or "see Canaan," before he died. The request was granted, when he expired. Now, was New England at that period generally known among the Separatists as "Canaan," and was it with reference to their custom that Thomas Morton humorously styled his book "The New English Canaan"?

GAD

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IN the journal kept by Arthur Lee on his journey to treat with the Northwestern Indians, in 1784, he writes: "On the 29th [of November] we traversed a part of the Allegheny, called Laurel Hill, from an abundance of what is called in Virginia ivy, growing upon it. On this mountain St. Jocelin was attacked and killed by the Indians, but his convoy was saved." I would be pleased to learn the particulars and date of this action, and who St. Jocelin was. C.

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THE LAND OF NOD—Sewall in his Diary [III., 197] says that he went to Charlestown, Mass., "to meet the proprietors of the Land of Nod." A part of this land lay in Wilmington, but where was the

tract as a whole situated, what was its extent, the origin of the name, and what were the intentions of the proprietors? NID

THE FIRST AMERICAN WOOD-ENGRAVER  
—Can any of your correspondents inform me who was the first to practice wood-engraving in this country, and point me to the sources of information concerning him, and where specimens of his work may be found? XYLOG

THE NEWBURGH ENCAMPMENT—Can any one point to any plan of the encampment of the American troops at Newburgh? The plan must exist somewhere. It would be of especial interest at the present time. CAMPUS

REPLIES

GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITY [VIII.]  
—Mr. Jameson is not quite correct or explicit. On page 327, he says: "Stuyvesant . . . at the beginning of 1654 filled the vacancies in the magistracy by direct appointment." He was, however, not quite so arbitrary, for the Council Minutes of the day say:

"Present at the Meeting of Council the High Councillors de Sille, La Montagne, Fiscal van Tienhoven and the Burgomasters and Schepens of this City:

\* \* \* \*

From the persons nominated by the Council, his Honor the Dir. Genl. selected Allard Anthony<sup>1</sup> as Burgomaster and Joannes Nevius as Schepen.

Deferred until the time for the new election shall have come.

Resolved to add to the present number of Burgomasters and Schepens of this City of New Amsterdam one Burgomaster and one Schepen. Also, whether it be not advisable for the best of the city to nominate now<sup>2</sup> some suitable persons, from whose number the Burgomasters and Schepens for the next year could be chosen.

<sup>1</sup> In place of Arent van Hattum, appointed with Martin Kregier, the first Burgomasters, who had been continued for another year.

<sup>2</sup> Stuyvesant was about to sail for Curaçao.

\* \* \* \*  
At Fort Amsterdam, in N. N., Dec. 8, 1654" [N. Y. Col. MSS. Dutch, vol. v., 449].

Upon a petition to that effect [Col. MSS. xii., 3 and 6], the W. I. Company had consented that the office of Schout of the City and of Provincial Fiscal should be separated and not be held by the same person, but the request for permission to elect this officer was refused, because contrary to certain customs of Holland. Mr. Jameson says: "Not until 1660 . . . the City elected its own Schout." It never elected him. The Schout of New Amsterdam, in 1660, was Peter Tonneman, prominent in early Brooklyn history. He petitioned the Director General August 5, 1660, to be appointed Schout, basing his claim upon a recommendation of the Directors of the Company. On the same day Stuyvesant appointed him and swore him in [Col. MSS. ix., 332-4]. Tonneman remained Schout until the order of Governor Nicolls of June 12, 1665, abolished the Dutch form of city government [Gen. Entries, i., 120].

Upon consultation between the municipal officers and principal inhabitants, the right to farm the excise on wine and beer to be consumed in the city was accepted, subject to the condition made by Stuyvesant that the city should contribute its share for repairing the fortifications and supporting the clergy and some other officers of the Company, November 25, 1653 [Col. MSS. v., 146]. No attempt was made by Stuyvesant to deprive the city of this excise, which would have been contrary to the order of the Company, who had not only confirmed [May 18,

1654, Col. MSS. xii., 3 and 6] the excise to the city, but also given permission to its officers to levy a duty on "stamped paper, &c." But the city not having fulfilled its promise of making certain contributions, the Director and Council undertook the letting of the excise in 1654. No abrogation of the city's rights was intended, only the supreme authority had to be maintained. "As the farming of the citizen's excise on beer and wine is done by the Schout, Burgomasters and Schepens, subject to approval of the Director and Council, and agreeably to the customs and rules of our Fatherland, therefore these rules made by the supreme Government of our Fatherland must also be obeyed" [Col. MSS. viii., 281].

The "Old Council" existed in New Amsterdam as it did in the old country, only the whole institution of municipal government being new, the membership of the "Old Council" could of course not be large. Besides finding repeated mention of *out* (old) Schepen, not *gewesen* (former) Schepen, this or that, Allard Anthony was confirmed as Out Burgomaster in the Council Meeting of Friday, the 2d of February, 1657 (Col. MSS. viii., 441).

In criticising the stand taken by the Company and its officers toward the City of New Amsterdam, it should not be forgotten that the Island of Manhattan was, so to say, the *private* property of the Company, while the rest of New Netherland belonged to every comer who wished and had the means to buy land. All settlements on Manhattan Island were made on the Company's ground; the settlers were the Company's tenants, and owed it a different allegiance than the inhabitants of

Long Island, Fort Orange, etc. While all other settlements had from the beginning a more or less restricted self-government, it was always the intention of the Company to govern Manhattan Island in about the same way as the District of Columbia is governed to-day. Mr. Jameson has forgotten to state that the office of the Burgomasters, etc., was made an office of record in 1654. B. F.

*Albany.*

THE FIRST LION IN THE UNITED STATES —The note by "S." on the king of beasts [viii. 435] is interesting, but perhaps he is in error in treating the New York lion as the first in this country, for there must have been one in New England about the year 1542, when an enterprising European bookseller, who knew almost as much about Cabot's "Prima Vista" as about natural history, got up the so-called "Cabot Map," on which may be found a fine lion, whose ample tail, manipulated by the engraver, has switched out of existence several important towns and cities that, according to the old cartographers, belonged on the coast; yet if this example will not suffice as the "first lion," I will supply another, found in Plymouth Woods, January, 1621, by a couple of explorers out, with "a greate Mastiffe bitch and a Spanell." Losing their way, "it drew to night," when "they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the Earth their bed, and the Elements their covering, and another thing did much terrify, they heard as they thought two Lyons, roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they



thought was very nere them, so not knowing what to do, they resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their fastest refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; so they stooede at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would have been gone to the Lyon; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes come not: so they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night:" All of which we read in "A Relation or Iournall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimouth New England," and "Printed for Iohn Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two Greyhounds in Cornhill," 1622. PLYMOUTH

THE FIRST ELEPHANT IN THE UNITED STATES—Apropos of the appearance of the celebrated "Jumbo" in this country, your correspondent "S." [viii. 358] gives some account of the first elephant brought into New York, and observes, in conclusion, that her further history should be written. She came, it seems, in the Spring of 1796, and visited New York a second time in 1806. But as on the latter occasion she was in the city for a short time only, being about to set out on her summer travels, I have presumed she is the same animal that was exhibited in central New York in August and September, 1806, and whose coming is thus heralded in the *Columbian Gazette*, August 26, 1806:

"*A Live Elephant.*

"The Elephant, not only being the largest, but the most sagacious animal in the world, but the peculiar manner in

which it takes its food and drinks of every kind with its trunk, is acknowledged to be the greatest natural curiosity ever offered to the public. She will draw the cork from a bottle, and with her trunk will manage it in such a manner as to drink it contents, to the astonishment of the spectators; will lie down and rise at command. She is between 6 and 7 years old, and measures upwards of 15 feet from the end of her trunk to that of her tail; 10 feet around the body, and upwards of 6 feet high." ONEIDA

HUDSON'S RIVER [VIII., 364]—Apparently the first mention of the river by Hudson's name is to be found in "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England and of sundry accidents therein occurring from 1607 to this present 1622," where it reads: "In his (Capt. Dermer's) passage he met with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in *Hudson's River*" (see Coll. N. Y. Hist. Soc., 2d ser., i., 345). Dermer was there in 1619. The name did not, however, become common property, for Peter Heylin, in his "Cosmographie in 4 books London 1657" knows it only by the name of the "Noordt" River. Gottfried, "Archontologia Cosmica, Fkfort 1638," ignores it altogether in his description, but calls it "Rio de Modonos" on his map. Robert Fage, "Description of the Whole World," London, 1658, ignores it completely, but he calls it Hudson's River in his edition of 1667. The first map on which the river is called "Hudson's" is, I believe, that in the "West Indische Speighel," by Athanasius (Ignatius Inga), of Peru, Amsterdam, 1624.

Sanson, on his map "Le Canada ou la Nouvelle France," 1683, still calls it Rivière de Nort.

B. F.

THE BITTER END—In turning over the files of THE MAGAZINE, I find Mr. Lodge speaking [ii. 645] of Sewall, as one not willing to resist "to the bitter end." It is curious that few writers seem to be aware of the lack of orthography which characterizes this phrase. Corrected, it would read, "to the better end." It is a nautical expression, referring to the practice of letting out the cable during a very severe storm to the unused, or "better" end; a long cable holding more securely than a short one. Upon reflection, most persons must realize that in nine cases out of ten, the phrase "bitter end" fails to convey sound sense.

Jus

COL. BENJAMIN WALKER—In Mr. Fenow's very full and interesting account of Washington's Military Family [vii. 81], he says of the above-named officer that he is able to find only that he was an Englishman who joined the American Army as a Captain in Livingston's regiment of the N. Y. line, was for some time aide to General Steuben, and probably at his solicitation invited into Washington's family. Kapp, in his Life of Steuben, relates assuredly a good deal that is of interest concerning this invaluable aide. A few additional particulars of him may be found in Bagg's Pioneers of Utica.

J.

CAMOENS [viii. 294]—Açor asks for a reference to any publication in the American press relating to the Portuguese

festival of their great poet observed about two years ago, meaning probably any notice of this festival since its observance. If, however, he wishes to see a notice of the *intended* jubilee, he will find one in the Nation, vol. xxx. p. 307, which contains also an announcement of proposed new editions of Camoens' works to be issued both in Portugal and in Brazil. \*

THE MAY FLOWER—Excuse me if I say that I would like to have the inquirer about *Epigea repens* know that it has crept so far inland that the fresh air of old Lake Ontario blows over its sweet blossoms, and that in the heart of the "Mohawk's Country" we pluck it in its perfection the first week of May. ADELLE

SALT RIVER—The origin of the phrase "up Salt River" [viii. 297]. In the old Historical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 302, there is a quotation from Bayard Taylor, giving an account of this river, in Kentucky, and of the origin of the political phrase.

ONEIDA

## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the Regular Meeting, June 6th, President De Peyster in the chair, Dr. George H. Moore, Superintendent of the Lenox Library, read a paper on "John Dickinson the author of the Declaration on taking up arms in 1775." Before treating the main topic of the paper, Dr. Moore spoke of the general career of Dickinson, who was awarded a high place as a writer and speaker.

The question of the authorship Dr.

Moore said, was not a complicated one. There was but one adverse claimant, and he only claimed a part of the paper, although that part was the best. "I am ready to defend against all comers," said Dr. Moore, slowly and deliberately, "that the absolute, sole writer of that noble Declaration was John Dickinson. The original draft of that document I now hold in my hand;" and as he spoke Dr. Moore held up the time-worn document. Dickinson's own contemporaries, Dr. Moore continued, ascribed the authorship to him. Two volumes of Dickinson's political writings were published with Dickinson's consent, and the Declaration appeared among the contents. In the work of Chief Justice Marshall, published in 1804, the Chief Justice ascribed the authorship of the first address to the King to Lee. Dickinson wrote a letter in which he corrected the error, and declared that he would not have permitted it to appear in the volumes of his writings if it had not been his own work. In this letter Dickinson avowed that everything published in those volumes was entirely his own composition. Marshall promptly corrected the mistake in his next volume. Here was Dickinson's positive statement that the Declaration was composed by him. No other claimant appeared for it or any part of it during Dickinson's life, and he had been in the grave nearly a quarter of a century before the first and only claimant was heard.

In 1829 the memoirs of Thomas Jefferson were published. Jefferson began writing on Jan. 6, 1821, when he was 77 years old. In his autobiography he said that he took his seat in Congress June

21, 1775. A committee brought in a report which was recommitted on the 26th. Jefferson prepared a draft of a declaration on taking up arms, but it was too strong for Dickinson, who was therefore requested by the committee to put it in a shape to suit himself. He did so, Jefferson said, and prepared an entirely new paper, except the last four paragraphs and one-half of the preceding paragraph. This was reported to Congress and was approved. Dr. Moore then read portions of the answer of the Assembly of Virginia to Lord North's proposition for a reconciliation, which was written by Jefferson, and declared it to be inferior in diction to the Declaration on taking up arms. Neither this answer nor the still more important amplification of the answer which Jefferson wrote a month later stamped him as being the author of the Declaration. On the contrary, a comparison of Jefferson's writings before and after the date of the Declaration was convincing that the composition of the Declaration was not his. Randall, continued Dr. Moore, enlarged on this theme and spoke of Jefferson as not having a particle of pride in his authorship of State papers, giving as an illustration the fact that while the Declaration on taking up arms owed most of its popularity to the last four paragraphs, yet Jefferson never gave a hint that he was the author of these paragraphs until he noted it in a memoir destined not to see the light until he was dead. Parton, it was hardly necessary to say, improved on all these comments. Dr. Moore pointed out in Jefferson's memoirs how the author, referring to the second address to the King, wrote in depreciation of Dickinson's work on that

document, and then he read from the official record of the proceedings of Congress, that on June 3d Dickinson and four others were appointed a committee to prepare the petition. The committee reported on the 19th, and on July 5th the paper was ordered engrossed. On July 8th it was signed by the members. This document was drawn by the same hand which drew up the Declaration on taking up arms, and was under consideration at the same time. Jefferson had written in his memoirs that when Congress adopted the address to the King out of regard for Dickinson, although disgusted with the humility displayed in the document, Dickinson said that the only word he objected to in the address was "Congress." Harrison replied that the only word in the address he *avored* was "Congress." No one could read that address and believe Jefferson's absurd story. If any one could discover why Jefferson wrote it he would perform a distinguished service to Jefferson's reputation. Mr. Bancroft, Dr. Moore continued, had also been led into the error of accepting Jefferson's statement as to the authorship of the Declaration on taking up arms. Dickinson stated positively that he was the author of the entire paper. Jefferson confirmed this, except as to the last four paragraphs and half the preceding one. The original draft proved beyond question that the author of any part was the author of all. There was no room whatever for doubt. The suggestion of imitation or forgery of the handwriting was excluded. No person ever had anything to do with that draft but John Dickinson. The interlineations, erasures, corrections, and revisions all through all the paragraphs in the

original draft proved conclusively that no paragraphs were copied from any other draft. The proof that the document in Dr. Moore's possession was the original paper was nowhere more conspicuous than in the last four paragraphs. Through the kindness of the late Dr. John Dickinson Logan, of Baltimore, a grandson of John Dickinson, Dr. Moore said he had been able to compare the original draft of the Declaration with the original drafts of the addresses to the King, and other papers in Dickinson's handwriting, and the comparison showed beyond dispute that in all the documents the methods of composition were the same, the work was the same, the writing was the same. Dr. Moore, in conclusion, paid a glowing tribute to Dickinson and the fathers of the country.

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## LITERARY NOTICES

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. VII. Fifth Series. Svo, pp. 572. Boston, 1882.

This issue contains the third and last volume of the Sewall Diary. The first and second volumes have already been reviewed in *THE MAGAZINE* (II. 641, IV. 469), and the unique character of the famous Chief Justice has been duly recognized. Judge Sewall was a remarkable man. In some respects he had no equal either in the early or later history of Massachusetts. In saying this we do not overlook his faults. Few persons, however, were more conscious of them than himself, while no one was more sincere in the confession of error. This, indeed, is so notable that it stamps him as a superior man.

The present volume of his Diary shows the same characteristics as the previous volumes, his life flowing on in the well-worn channel to the end. There is much to admire and enough to criticize, together with a great deal with which the reader will feel amused. Judge Sewall's character was complex, though not contradictory. Indeed, his consistency is apparent throughout; for, though conscious of the fact that he represented and championed a failing cause, he held persistently

on his way without faltering. This portion of his Diary covers the years 1714-1729, or the last fifteen years of a career extended to nearly fourscore. It completes a picture of public and private life in Massachusetts which has no parallel. Year after year Judge Sewall went on patiently making his record, combining minute statements of passing events with the details of his personal experience, evidently writing as much for his own convenience as for the benefit of posterity. He was familiar with every phase of New England life and character, he mingled freely with all classes of citizens, and he knew the personal history of those whom he met from day to day, entering into their feelings, sharing their joys and sorrows. Few deaths or accidents eluded his notice, while he was incessantly engaged in making presents; the objects of his generosity ranging from the governor down to the poor dame who is glad of a couple of "China oranges." Among his gifts were rings with mottoes, silver cups and spoons, tall folios bound in calf and "lettered on the back," volumes of theology, bibles, funeral sermons, Arabic "gold pieces," together with pounds, shillings and sixpences, and pennies for the children, with packages of almonds, raisins and comfits for old ladies having a sweet tooth. Something was always ready in his pocket. He was the special providence of infancy and helpless old age; at the same time bestowing benefactions in a quiet, unobtrusive way, little dreaming that any one would be reading the record in 1882.

He has but comparatively little to say on professional topics, though he records movements in the courts and actions in connection with the government. Sewall lived at a period when the people of Boston had already begun to appreciate some of the mistakes of the founders, and were rapidly departing from their traditions. Of the departure he was sadly conscious, but he did not appreciate the reasons therefor, and stoutly stood his ground, offering the same opposition to the observance of Christmas as to the wearing of an unhealthy periwig. The gracious and hallowed season sung by Shakespeare and Milton had no charm for him. Hence, year after year, when the 25th of December arrives, while he may note the doings of the Episcopalians, he rejoices in the fact that the shops are "open as usual," and that the people come in from the country with loaded teams. Yet, while differing with some of his fellow citizens respecting religion, he is always kind and charitable, and his gentle complaint is seldom tinged with gall. The principal criticisms of his Diary are directed to himself. He could likewise bear the criticism of others in a kindly spirit, even when aimed at a tender spot. For instance, he had served as precentor in meeting for a quarter of a century, holding on so long that the congregation was obliged to hint, in no gentle fashion, that he had survived his usefulness as a musi-

cian. Yet he meekly bore their rebuke and retired when he found that they were right. He says: "This day I set Windsor Tune, and the people at the 2nd going over run into Oxford do what I could." Again he writes: "I set York Tune and the Congregation went out of it into St. David's in the very 2nd going over. They did the same 3 weeks before. This is the 2nd Sign;" meaning that he was failing through age. The people in the gallery were notoriously officious in taking the business out of his hands. He quietly resigned, suggesting that "Mr. Franklin," the father of Benjamin, had better take his office, as he sat in the gallery in "a place very Convenient for it." Whether or not this was intended as a gentle thrust at "the gallery" we cannot say; yet Mr. Franklin did not serve, Mr. White taking the appointment, restoring "York Tune" to its former high place, which, for the time, was perilled by the Judge's cracked and quavering voice.

This Diary abounds with entries of a miscellaneous sort. In one place he records that the constables "Dissipated the players at Nine Pins at Mount Whoredom," as the slope of Beacon Hill was called. Soon after, "Mr. Bridge expires," and "with him much primitive Christianity is gone." In fact it was always going in the estimate of the Judge. January, 1716, "Extraordinary cold," and "Bread was frozen at the Lord's Table." "At six my ink freezes so that I can hardly write by a good fire in my Wive's Chamber," and the next month he tells of a "Sloop run away with by a whale out of a good harbor at the Cape;" the flukes of his whaleship probably being caught by the cable.

In 1716 we find a delectable entry for those students who blink the slavery question: "I essay'd, June 22, to prevent Indians and Negroes being Rated with Horses and Hogs; but could not prevail." In 1714, while drawing up the form for a fast, "Gov<sup>r</sup> propounded it might be Religious and Civil Liberties. I said Religious was contained under Civil; arguing that Civil should go first."

In the following clause the liquid lapse of alliteration would suit the easy ear of an ancient Iclander, but the worshipper of Odin and Thor would perhaps have shown more discrimination and taste: "22.7. I eat Salt-Fish at Cous. Sam. Sewalls. 23.1. The L. Super is at the South."

The simplicity of the Chief Justice, however, appears to better advantage where he says: "Help'd my Son in beginning to cut his Stalks; Gather'd about 4. Bushels Aples." Judges in those days were not a "stuck-up" folk, though he stood on his dignity, and noted who took the head of the pew in meeting, and those who in the same place occupied the "Foreseat."

In 1717 his wife died, and "God is teaching me a new Lesson; to live a Widower's Life," and "Lord prepare me for my Change, Call me into

the Ark, and Shut me in." Yet in February, 1718, the venerable septuagenarian says: "This morning wondering in my mind whether to live a Single or a Married Life." The next month there is a little chaffing, for "Mrs. Willoughby seemed to hint persons had need be ware how they married again. I said (to humour it) They that had been at Sea should be careful how they put to Sea again, especially in Wintertime; Meaning of Old Age." Soon, however, the vane turns to the wind, and the Judge relishes the whole subject. Hence, "Deacon Marion comes to me, sits with me a great while in the evening; after a great deal of discourse about his Courtship—He told [me] the Olivers said they wish'd I would Court their Aunt. I said little, but 'twas not five Moneths since I buried my dear Wife."

The reverend and much desired Mr. Mather chimes in with the Deacon, hinting at the number of widows in Boston's Israel, and what is "expected from you." Next, Cousin Moodey "read the history of Rebekah's Courtship, and prayed with me respecting my Widowed condition," while soon "my bowells yern towards Mrs. Denison," who speaks him fair, but declines his advances, not agreeing about the financial settlement; whereupon he turns towards Mrs. Tilly, who humbly "expresses her unworthiness of such a thing with much Respect," and in the end gracefully consents; but, in the spring, the Lord "in his holy Sovereignty put my Wife out of the Fore-Seat." Notwithstanding this "awfull stroke," the Judge at once begins to look for a third Mrs. Sewall among those staid and elderly dames still remaining in the "Fore-Seat," applying first to Widow Winthrop, whose kisses, the Judge told her, were "better than the best Canary." But Madam, while speaking "much against John Winthrop, his falseheartedness," and treating her suitor "with a great deal of Curtesy; Wine, marmalade," and so forth, kept him in suspense, the Judge employing the time in reading that pious treatise, "Sibb's Bowells." Refusing to set up a carriage and wear a periwig, Madam Winthrop finally refused him. Madam Ruggles also declined; but Mrs. Gibbs, of Newton, after higgling about the terms of settlement, decided in his favor. In this connection Sewall makes himself appear supremely ridiculous, writing out at full length, and with imperturbable gravity, all these matters so eminently suited to the *Journal pour rire*. The Judge, however, had little appreciation of humor, and lacked perception, not discovering the incongruousness of praying for the harmlessness of the dove while standing in the larder making a late supper of one, served cold with sweetmeats. Hence he became mixed, and "dehorted Sam. Hirst" on the first of April to eschew "Idle Tricks," because "N. E. Men came hither to avoid anniversary days, the keeping of them, such as the 25th of Decr"; saying in another connection, "It is evident that our

Almighty Saviour Counsell'd the First Planters to remove hither, and Settle here;" which must have been so, as Sewall himself was directly counsell'd in a similar manner "to live a Widower's life," an admonition that, as in the case of the "First Planters," was "dutifully followed." Still we are not disposed to be critical in dealing with Judge Sewall, however deluded he may have been on some points. He was thoroughly honest and consistent, a man of incorruptible integrity, and one who, upon the whole, is not over appreciated as yet, especially by that class of readers who sneer at what was noblest, best, and of imperishable value in his character, and, in a spleeny mood, try to defend the indefensible.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is fortunate that we have a Society possessing both the taste and the ability to bring out a work like this, involving, as it must, such a large outlay of labor, for which no adequate return can be expected. The Society may well print upon the title page its *sic vos non vobis*.

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THE NAVAL WAR OF 1812; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY during the last War with Great Britain. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. 12mo, pp. 498. New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1882.

It is not much to the credit of historical writers that they find comparatively little to interest them in connection with the War of 1812, a field that is really very rich, and one that needs to be worked. The lack of attention to the history of the second war with England has made this kind of literature somewhat scarce. It is true that we have heard much on the subject from time to time, yet its bibliography is easily disposed of. On the English side we have James' "Naval History of Great Britain," and on the American, Cooper's "Naval History of the United States," together with Admiral Emmons' statistical work on the Navy of the United States. We have also "Niles' Register;" while the French instruct us through Gravière's "Guerres Maritimes." Still the materials for a history of naval operations in 1812 are very abundant, and Mr. Roosevelt says: "Much of the material in our Navy Department has never been touched at all. In short, no full, accurate and unprejudiced history of the war has ever been written." Nevertheless our author has made a substantial contribution to such a history; and in this volume before us he has given a clear and succinct account of all the principal naval operations on the lakes and on the ocean, in which operations the American sailors appear to great advantage. The causes which led to this superiority are fully discussed; for while at the period of 1812 Great Britain was supreme upon the sea, no sufficient means were being employed to

maintain that supremacy. Secure in her position, and having overcome all enemies, England little dreamed of any rival, and much less of any rival in the New World. Her guns had subdued the proudest fleets of Europe, and when the American appeared the British sailor went to meet him as the mighty Goliath of Gath went to meet young David. The Yankee frigates were not going to give British commanders the slightest trouble, and hence the latter too often undervalued their enemy, engaging in contest when unprepared. While having at their command a thousand sail, the English were beaten by a people having hardly more than a dozen small craft. With a few exceptions, however, these craft were manned by sailors of a superior spirit and training, and who were more than a match, both in seamanship and gunnery, for their antagonists. One notable exception was found in the loss of the Chesapeake, which sailed out of Boston harbor to that fatal conflict with the Shannon. The defeat and loss of the Chesapeake has generally been attributed to ill fortune. In fact, it has been considered almost a patriotic duty to put the case in this way. Therefore Cooper speaks of "the results of the chances of war," and of "fortuitous events as unconnected with any particular merit on the one side, as they are with any particular demerit on the other." Yet the fact is that the Chesapeake went to sea in haste, with an undisciplined and disaffected crew, to meet an officer who had brought his command up to the very highest state of efficiency by long and severe discipline.

Mr. Roosevelt coincides with the judgment of Gravière, who says: "It is impossible to avoid seeing in the capture of the Chesapeake a new proof of the enormous power of a good organization when it has received the consecration of a few years of actual service on the sea. On this occasion, in effect, two captains equally renowned, the honor of two navies, were opposed to each other on two ships of the same tonnage and the same number of guns. Never had the chances been better balanced. Sir Philip Broke had commanded the Shannon for nearly seven years, while Captain Lawrence had commanded the Chesapeake for only a few days. One of these frigates had cruised for eighteen months on the coast of America; the second was leaving port. One had a crew long accustomed to habits of strict obedience; the other was manned by men who had just been engaged in mutiny. The Americans were wrong to accuse fortune on this occasion. Fortune was not fickle, she was merely logical."

It is in this inquiring spirit that the author has composed his book, and the reader will herein find many important errors corrected; such, for instance, as that error of English writers which teaches that much of the American success was due to the British sailors who fought on board our ships. The statistics of this subject have been investigated with care, showing that the most of

the so-called "British sailors" were Americans who had been pressed into the British service, and who had improved the first opportunity of fighting under their own flag.

In summing up the respective losses, Mr. Roosevelt differs essentially from Mr. James. On the ocean the Americans lost 5,984 tons and 278 guns, while the English lost 8,451 tons and 351 guns. On the lakes, by the army and by privateers, the Americans lost 9,718 tons and 431 guns, while the British lost 13,512 tons and 605 guns.

Of the single-ship commanders produced on both sides, Mr. Roosevelt considers Commodore Hull the greatest, being the man above all others who kept the American flag flying on the high seas for nearly three years in the face of the mightiest naval power in the world. Mr. Roosevelt has produced an exceedingly interesting and valuable volume, which deserves wide recognition.

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THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF  
AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE, Soldier—Citizen—  
Statesman. By BEN: PERLEY POORE. With  
an Introduction by Henry B. Anthony. Illus-  
trated with Maps and Engravings. Svo, pp.  
448. Providence, R. I.: J. A. & R. A. REID,  
1882.

The subject of this memoir was born in a log cabin, near Liberty, Union County, Indiana, in 1824. His parents, who were Scotch-Irish, gave him a plain schooling, after which he entered upon a trade. This he soon left, having secured an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he pursued a careless career, graduating in the class of 1847. He immediately entered upon duty with the army in Mexico. In 1852, while in garrison at Newport, he married Miss Bishop, who exerted a salutary influence upon his life and kept him from many of those excesses to which his hot youth inclined. The same year he resigned and went into the manufacture of rifles, in which he had made improvements, but failed in his operations and went West. Upon the outbreak of the Rebellion, he led a Rhode Island regiment to Washington and commanded a brigade at Bull Run. From that period to the present day his history has been a matter of public record; at one time commanding the Army of the Potomac, afterward being distinguished as the Governor of Rhode Island and United States Senator from the same State. His failures and his successes are about equally well known. Circumstances were sometimes against him, yet it appears to be the general opinion that he did not possess the peculiar ability required on the part of the head of such an army as that which he endeavored to handle in Virginia, the command of which was fairly thrust upon him by the President, who hoped that, in the peculiar emergency,



General Burnside would display the requisite qualities in an eminent degree. Though at times unsuccessful, he did not lose his popularity, and the people of Rhode Island clung to him amid both good and evil report. Upon the whole, he justified their general expectations, and proved himself worthy of their confidence and regard. His biographer has done his work in a creditable manner, and, while bestowing warm praise where praise is due, does not hesitate to point out Burnside's faults, which, in early life, were those of a dashing, irrepressible young soldier, generous and improvident, and showing in games of chance that reckless spirit which left him without a dollar in his pocket when on the way down the Mississippi to join the army in Mexico, and which, possibly, was the same spirit that impelled him to decide upon the second assault of Petersburg, an act that he could hardly be persuaded from by the united voice of his general officers.

The publishers have brought out the work in a handsome style, giving a steel portrait of the General, with wood engravings of his father and his wife, and numerous other illustrations that add much to the interest of the volume, which will have a wide circulation.

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SOLDIERS' MEDALS ISSUED BY THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA AS TOKENS OF RESPECT TO THOSE OF HER CITIZENS WHO SERVED IN THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES from 1861 to 1865. By the Rev. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN. With a Plate. pp. 17. Wilkesbarre, Pa., 1881.

The essay embraced in this pamphlet was originally read before the Historical Society of West Virginia, and subsequently at a meeting of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. Its author is a member of several historical societies, and, as we learn from the graceful dedication of the work, served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. Opening with a brief history of medals of honor issued by the United States to private soldiers, the author proceeds to give a detailed account of the West Virginia medals, and of the part this State took in the Civil War. The medals were provided by act of the Legislature in 1866, and were of four classes: for officers and soldiers honorably discharged; for officers and soldiers killed in battle; for officers and soldiers who died from wounds received in battle; for officers and soldiers who died from diseases contracted in the service. The total number of medals struck was 26,099, all being in bronze with the exception of three or four only, struck in silver. A minute description of the medals is given in the pamphlet, and a heliotype plate representing a set (four in number) forms the frontispiece. The medals have

been much sought by numismatists for cabinets, and some have been sold as high as \$12. The total cost of the medals to the State was over \$26,000, and at present over 3,000 are yet in possession of the State, the others having been distributed.

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GARFIELD'S PLACE IN HISTORY. AN ESSAY. By HENRY C. PEDDER. Portrait. Post 8vo, pp. 104. New York: G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1882.

Memorial volumes of distinguished characters, or those eminent for learning, piety, or philanthropy, where they embody historic and biographical facts and important personal details, can hardly be commended too strongly. It is very frequently the case that such memorials preserve many important facts of history, local or general, and serve to perpetuate worthy personal traits of character—in many cases where a more elaborate memoir or biography would hardly be attempted. Such volumes are always a worthy contribution to literature. Mr. Pedder's essay, while in one sense a memorial volume, and to be prized by collectors, deals little with events of history and gives no personal details or dates. It is an attempt to analyze the character of the great statesman who was so recently at the head of the Republic—for great he was in many respects—and define his place in history. The task was not an easy one, and the treatment of his subject, while heroic at some points, is not in general, we think, completely satisfactory, as where comparisons are instituted with the great dead whose places in history are forever secure. It is too early even to attempt an assignment of Garfield's place in history. We stand too near him, and personal and party prejudices may carry one's judgment at too great a length in condemning or justifying. As a piece of eulogistic writing, Mr. Pedder's essay is certainly effective; as an acute and critical analysis of character, and as delineating the place in history its illustrious subject is to hold, it hardly justifies the ambitious title.

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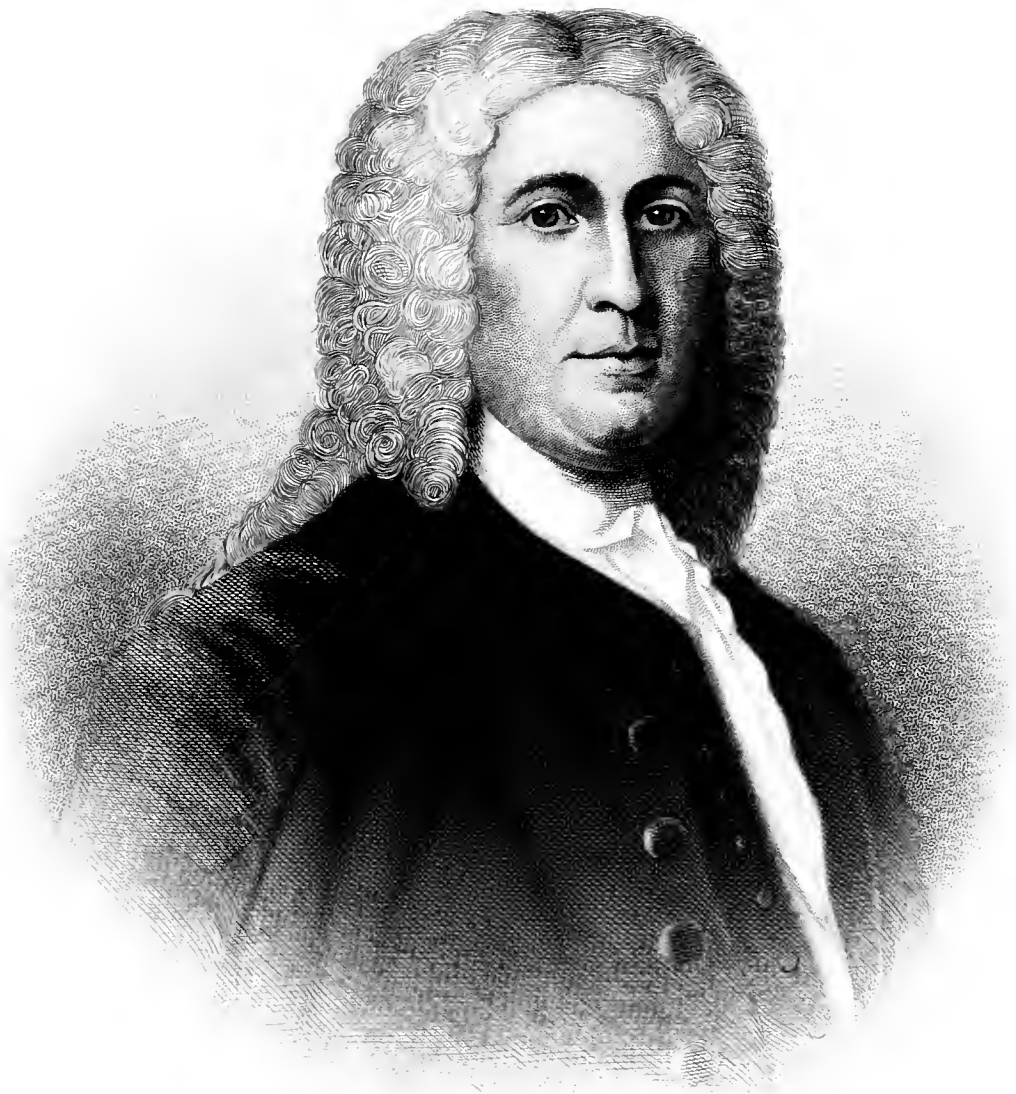
AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE CONFEDERATE SURVIVORS' ASSOCIATION, in Augusta, Ga., at its Fourth Annual Meeting on Memorial Day, April 26, 1882, by Col. CHARLES C. JONES, Jr., President of the Association. 12mo, pp. 7. Augusta, Ga., 1882.

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LIST OF PORTRAITS AND VIGNETTES IN THE ENGRAVED STOCK OF THE BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING. 8vo, pp. 8. TREASURY DEPARTMENT.







PETER HENRY JENCKS

From the original picture by Saubert in possession  
of the Massachusetts Historical Society

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## OLD PELHAM AND NEW ROCHELLE

IT was my fortune to revisit, recently, after a long interval of absence, two homes of my childhood, the birth home at Pelham, Westchester County, in the vicinity of New York, and the church home at New Rochelle, the town adjoining, originally a part of Pelham, comprised within the area of the Manor by the royal charter of 1666, in the reign of Charles II. That charter was granted to Thomas Pell, Esq., "gentleman of the bed-chamber to King Charles I.," and afterward, in 1687, was granted anew, and confirmed to his legally recognized heir, the only son of his brother, the first resident proprietor, "Lord John Pell," according to the usage of address hereabouts in the seventeenth century.

The first object of interest that won attention within view from the railway station, two or three minutes' walk westward along the old historic "King's highway," was the beautiful church edifice of stone, designated "Trinity Church, of New Rochelle," presenting itself to the eye of the inquiring visitor as the successor of the old "French church," that hallowed that surrounding in the reign of Queen Anne. Having noticed, in a musing mood, the contrast between the showing of the rude, small, stony structure that I had first known in childhood as a house of worship and that of the finely proportioned modern temple, whose graceful spire now casts its shadow over the old site, I turned my steps toward the church burial ground, seeking the graves of my grandparents. Long-slumbering memories were aroused, first of all, by the sight of the marble that marked the grave of my grandmother—Sarah Pell, widow of Captain William Bayley—whose funeral service, ministered in the churchyard by her aged relative, the rector, Rev. Theodosius Bartow, I had attended with a large family gathering in the month of March, 1819, being then eleven years of age. The form of the venerable clergyman in his official robes at the grave, his bald head uncovered, despite the chill of a heavy snow-fall, is vividly remembered now as if it had figured in a scene of yesterday.

Meanwhile, however, memory had let slip the date of my grandfather's departure, and I was desirous to regain it from the chiselled record at the head of the grave nearly adjoining. What a bewilderment! I could scarcely believe my eyes, as I read, "Died March 3, 1811." It seemed altogether abnormal, that such minute remembrances of him as had been familiar to me, scores of particulars pertaining to his individuality, even the tones of his voice and his handicraft in making toys for my amusement, should have been thus long kept within the brain as in a photographic or phonographic cabinet. Yet, thus it must have been, despite all seemings to the contrary, I said, soliloquizing in the presence of the facts: At the age of three and a half, hereabouts, began my outlook upon the world. Here I approximate the starting-point of conscious thought; and this outlook over the life area of "threescore and ten" discloses its varied scenes of light and shadow, from infancy to age, as one broad panoramic unity.

Child memories, no doubt, are effective factors in shaping "the make-up" of any personality. The image of my grandfather, associated as it is with the old homestead, and with his flow of talk while occupying his easy chair upon the piazza, where he was wont to enjoy one of the finest of landscapes, taking within its scope Hunter's Island, Pelham Creek, the expanse of Long Island Sound, has never become dim; so that he has ever represented to me the ideal grandpa of poetry or song, of fiction or graphic art, as pictured by Sir Walter Scott or "Peter Parley." Thus has he ever been to me in thought "a living presence," although the obtruding question as to the possibilities of a baby brain will put itself over and over again like a mocking puzzle.

Despite the puzzle, the fact asserts itself. From the view-point occupied at the time of this writing, March, 1882, looking back to the last sickness and to the funeral services at Pelham and New Rochelle, the succession of years and order of events are clearly traced by memory and substantiated as a personal history. There is no break in the outline, although many things, thoughts, words, deeds may be missed from "the filling up."

But now, while occupying the old churchyard as a retrospective view-point, it seems noteworthy that this first advent of death into the household, and this first funeral that shadowed the path of my young life, cannot be described without the joining of two old town names, French and English, New Rochelle and Pelham. Thus, too, looking upon the headstones that memorialize the many graves in this "God's acre," as the old English called the consecrated burial ground, we notice the alternations or intermingling of English and French surnames, denoting the quick fusion of English and French blood in the homes of the early settlers nearly two centuries ago.

On the tombstones of the dead and on the door-signs of the living, the same old names present themselves: the Pells, Bayleys, Bartows, Pinckneys, Sands, Hunts, Guions, Le Counts, Allaires, Leroy's, Coutants, Secors, Badeaus, Flandreaus, De Peysters, De Lanceys, and others, signaling the spontaneous union of Saxon and Celtic elements in the historic home life and church life of the colonial days.

These first exiles from France, seeking permanent homes and religious liberty, though, to a great extent, "spoiled of their goods," realized actually the sentiment so well emphasized by Daniel Webster in addressing young Americans, namely, "Character is *capital*;" being, in the best sense, "well to do;" free, and inclined to contract family alliances from choice, taste, and personal qualities rather than from considerations of mere expediency or goading necessity. Few and weak though they seemed, their place in history is as clearly defined as that of the "Ten Thousand" retreating Greeks whom Xenophon has immortalized, having been long ago distinguished as a part of that heroic "Fifty Thousand" who fled from France to England about four years before the annulling of the Edict of Nantes, signed by Henry IV. in 1598, for the protection of Protestants, and revoked by Louis XIV. in 1685; having been in force, nominally though not really, nearly four-fifths of a century. Having emigrated from England to New York, some of them by way of the West Indies, particularly St. Christopher's and Martinique, they found the most beautiful lands of the vicinity chartered under English manorial proprietorship, whereby it was made easy for them to establish themselves in new and permanent homes. All antipathies of blood or race melted away in the presence of a common Christianity. An area of six thousand acres, a part of the Manor of Pelham, was conveyed to their friend and agent, Jacob Leisler, merchant of New York, on acceptable terms, in 1689, surveyed and divided into lots or farms by Alexander Allaire and Captain Bond, in 1692; named New Rochelle in memory of the old fortress of Protestantism in France, and then the family life of the two peoples, by its own interior law of development, grew into a civil and social unity, "compact together," under the sway of a common sentiment, as if all gloried in the same genealogical origin.

In this retrospective view of bicentennial history we can hardly trace the fortunes of a rich domain so beautiful as was this broad, picturesque area of almost ten thousand acres, so near the rising metropolis, constituted by royal, ducal, and colonial authority, under lawful grant and patent of his Majesty, Charles II., and also of his sterner brother, King James II., "an absolute, entire, enfranchised township, and place of itself, in no manner of way to be subordinate or under the rule of any riding, township, or place of jurisdic-

tion," and then observe how it was "willed" at once by its first proprietor, Thomas Pell, into the possession of an English heir, his nephew, a young man, only twenty-five years of age, without being sympathetically alive to the import of the doubtful questioning put by the more advanced of the exiles—"What manner of man is this lord of the manor? What have been his antecedents? Is his spirit akin to that of the intriguing, persecuting Royal Duke, James of York, now king, through whom, by special permission of his Majesty, Charles II., the earlier charter of proprietorship was received?" The inquiry was serious; the answer was encouraging. The young lord's biography was easily traced. His environment suggested cheerful prophecies. Although his youthful years had been passed amid a general unsettlement of things in church and state, adverse to the pursuit of his studies continuously in due course, his home life and school life under his father's eye furnished advantages quite exceptional for liberal self-culture, adapted to qualify him for the place of lordly eminence bequeathed to him in this new world as the protector of an oppressed people, the founder of a community truly unique as to condition and character.

At this point of our retrospect let us take up the exiled Huguenot's question—What were this young lord's antecedents? His father, whose name figured largely in the State papers of the Protectorate as the Right Honorable John Pell, was eminent among English educators. Born on the first day of March, 1610, at Southwycke, Sussex County, England, of which parish his father, the Rev. John Pell, was then rector, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1623, and, before the end of another decade, had won European fame as an author in the higher range of philosophical and mathematical studies. Having accepted the offer of a professorship in Amsterdam, he then attracted the regard of the Prince of Orange, by whom he was appointed to the Professorship of Mathematics at Breda, in Holland, where a military and naval academy had been established. Thus, having achieved a brilliant career in the prime of life, he was chosen by Oliver Cromwell, in April, 1654, English Resident Ambassador to the Swiss Cantons. This confidential relation to the Lord Protector at the time when he stood forth at the height of his power, the recognized protector of Protestant Switzerland against the persecuting powers of the Continent, gives ample proof of an enlarged statesmanlike style of mind in harmony with the liberal ideas and progressive spirit that have throughout our own century thus far ruled the course both of English and American History. A single fact recorded by Mr. Bolton in his history of Westchester County (II., 51) puts this inference beyond all questioning: "In the Landsdown MSS. are eleven volumes of Dr. Pell's, written in excellent style. The first volume

contains a vast fund of information respecting the persecutions of the Piedmontese." Evidently his sympathies were with the true leaders of the age; not with the oppressors, but the oppressed.

In connection with a fact so significant we are not surprised to learn that while serving the Government of his country at Zurich, Mr. Pell's letters to his wife, at home, indicate minute attention to the elementary education of his only son, the future "Lord John" of Pelham, particularizing the most suitable schools, the studies and the teachers appropriate to the young scholar's situation or turn of mind, even urging special care as to the style of penmanship required by the boy "eleven years old," in danger of forming wrong habits at the outset. Four years after his many educational counselings had been written from Zurich, while the school life of young John was still in process, the English Mission to Switzerland was terminated, the minister was commended, called home, and informed on his arrival that the Lord Protector was dying. Very soon the whole country was convulsed; but, despite the agitations of that disastrous period, the youthful heir of a transatlantic "lordship"—fifteen years of age at the time of his father's return—was exceptionally favored as to his opportunities for receiving the best possible training under the eye of his watchful parent, who had already taken rank with the best educators of England.

Fortunately for the professor, while occupying so effectively his chair at Breda, he found it within his power to confer personal favors upon the exiled King, Charles II., then sojourning there. These were gratefully remembered, and opened the way, soon after the Restoration, for his being admitted into "holy orders" by the Bishop of London in 1661, for his being honored with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, gifted by the Crown with the Rectory of Fobbing, in Essex, and afterward, by the Bishop, with that of Lavingdon, in the same county; all showing that the change of Government from commonwealth to kingdom brought to him no great distress, nor interfered with the educational interests of his family. The scholar, the diplomatist, the statesman, who had been recognized throughout Europe as the representative of the Lord Protector in defence of the peoples oppressed for conscience sake, was eminently qualified, of course, to train his only son into sympathy with his own ideas and the martyr spirit of the exiles who were to seek transatlantic homes within his own lordly domain.

In this timing of events the Huguenot pilgrims discerned a divine adjustment of means to ends as real and apt as was that traced by the Israelites in the predicted exaltation of the youthful Joseph to that ancient "lordship" that prepared *their* way to the Land of Promise. Of the fine qualities of character exemplified by these heroic people, and the possibilities of their

future, he was thoroughly appreciative. How different might have been their fortunes had he, like some leading men of the period, favored the exclusive policy of the reigning monarch by whom the manorial charter had been granted, and whose measures, ere long, rendered the English Revolution a logical necessity! But all antipathies were overruled, and in the annals of the following century we trace the gradual growth of a well-ordered and happy community, distinguished by an inherited refinement of manners and a degree of intellectual culture that made the New Rochelle of Pelham what the legal phrase of the charter designated the Manor, "a place of itself;" unique; winning to its homes and schools the best elements of family life and of social advancement. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the French language, spoken in purity and elegance, still lived as the vernacular of home life, attracting the more progressive class of students, whereof the names of Washington Irving, John Jay, Philip Schuyler, and Gouverneur Morris may be taken as exponents. A few who were children at that period are yet living, and remember the ladies who, like Mary Beslie, the sister of Dr. Oliver Beslie, possessed home libraries containing the standard works of French literature that had nourished the intellectual youth of their mothers in France. As it has been well said by Macaulay, that the fusion of Norman and Saxon elements in the thirteenth century produced the England that has figured as a power in world history, so we may truly say that the fusion of English and French elements in this manorial tract, bought originally of the Indians by Thomas Pell, Esq., in 1654, confirmed by an English king, James II., as a "lordship," in 1687, produced a social growth of fine typical character, and furnished a contribution distinctively its own to the progress of American colonial civilization.

The incidental reference by name to an excellent lady who had passed the border-line of "threescore and ten" before the nineteenth century began, recalls to mind one whose image is associated with my earliest memories and with my first impressions of the primitive style of the cultivated Huguenot's life and manners. Madame Beslie, while in thought I replace her amid the old home surroundings in Pelham, New Rochelle, and New York, reappears in my retrospective musing as I saw her often in my school days, a queenly woman of ninety-five years, not bent by age, retaining her natural ease and grace of movement, still able by her winning ways to draw us young folk to her side as listeners to her talk while she rehearsed the memories of her youth. The younger children of the family circle, usually speaking of her as "Aunt Mollie Bayley," were obliged, each in turn, to take a lesson on the different spellings of French words that sound alike. When her memory became unretentive of things recent, it kept fresh as ever the things long past;



hence, whensoever I greeted her after absences of a month or week, she would place her hands upon my temples; then, kissing me upon the forehead, would pleasantly allude to the old French mode of salutation. At once, as if making a new communication, she would repeat with an interest as lively as ever the story of the exodus, the deadly persecution in France, and the fate of her grandmother, who had been dragged through the streets of Paris by the hair of her head. Having ended her narrative, the turn of her familiar talk would be suggested, often by the old French book that she would happen to be holding in her hand, or by a reference to some volume or pictured page within the glass doors of her book-case. Gifted as she was with communicative power, she was, at the same time, one of the best of listeners, calling forth from her company the best they had to offer; and, indeed, I have sometimes wondered whether the charms of her conversation were to be regarded the more eminently as an inherited talent, as the incidental outcome of favoring social influences, or the product of some kind of educational training that had grown into "a second nature." Though uncertain, just now, as to the date of her departure from earth—not far from the close of 1817—I can truly say that her beautiful example of refined Christian womanhood has been ever before me as an exponent of Huguenot character, shaping my conceptions of Huguenot home life and keeping alive my sympathies with the spirit of Huguenot history.

Coincident with these sentiments as to inherited culture was the impression made upon the mind of New England by the example of public spirit exhibited in the city of Boston by a native of New Rochelle more than a century and a quarter ago. From the earliest days of the American Revolution Fanueil Hall has been to Boston a household word, familiar to the lips of men, women, and children as the memorial of Huguenot munificence, rendered classical by historic associations that quicken the pulse of patriotism, and call forth the spirit of song in commemoration of "The Cradle of Liberty." Thus the name of a Huguenot of New Rochelle has not only held a shining place in the annals of the colonial commonwealth, but lives in the nation's history as a source of inspiration, awakening memories that are an uplifting power.

Although the name of this man, thus memorialized, has been daily repeated in the first city of New England by four or five successive generations, yet his short and inspiring life story had been permitted almost to fade away from memory until its late restoration to the popular range of home reading, by the pen of Charles C. Smith, who has contributed a choice chapter to the memorial history of Boston. The uncle of Peter, the founder and donor of the Hall, was Andrew Fanueil, who fled from France

to Holland in 1685, and thence, as the record shows, had become, in 1691, a tax-payer and citizen of Boston. At the opening of the eighteenth century he had taken rank as the leading merchant of the city in point of wealth, trusted by all as a man of honesty and honor. His death, in 1737, seemed, indeed, an untimely event. The sense of loss was universal, expressed by the gathering at his grave—a procession of eleven hundred persons, representatives of the whole people. His property was “willed” to his nephew, Peter, who, at eighteen years of age, had left his native town, New Rochelle, sojourned for a short period in Rhode Island, whither he had accompanied his father, Benjamin; proceeding thence to Boston, he entered into the service of his uncle, Andrew, and soon won the confidence and the love that issued in his appointment as his uncle’s executor and residuary legatee. His career was brief but brilliant. Though he lived only five years after his uncle’s decease, he rendered that small fraction of life a fine historical episode in the municipal record of his time.

In the year 1740 the people were divided into two parties, nearly equal in numbers, by the discussion of a proposal to meet a public need—the erection of a central market-house. The opponents of the enterprise were persistent, though the grounds of their action are not now clearly discernible. In this state of the public mind Peter Fanueil came forward and offered to erect the building at his own cost, “to be improved for a market, for the sole uses, benefit, and advantage of the town, provided that the town of Boston would pass a vote for that purpose, and lay the same under such proper regulations as shall be thought necessary, and constantly support it for said use.”

The Selectmen called a meeting to act upon the proposal; 367 votes were cast for accepting the gift, 360 against it. Mr. Fanueil enlarged his plan, and over the market erected a splendid hall, capable of accommodating a thousand persons. At a town meeting, in the Town House, September 13, 1743, a vote was unanimously passed accepting the gift, and appointing a committee, consisting of the Moderator of the meeting, the Selectmen, the Representative to the General Court, and six other gentlemen, “to wait upon Peter Fanueil, Esq., and in the name of the town to render him their hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing.”

The first town meeting held within the walls of Fanueil Hall, 1743, was the occasion for delivering a eulogy on the life and character of the donor, by Mr. John Lovell, Master of the Latin School. In his oration Mr. Lovell said, after referring to private charities, “Let this stately edifice which bears

his name, witness for him what sums he expended in public munificence. This building, erected by him at his own immense charge, for the convenience and ornament of the town, is incomparably the greatest benefaction ever yet known to our Western shore." Thus Boston, a century and a quarter ago, gratefully declared to the world that, although the Huguenot element did not much affect population as to quantity, it was an effective factor of sterling worth as to *quality*, and that the finest expression of its spirit and style was to be found in the magnificent record left there by the large-souled young Huguenot of New Rochelle.

Having mentioned the year of Mr. Fanueil's departure, 1743, it may be noted, incidentally, that in 1843 the celebration of our National Independence in Fanueil Hall awakened into new life old historic associations, and imparted to that day's observance somewhat of the dignity of a centennial recognition. On the Fourth of July of that year Mr. Charles Francis Adams delivered his first public oration, and, as had been expected, in the presence of the venerable ex-president, his father. Having been invited to officiate as chaplain on that occasion, I repaired to the Council Chamber of the City Hall half an hour before the time for forming the procession. While reclining alone upon the old-fashioned window-seat, enjoying its pleasant outlook, the ex-president entered the room; ere long taking his seat beside me, he touched upon a few reminiscences of the past, and then said, in a tone expressive of profound feeling, "This is one of the happiest days of my whole life. Fifty years expire to-day since I performed in Boston my first public service, which was the delivery of an oration to celebrate our National Independence. After a half century of active life, I am spared by a benign Providence to witness my son's performance of his first public service, to deliver an oration in honor of the same great event." To this I answered, "President, I am well aware of the notable connection of events to which you refer; and having committed and declaimed a part of your own great oration when a school-boy in New York, I could without effort repeat it to you now." To "the old man eloquent" as well as to myself the coincidence was an agreeable surprise. At the close of the services connected with the delivery of the oration, the guests of the city were gathered at the festal banquet in Fanueil Hall. There I was called upon, as chaplain, not only to invoke the divine benediction, but to respond to a patriotic sentiment that awakened memories of the heroic dead. To me, certainly, it was an uplifting thought, that, like the founder of the Hall, belonging by birth to Pelham and New Rochelle, at the end of a century from the year of its completion and his departure, I was standing in the thronged edifice that memorialized his name, alive to the significance of the position,

well assured that by every uttered word I was but voicing the ideas that he loved, that he expressed in deeds more eloquent than words, and made his record a treasured legacy.

This early colonial civilization, which we have traced from its beginning, with its style of culture so unique on account of its variety of elements fused into newly developed characters, ere long put forth a power of attraction that gathered to it and around it people of congenial tastes, appreciative of the social qualities and educational aspirations recognized as a transmitted heritage. Long remembered among these who, at the close of the last century, sought a home in old Pelham, was a man of large fortune, an educated gentleman, a bachelor, just touching the border of middle life, of whom, as it seems, only one memorial can now be found, and that the marble slab at the head of his grave, hinting briefly at the beginning and ending of his life story. A single sentence utters its whole message, thus: In memory of Alexander Bampfield Henderson, Esq., a native of Charleston, in South Carolina, but late of the town of Pelham and county of Westchester, who departed this life 26th December, 1804, aged 47 years.

On a bright summer's day, about ten years ago, in a solitary walk among the tombs of the old French burial ground, my attention was arrested by the inscription here copied. Although I had never seen the man, nor had been his contemporary, I felt myself closely related and greatly indebted to him. For I was familiar with the story that from his beautiful island residence, separated by Pelham Creek from the land estate of my grandparent, William Bayley, he used daily to walk across the causeway and bridge to our homestead and relieve the loneliness of "Bachelor's Hall" in the sympathetic enjoyment of our family life. Such was his habitude, indeed, during the most important period of my mother's history, her later school days. His private library, a true index of his cherished tastes, was one of the best, at the time, outside of the metropolis; and it greatly intensified his enjoyment of it, often recognizing in my mother, née Anne Bayley, a keen appreciation of books, to minister to her intellectual development by placing at her command the freshest productions of English literature, rendering her familiar with the standard works of essayists and poets, with most of those English classics, indeed, that would be found in the choicest home library at the close of the eighteenth century. Thus, working "better than he knew," he was providing the main topics of interest that ruled the course of our household talk throughout my school days and was qualifying my mother to become, not professionally, but incidentally and really, the attractive companion and educator of her five children. Her grateful allusions to him made his name familiar to our ears; and often

curious fancy would invest with a golden haze of romance the unwritten history of this "lone lord of the isle." Rumor had sometimes whispered that, in his experience, the glow of youthful hope had been dimmed by the death of a first love, for whose vacant place no substitute could be found on earth.

In this connection it remains to be said, however, that, whether this suggestion were true or not, a few well-remembered facts, outlining his life course, were recently rehearsed to me by Elbert Roosevelt, Esq., whose life-long residence in Pelham, near the island, suggest a series of memories related to the whole vicinity, extending over two-thirds of a century. These conversational statements supply what was lacking to give a desired unity to the story.

Mr. Henderson, born in South Carolina, was of Scotch origin; was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and then took rank as a surgeon in the English army. Thus he was brought into communication with the British ambassador in India, and was by him introduced to the Court of the reigning prince, who engaged the surgeon's professional services in behalf of his favorite wife, then seriously ill. The treatment was a success, and the delighted prince honored Mr. Henderson, in his own way, by the presentation of a beautiful Circassian slave girl, about thirteen years of age. This present the army surgeon did not bring away with him from India; "but, after establishing his home at the island," said Mr. Roosevelt, "he commissioned your father (Captain James Hague, of Pelham, commanding a ship in the India trade) to look after this princely gift, and bring with him the young Circassian as a passenger on his return voyage from Calcutta. With her, accordingly, Captain Hague sought an interview, but found her so well pleased with her position in the household of a British officer that she could not be induced to leave her new protector. Nevertheless, the captain was accompanied by an Indian lad, the surgeon's protégé, who was welcomed, treated as an adopted son, and bore the name of William Henderson. The lad survived the retired surgeon eight years, and was buried by his side in the old French burial ground at New Rochelle." The two graves are surrounded by a well-wrought iron fence, and the smaller marble headstone bears this brief inscription: In memory of William Henderson, who died January 19, 1812, in the 25th year of his age.

In his last sickness the young man was most kindly attended by Dr. Rogers, through whose influence or advice he bequeathed the sum of twelve hundred dollars, appropriated to the erection of a Town House, "for the use and convenience" of the people of New Rochelle. With the recognition of this gift the townspeople of our time generally associate the name of the owner of the island home; it is, however, the East Indian youth's memorial.

Henderson's Island, beautiful for situation, distinguished by its home-  
stead, so greatly enriched by the best of home libraries in Pelham, became  
well known as Hunter's Island, more distinguished than ever by its new  
palatial mansion, with the best private art gallery in the United States.  
The propriety of this characterization by the use of the superlative degree,  
was, probably, undisputed by any rival during the first two decades of this  
century. We may safely say that no one of the earlier generations of the  
Pells, or of the Huguenots, however aspiring, would have dreamed of such  
a possibility for a family home within the bounds of the manorial grant so  
recently chartered by an English king in troublous times, and then so thor-  
oughly impoverished by the Revolutionary War. Under what conditions  
could it have seemed possible that some of the choicest treasures of ancient  
Italian galleries could be transferred to a secluded little island, fifteen miles  
from the city of New York, the purchase of a young American?

The explanation, as received from Mr. Hunter, personally, was this: At  
the time of his graduation from Columbia College, twenty-one years of age,  
it so happened that he came into full possession of his property. A friend  
and fellow-student, travelling in Europe while Napoleon was campaigning  
in Italy, wrote earnestly, reminding him that, on account of insecurity, art  
treasures were offered for sale at great sacrifice, and that an opportunity to  
indulge cherished tastes had now arrived, the like of which had not been  
known before and might never come again. "My answer was prompt,"  
said Mr. Hunter, "availing myself of his service, with faith in his judgment  
and discretion."

Here, at this point of writing, I have arrested my pen in order to read  
aloud to a friendly caller what, as it happens, I have just now written, and  
have thus drawn forth this critical questioning: Surely, the Italian art dealers  
must have seen *their* opportunity in negotiating with a young commissioned  
American, and might have been quite equal to the occasion. How have  
the claims of these choice treasures been verified? However fair and apt  
that questioning may be, suffice it here for me to say that it is not within  
the scope of my purpose to determine the origin of the pictures, and that  
with a youth's faith in the keen insight and critical judgment of so highly  
educated an amateur as the Hon. John Hunter, it was my fortune to realize,  
amid our surroundings in the gallery, all possible delight and mental quick-  
ening, limited only by the measure of receptivity. Outside of the family  
circle, Mr. Hunter, who in his spirit and style of manners represented a  
high ideal of the typical gentleman, the courteous and accomplished State  
Senator, reappears to the eye of memory as the first personality that I can  
recall as associated with my early life in Pelham. Ere long, after the death

of his son Des Brosses Hunter, Esq., the gallery was sold ; the island passed into other ownership ; yet, whatsoever may be its fortunes in the future, its relation to old Pelham and New Rochelle as a source of intellectual and æsthetic culture to several successive generations will brighten the record of its past and render its name a cherished memory in the annals of local history.<sup>1</sup>

The mention of these names pertaining to the island's history in connection with that of the Manor and town, carries us back in thought to the Anglo-French life of old Pelham as pictured out sixty or more years ago in our family talks, and illumined now by our memories of those who represented the remoter past. Fortunately for us our dear grandparents, uncles, and aunts, were lovingly communicative ; rehearsing to us of the third generation the local annals of the Manor and the familiar facts of the revolutionary era ; little episodes as lively as any that Fenimore Cooper has woven into his romance of " The Spy." Then incidental stories of the home life that followed the establishment of Independence and " The Union " were equally winning, making us acquainted with our kindred and neighbors, with our parents, associates in their early days throughout rural and suburban surroundings. Prominent among these was Dr. Richard Bayley, the only brother of my grandfather, whose mother was a Huguenot, née Susanne Leconte, and whose eminently distinguished daughter, Eliza Ann Bayley Seton, has been historically recognized as the presiding genius of the Roman Catholic Academic Institute at Emmetsburg, Maryland, and the founder of the Order of Sisters of Charity in the United States. Dr. Bayley, himself, a favorite student of the celebrated Hunter of London, the first Professor in the Medical Department of Columbia College, an accepted authority as a professional writer in England and France,<sup>2</sup> though living within an environment of churchly influences at home, acknowledged no connection with any ecclesiastical organism. Hence the position of his accomplished daughter, biographically commemorated as " Mother Seton," the gifted educator as well as the founder of the most eminent of sisterhoods (and we may add here, parenthetically, the more recent positions of his grandson, James Roosevelt Bayley, as having been, at first, Rector of the Episcopal Church at Harlem, and then, at last, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Primate of America), seems the more particularly noteworthy. In a widening circle of relationships thus made up there could be evidently no lack of conversational topics adapted to keep us all mentally alive and wide awake to note the driftings of thought throughout the whole community, so recently set free from the *régime* of a colonial church establishment, whose ideal aim had been, of course, the legal maintenance of religious uniformity.

Touching the first of the ecclesiastical transmutations here mentioned, profoundly sad, indeed, was the tone of amazement discernible in the exclamation of Mrs. Seton's elder sister, Mrs. Dr. Wright Post, of Throgg's Neck, addressed to my mother and by her repeated to me, regarding the talented Ann Eliza: "She has gone over to the church that persecuted her ancestors." As we now look back over the seven decades that have gone by since that day, we may safely say that no change of ecclesiastical relations on the part of an individual has stirred "society" at the time with emotions so keenly conflicting or has been effective of influences more widely felt in the homes of the country.

To many, even personal friends, the change seemed inexplicable; a mystery, a fact untraceable to any adequate cause. Numerous and earnest were the questionings as to what influences had been secretly working at the starting-point of this new career. By some, especially those who had been associated with her from childhood in the communion of "dear old Trinity," the explanation was found in the sensibility of her emotive nature, under the stress of sorrow, to loving appeals during her stay in Italy, where, in the year 1804, her honored husband, William Seton, Esq., died after a lingering illness, and where her depressed spirit found relief in the ministrations of the Roman Catholic Church as well as in the hospitable home of the noble-souled Felichi. The truth is, however, that the trend of her steps toward the Roman Catholic Church, strengthened by her æsthetic tastes, was noticed in her earlier days before she had left her native land; and after her return from Italy to New York she was still a communicant of Trinity Church, for weeks, as she said, "in an agony of suspense," engaged in discussions, oral and written, with the Rev. John Henry Hobart, then Rector of Trinity, afterward Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and Archbishop Carroll, of Baltimore, in regard to the main principles of Protestantism. At that earlier period her cousin, Ann Bayley, of Pelham, only eight years younger than herself, was living in the environment of the same religious atmosphere, keenly sympathetic, constantly interchanging sentiments as well as visits.

The leading idea that then engaged the thoughts of those two cousins pertained not so much to the emotive nature as to the intellectual; for a main subject of discussion, emphasized in the chief pulpits of New York at that day, was the relation of the sacraments to personal salvation. At that point the life-course of the two cousins diverged. The affirmation, sometimes eloquently argued, that the sacraments, administered through a regular priestly succession, are the divinely appointed channels through which saving grace flows forth from the fountain of life into the human soul, took



the strongest possible hold upon the spirit nature of the elder cousin, calling forth, even then, painful doubts over a suggested question, namely this :— “ As the Anglican Church recognizes the perfect validity of the Roman Catholic sacraments, while, on the other hand, the older Roman Church has never recognized the validity of the Anglican administration, am I not required, by a proper regard for my own soul’s peace and safety, to place myself upon the ground that remains to both sides undisputed ? ” Strange as it may seem to many that her early faith should have faltered before such a question, from that starting-point of thought she advanced in due time, after her return from Italy, through “ an agony of suspense ” to the positions taken in her printed correspondence with Bishop Hobart and the Primate of Baltimore. At the same time her younger cousin, then residing at the paternal home in Pelham, equally interested in the new inquiry, as to them it seemed, having been attracted as a listener to the teachings of the eminent preacher of the Presbyterian Church in Murray Street, Rev. Dr. John Mitchell Mason, who occasionally delivered a discourse in New Rochelle, she embraced, with a responsive spirit, the formulated statement of pure Protestantism, “ justification by faith alone,” so eloquently put forth by him as “ the true spirit union with Christ, embracing within it character and condition.” Thenceforward her favorite characterization of Christianity was “ the religion of the New Testament,” emphasizing thus, as she thought, by this short phrase, the two distinguishing qualities of the primitive church teaching, simplicity and catholicity.<sup>3</sup>

It is a curiously suggestive study, this tracing of mental histories. From the same starting-points of intellectual, emotive, or spiritual development, even of congenial minds, how strangely far apart the issues ! Some time before her departure for Italy, the elder cousin visited her younger, sisterly cousin at Pelham ; at the moment of taking leave, bidding her good-by while presenting her an article of skilfully wrought needle-work as a love-token, kissed her and said, “ I hope we shall meet in heaven.” They never met on earth again. Both lived, however, to an advanced age. The elder, having wept for the last time over the grave of her husband in Italy—the English burial-ground at Pisa—and having returned to New York, welcomed, ere long, the comparative seclusion of a conventual life in Maryland ; the younger, having been joined in marriage—by Rev. Theodosius Bartow, Rector of New Rochelle, at her father’s house in Pelham—to Captain James Hague, commander of a ship in the East India trade, lived happily, the life of her family circle, until nearly “ fourscore years ” of age ; and then, after fourteen years of widowhood, died at the house of her only daughter, Mrs. Dr. Alexander W. Rogers, Paterson, New Jersey, amid the benedictions

of her children, who, in accordance with the Old Scripture's voicing of filial love, "rise up and call her blessed."

The contrasted issues of two lives thus realized by two friends of Huguenot descent, impart significance to a saying noted at Paris in a tourist's journal, that the trend of the French nature is toward intellectual freedom, and that where there is French blood it will assert itself in individuality of character, tempered and toned by inherited tastes and manners into social and civil concord. The fortunes of Pelham and New Rochelle illustrate this view. In this connection it seems a noteworthy fact that the English monarch who gave to Pelham its first manorial charter, was himself the sole, self-determined donor of the charter of Rhode Island to Roger Williams, openly declaring the reason of his action to be his sovereign will to "experiment whether civil government could consist with such liberty of conscience." It may seem strange that a notably careless, pleasure-loving king, like Charles II., should rise to the height of the grandly exceptional opportunity presented to him as a means of solving a great problem for the world through all time. The thought has been naturally suggested that he had no higher aim than a provision for unlimited freedom for the Roman Catholics. In that combination of events, however, the founder of Rhode Island recognized a divine ruling or overruling, when he said, "The Father of spirits has impressed his royal spirit," and added, in his letter to Major Mason, "this, his Majesty's grant, was startled at by his Majesty's high officers of State, who were to view it in course before the sealing, but fearing the lion's roaring, they couched against their wills in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure."<sup>4</sup> As here we repeat this marvellous testimony, we are tempted to wish that the experimenting king who gave to Pelham as well as to Rhode Island a charter of self-government, could have lived long enough to hear from the whole area of the old Manor, after embracing within its limits the town of New Rochelle, the experimental response of a thriving population, with all its diversities of race, taste, and traditions, a live civil unity; their homes all vocal with the ancient song of the Hebrews, "The border-lines have fallen to us in pleasant places; we have a goodly heritage."

In this retrospective monograph, I have had occasion to refer by name to women of the Huguenot family. Now, last of all, our thoughts are drawn to a late suggestive event in the annals of New Rochelle, attracting the attention of the nation at large to one funeral scene; namely, the death of a lady in whose veins flowed the blood of an Anglican and a French ancestry.

The quiet departure of Mrs. Caroline Leroy Webster, on Sunday, February 26th, at the Leroy Mansion, was announced generally by the press, and awakened many slumbering memories of her life, associated with New

York, Boston, and Washington, as well as with Pelham and New Rochelle. Born at the house of her father, Jacob Leroy, Esq., New York, 1797, a considerable proportion of her early remembrances were associated with scenes of rural life pertaining both to the Manor and the town.

Mr. Webster, having met Miss Leroy at her city residence, recognized at once the rare quality of her intellectual culture, her graceful manners, her conversational gifts, and her queenly power as a leader of society. In the year 1829 she became his second wife; and in the more extended sphere of social and public life that she thus entered was, from first to last, perfectly at home.

The storm that raged on Wednesday, March 1st, was at its height when the funeral service was ministered in Trinity Church, New Rochelle, by the Rector, Rev. Mr. Canedy, and Rev. Mr. Higgins, Rector of Christ Church, Pelham; and as the attendance of ladies was necessarily limited, the large gathering of gentlemen, from homes far and near, was remarkable, indicating the profoundly cherished memories relating to the career of the great statesman, the completed close of whose home life on earth seemed as if now emphasized by the funeral dirge within the temple and the majestic voice of the tempest without.

Not long after the death of Mr. Webster, as we well remember, one hundred citizens of Boston contributed one thousand dollars each to a fund of one hundred thousand dollars, which was invested for Mrs. Webster's benefit, and the interest of this she duly received at her home in New Rochelle, a timely and welcome contribution to the cheer of her tranquil life evening.

Thus, it may be truly said that the men of Boston, in our own time, have given back a fitting response to the munificence of a Huguenot native of New Rochelle, expressed in the gift of Faneuil Hall to their honored city more than a century and a quarter ago, exemplifying the perfect fusion of Anglican and French elements into a vital unity, to endure through centuries to come.

WILLIAM HAGUE

<sup>1</sup> When first penning the closing lines of this paragraph, the writer supposed that there was still occasion, in alluding to the designation of the island, to use the phrase, its *former* name. Since then we have welcomed the intelligence that since the estate has passed into the hands of Mr. C. Oliver Iselin, the old familiar name, "Hunter's Island," whereby our sires and grandsires knew the place, has been restored and chiselled upon the granite pillars of the causeway; a work of good taste in which we all have a common interest.

<sup>2</sup> Thacher's Medical Biography: Art. Bayley.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Mason's *physique*, his figure and manner, were majestic and commanding. On one occasion, after listening to him at New Rochelle, Hon. John Hunter said to my mother, "That man was born to command, not to persuade; he has mistaken his calling; he ought to have been a Major-General in the United States Army."

<sup>4</sup> Major Mason's Letter, Mass. His. Coll., vol. i.

## THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS

That Major-General Arthur St. Clair was an officer of some distinction in the war of the Revolution ; that, like every other military character in that struggle who has fallen into the biographer's hands, he enjoyed "the confidence" of Washington and "the esteem" of his army ; that, subsequently, he became President of the Continental Congress and then Governor of the Northwestern Territory, where he suffered a cruel defeat at the hands of the Indians ; that, as to individual qualities, he combined a certain rugged force of will—an inherited Scotch characteristic—with decided mental capacity, and made both influential through a generally frank disposition ; that, in short, he was a man of public note in our early history, well worth knowing about and worth remembering—are matters which any one at all familiar with the times in which he lived need not be reminded of. The point which concerns the historical critic of to-day is to give such men their true place, neither elevating nor belittling them, but, as far as the means of forming a judgment exist, preserving their memories in a perfectly just proportion. It would be a service, indeed, should some writer of judicial temper and much information undertake the delicate task of gauging, individually, the public value of the patriarchs of the Republic, for the purpose of placing a proper restraint upon the tendency toward indiscriminate eulogy. Of the several personal histories of men of that period that have appeared within the last fifty years, very few—and the valuable work before us fails to rank among the exceptions—are free from the fault of overestimating their subjects, sometimes going to the length of posing them in niches where the originals would blush to find themselves. Honor enough is due these worthies for what they actually were ; not to say that the effect of their example, one of the prime objects of reviving their lives, becomes impaired by the excess to which praise is indulged.

St. Clair, with his *confrères*, is to be judged by comparison—historical comparisons, so far from being odious, being absolutely necessary. It will not be claimed that, as a general, he is to be named with Greene, whose soldiery qualities constantly asserted themselves and made an impression, whether in victory or defeat ; nor can it be said that he was an officer of that personal magnetism which distinguished Lafayette, whose career was more varied and conspicuous than St. Clair's ; nor was his name as closely identified with the army as that of Steuben, its drill-master and inspector,

or of Knox, its chief of artillery ; nor were his actual services in the field at all commensurate with Wayne's, who came from the same State and held an inferior commission ; nor did he display the qualities which made Daniel Morgan the dashing leader at Saratoga and the victor at Cowpens. At the evacuation of Ticonderoga, in 1777, the only military episode with which St. Clair is prominently identified, he played the part of a good, safe soldier—and would be denounced to-day as unfit for any command whatever had he done otherwise—while after that he appears, by virtue of his rank, as a division commander in the main army. With the coming of peace he identified himself with public civil affairs, filling stations and rendering services which entitle him to continued consideration ; but here, too, he is to be measured with others, some exerting less, some exerting greater influence in shaping events.

We may regard the subject of these Papers in this double capacity—first, as one of the men of Seventy-Six, and again as civilian and Governor of the Northwest, whither settlers were then moving in large numbers, for whom protection and legislation were necessary, and out of which territory some noble States have since been carved.

Like many of the Revolutionary officers of his adopted province of Pennsylvania, St. Clair was of foreign birth. He came from Scotland, whence Mercer, of Virginia, had preceded him. Thompson, Hand, Irvine, Butler and others of the Pennsylvania line were born in Ireland, and in their commands were many Irishmen. As against Great Britain they proved to be of stalwart breed. Once engaged in the struggle, St. Clair was equally devoted to it, but at first he showed hesitation. Educated in England, joining the British army as Ensign, taking part in the capture of Louisburg, engaged again under Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and then settling on lands in Western Pennsylvania, granted to him for his services to the Crown, he was naturally conservative during the ominous spring of 1775. We do not find him among the leading spirits of the time, hastening matters to an issue, but rather falling into the popular current and espousing a cause which had already become common. Some of his early expressions indicate caution and distrust of the movement, as, for instance, in what he wrote to Joseph Shippen on May 18, 1775: "Yesterday we had a county meeting, and have come to resolutions to arm and discipline, and have formed an Association, which I suppose you will soon see in the papers. God grant an end may be speedily put to any necessity for such proceedings. I doubt their utility and am almost as much afraid of success in this contest, as of being vanquished ;" and again, later: "I have not a word to say about public matters—the people are all mad, and I hate even to think of the consequen-

ces. Heaven restore peace to this distracted country ! ” In the same vein he writes to Governor Penn, on the 25th : “ We have nothing but masters and committees all over the country and everything seems to be running into the greatest confusion. If some conciliating plan is not adopted by the Congress, America has seen her golden days ; they may return, but will be preceded by scenes of honour. An Association is formed in this county for defence of American liberty. I got a clause added, by which they bind themselves to assist the Civil Magistrates in the execution of the laws they have been accustomed to be governed by.” This wish to avoid the rupture prevailed very generally until the close of the year and later, when the mass of the colonists drifted almost unconsciously into the very midst of rebellion and became part and parcel of it. Before the opening of 1776, St. Clair found himself a pronounced American, ready to break with old ties and trust the hazard of a revolution.

Upon resigning his commission in the British army in 1762, St. Clair married Miss Phœbe Bayard, of Boston, niece of Governor James Bowdoin. A comfortable patrimony falling to them, he made his home in Ligonier Valley, east of Pittsburg, and by his wealth, influence, and superior education, became widely known throughout that region. Here, in January, 1776, he received a commission from Congress as Colonel of Continental troops, the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety having recommended him for the position, with Wayne, Shee, and Magaw. Accepting the service, he raised a regiment in six weeks, and early in May joined the American forces in Canada, under General Thomas. In his “Memoirs,” written late in life, he thus refers to this decision : “ Although I had a young wife I loved very much, and five small children equally dear to me, and held six offices in Pennsylvania, all of them lucrative, viz : Clerk of the Court of general quarter sessions, prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, clerk of the orphans Court, judge of probate, register of wills, recorder of deeds, and surveyor of the largest county in the province, I did not hesitate, for I held that no man had a right to refuse his services when his country called for them. I resigned them all ; proceeded forthwith to Philadelphia, and on the 22d day of January, 1776, received instructions to raise a regiment to serve in Canada, where it was known to many of the members, I had served in seventeen hundred and fifty-nine and sixty.”

That was a sorry campaign in Canada and the Northern Department in the summer and fall of 1776. Quebec had not been taken ; gallant Montgomery was dead ; Arnold and Wooster could effect little ; Thomas died soon after taking the command, and when Sullivan appeared as his successor early in June, he found a sickly, insufficient army, and the enemy reinforced by troops

under Burgoyne. Sullivan, nevertheless, was confident, overconfident, and in his proposal to seize Deschambault and control the Canadian territory between Quebec and Montreal, he met with a repulse which forced a general retreat to Crown Point on Lake Champlain. This repulse was suffered in attempting to surprise the enemy at the Three Rivers, on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, and was the first encounter in which St. Clair and his regiment participated, and of which he as well as Colonel Irvine, and Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, of the Pennsylvania troops, have left some description. General Thompson, who was in command for four days, before Sullivan's arrival at Sorel, projected the attack and the latter approved it. On the night of the 7th of June, a force of about eighteen hundred men from the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania regiments, crossed the St. Lawrence from the advanced post at Nicollet, and disembarked nine miles above Three Rivers, which was to be attacked by daybreak. Immediately upon landing, Thompson, who accompanied the expedition, divided his troops into five detachments, commanded by Colonels Maxwell, St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, and pushed for the enemy. A faithless or ignorant guide led them into an extensive quagmire, and so far from effecting a surprise, they failed to reach the enemy until broad daylight, and then only in broken form. Wayne, sighting the British first, promptly attacked and drove in their advanced parties, but a heavy fire from their lines checked his progress. St. Clair and Irvine could make no impression, and Maxwell's troops were too scattered. Each party accordingly withdrew as best it could under its own commander, and on the 10th the expedition recrossed the river, with a loss of about one hundred and fifty officers and men, including General Thompson and Colonel Irvine, who surrendered as prisoners of war. The most active spirit in the affair was Wayne. Hartley frequently mentions him as having "behaved exceedingly well, and showing himself the man of courage and the soldier." In his official report to Schuyler, Sullivan says: "Colonel Wayne sustained the greatest loss, as his men began the attack and behaved with great bravery, as did the Colonel himself. In short, all the officers behaved with spirit except some few of low rank." Upon returning to camp Wayne, in regimental orders, complimented his own soldiers who were with him: "Their spirited conduct in bravely attacking and sustaining the fire from both great and small arms of an enemy more than ten times their number, merits his highest approbation."

The facts in the case of the Three Rivers defeat bear upon the historical temper of St. Clair's biographer. In illustrating the career of his subject, somewhat more of justice might have been done the General's companions in arms by a fuller mention of their own services in conjunction with his.

By the contrary method an undue importance is attached to his record, and the reader is without the means of testing the relative significance or accuracy of many of the statements presented. A certain impression fastens itself that the underlying effort throughout the work is to magnify to its largest capacity every meritorious action with which St. Clair is to be credited, and to ignore or demolish the claims of others where they conflict with his. The Three Rivers action, as well as what followed, is in point. Mr. Smith, the biographer, takes Mr. Bancroft, the historian, to task for giving a wholly "unsupported" and "extraordinary" version of the expedition, and with which the brief account, as given above, in the main agrees. Mr. Bancroft introduces Wayne prominently, without mentioning St. Clair in that connection, which may account for the criticism; but Mr. Bancroft is undoubtedly correct, so far as he has followed the best authority, which may be found in Force's archives in the shape of a letter from an officer who took part in the engagement, and which, as lately discovered, was written by Lieutenant-Colonel Hartley, who commanded one of the divisions on the occasion. It is republished from the original in the valuable work entitled "Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution," edited by Mr. Linn and Dr. Egle. Hartley wrote the day after reaching camp, and gives a much fuller description than either Irvine or St. Clair. The latter, whom Mr. Smith follows, seems to relate only what came under his immediate observation, confines himself to his own record, and says almost nothing of his companions. In assuming that he took command and piloted the troops out of their difficult and dangerous situation after the failure of the attack, he can only have reference to the division he commanded. As a matter of fact, the ranking officer, after the capture of General Thompson, was not St. Clair, but Maxwell, of New Jersey.

Nor can we overlook the claim that St. Clair exerted a leading influence in movements on the St. Lawrence. That he was an officer whose opinions and judgment, in view of previous experience, were entitled to particular respect, will be readily admitted; but to hold him up as the potential agent, or military adviser, without whom matters would have gone still worse, is unhistorical. According to his "Memoirs," he ventured on certain suggestions to his superiors which his biographer makes much of. Instance, again, the proposal to secure Three Rivers, where St. Clair says: "I suggested to General Thompson, who commanded at Sorel, the practicability of retarding at least, if not preventing entirely, the British transports from passing up the River by taking post at the village of Trois Rivières, from which place I had seen, in the former war, a division of them very much injured and obliged to fall back, and proposed to gain possession of it with six hun



dred men." But Thompson writes at the time to this effect: "Mr. Bonfield [a Canadian] says that about three or four miles below the Three Rivers, the channel runs within musket shot of the north shore, that the banks are high, and, indeed, everything in our favor to engage us to take possession of that spot. . . . I can take from here . . . one thousand men and leave enough to support this place (Sorel) till more can be sent." Thompson's plan, from this, seems to have been original with himself and founded on information derived from another than St. Clair. The latter, however, was subsequently sent forward to attack the enemy, who, meanwhile, had occupied the place. Finally, Sullivan reports: "The unfortunate defeat of General Thompson and his detachment happened in this manner: namely, the repeated accounts from Three Rivers of the smallness of their numbers induced General Thompson to detach Colonel St. Clair to attack them with seven hundred men, before my arrival. This not being put in execution and St. Clair remaining at Nicollet, and the account of their weakness being confirmed, the General solicited the liberty of attacking them, which I granted." One might infer from these extracts that both in the matter of suggestion and actual movement, instead of leading, St. Clair was led.

Once more, when Sullivan retreated from Sorel soon after, we are informed that St. Clair advised him to do so; but it appears that Arnold and Hazen and Antill urgently advised him to the same effect by letters written from different points, and that the retreat was finally undertaken on the unanimous vote of his field officers, called together in council. We entertain not the slightest doubt that these excellent suggestions, as he states, occurred to St. Clair, but did they occur to no other officers as soon and as forcibly? Neither Thompson nor Sullivan express obligations to the Colonel for giving advice of singular value on the occasions in question.

From the Northern Department St. Clair, late in the year, was transferred with New England troops to Washington's distressed army on the Delaware. As the oldest Colonel in the Pennsylvania line, he had been promoted to a Brigadier, and wore his new honors worthily. It was his fortune to participate in the glorious scenes at Trenton, where he commanded the reserve brigade of Sullivan's column, and again, a week later, he joined in the more brilliant Princeton surprise, which brings us to another point of disputed laurels.

Fame enough it would be for any man, soldier or not, to be known as the author of that resolute move on the night of January 2, 1777, when British pride was humbled and the vanishing prospects of the Revolution were suddenly and lastingly revived. We cannot forget that Trenton and

Princeton were crises in the contest, inducing moral effects not outweighed by those of any subsequent event. The credit of projecting both belongs principally, as we firmly believe, to Washington, despite the claim of the present biography that Princeton, at least, was a dash of St. Clair's inspiration. To the pointed statements respecting this claim made elsewhere in these pages, by General William S. Stryker, Adjutant-General of New Jersey, there is little to add. If the recollections of St. Clair, as interpreted by Mr. Smith, represent the case entire, we are to understand that Washington placed himself in a trap on the east bank of Assunpink Creek at Trenton, and then despairingly asked his generals how to get out of it. St. Clair, we are told, solved the difficulty by suggesting a night march in the rear of the enemy to Princeton. The determining points, however, are Washington's prior movements and objects. Why did he recross the Delaware after the Trenton surprise, when he knew the enemy would be eager to avenge it—how came he boldly to await the approach of Cornwallis all day of January 2d, whom he could not expect to fight successfully—why did he gather all his available troops, militia and continental, north of the Delaware? Washington's own expressions furnish the answer. His eye turned northward—his aim was the harassing of the enemy in Jersey, the recovery of the State and the salvation of Philadelphia. Only the day before the Princeton march he wrote to Morris from Trenton: "We are devising such measures, as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much or more to the distress of the enemy, than their defeat at Trenton." To Maxwell at Morristown he writes, December 28: "As I am about to enter the Jerseys with a considerable force immediately, for the purpose of attempting a recovery of that country from the enemy . . . I must request you will collect all the force in your power together and annoy and distress them." He requests General MacDougall at the same place to keep the militia embodied until "they are joined by our regular troops;" and on the 30th he wrote him significantly from Trenton: "I beg you will collect all the men you possibly can about Chatham, and after gaining the proper intelligence, endeavour to strike a stroke upon Elizabethtown or that neighborhood; *at any rate be ready to co-operate with me.*" Here was a well-defined intent to advance into New Jersey, stir up the enemy wherever opportunity offered, and compel them to retire toward New York.

In this light Washington's position on the Assunpink was neither accidental nor purposeless. He may not have known, on the morning of January 2d, when he was still in Trenton, what the situation would be in the evening, but during that day he watched the progress of the enemy upon

him from the direction of Princeton, knew that they were coming ("according to my expectation," are his words), and must have calculated all the chances of a collision. Sending out troops he delayed the British advance until sundown, avoided a general battle, and took position on favorable ground on the east side of the Assunpink. Then it was that a council of officers was called to discuss the situation, whether to remain there and fight, or retreat if that were possible, and then it was that St. Clair is represented as solving the dilemma by proposing the night march to Princeton. He claims, again, that he first suggested the move, that Mercer seconded, and all approved it. We shall not dispute the statement that the move did suggest itself to him or that he first advocated it, but not in any way does this prove that Washington had not already contemplated it, and probably for many hours. What was not revolving in his mind when, in the afternoon of the 2d, he found he must cross the Assunpink? What move after that? Could he stay there safely? It would blast all prospects to recross the Delaware, provided it could be done. Had he not started out to push northward? Must he not make a desperate effort to "add reputation to his arms?" A move to Princeton would be the very thing.

As to authorities in the case we may confront St. Clair and his biographer with Gordon, whom the latter properly accepts. That early historian says of the council: "The matter of debate is, Shall we march down on the Jersey side and cross the Delaware over against Philadelphia, or shall we fight? Both are thought to be too hazardous. On this, *General Washington* says, 'What think you of a circuitous march to Princeton?' It is approved and concluded upon." It is quite probable that Gordon received his information from Knox, who had just been made a Brigadier and was without doubt at the council. Writing to his wife the next day, this officer says that Washington "thought best" to make the "most extra manœuvre" by way of Princeton. St. Clair was extremely happy in his suggestions, and we learn that he was on the point of making another of importance at the battle of Brandywine, when he ascertained that it had already occurred to Washington and that he was acting upon it.

Passing over Mr. Smith's overestimate of St. Clair's part in driving the enemy from Princeton College, which was effected mainly by his superiors, Greene and Sullivan and the artillery—passing over the statement that St. Clair once more "suggested" marching to Morristown from Princeton, when there was no other road to take, and when Washington had several days before instructed MacDougall to collect troops at that place and cooperate with him—passing over the erroneous supposition that when St.

Clair was soon after promoted to a Major-Generalship, it was in recognition of distinguished services and gallant conduct at Trenton and Princeton, when, in reality, on the testimony of General Poor, he was not brought "to close action" at either place, although showing spirit and coolness, and when promotions were made by seniority alone—giving these and other matters only a passing notice, we find St. Clair appointed, in June, 1777, to the command of the important post of Ticonderoga. An interesting piece of history we have here, but its details are too extended for notice in this connection. Suffice it to say that Burgoyne was threatening to descend from Canada, but in what force was uncertain; that Schuyler was in command of the Northern Department; that troops were few and resources scanty, and that the country believed Ticonderoga to be impregnable. Stationed at that fortress, St. Clair was expected to hold it, but on the night of July 5, 1777, Burgoyne having made his appearance with a large army, he suddenly evacuated the post and saved his troops from the surrender which would have inevitably followed by remaining. The loss of the fortress created alarm, excitement, and indignation, both Schuyler and St. Clair coming in for much criticism and abuse; but the act was prudent and in the end St. Clair was fully justified. No one withholds from him the credit of doing what a good soldier should have done under the circumstances. But in extolling his hero, the biographer goes out of his way, as if for effective contrast, to put General Schuyler in an unfavorable light—the charges being that in the Ticonderoga matter he shirked responsibility, pandered to public opinion, and, moreover, was guilty of certain misrepresentations.

Respecting these points, the facts are briefly as follows:

As Commander of the Northern Department, General Schuyler visited Ticonderoga about the 20th of June, inspected the post, and called a council to consider the chances of its successful defence. In view of the extent and incomplete condition of the lines, the small number of troops at hand, and the difficulty of obtaining provisions, the Council voted to evacuate Ticonderoga, and attempt no more than the defence of Mount Independence, opposite, on the south side of the lake. Means of retreat in case of extremity were also provided. The execution of this plan was entrusted to St. Clair, while Schuyler repaired to Albany to call for troops and supplies, and prepare an effective support for his subordinate. As yet the intentions of the enemy under Burgoyne were unknown, but the belief prevailed in Congress, and to a certain extent among the Northern generals, that any movement from the direction of Canada must be in the nature of a feint, while the mass of the British troops would be concentrated under Howe at New York

for operations against Washington. Burgoyne was able to cover his advance so effectually that St. Clair could not estimate his strength with any degree of certainty until within thirty-six hours of the evacuation. When the news spread that St. Clair had abandoned the post, rumors also thickened that Schuyler had ordered it, and public sentiment began to denounce both generals as guilty of dereliction. Schuyler quickly contradicted the rumor, and declared that he could not account for St. Clair's retreat. It is this conduct of Schuyler's which Mr. Smith criticises as unmanly and disingenuous, in view of Schuyler's knowledge that St. Clair could not hold his own against the enemy, provided they came in force. Instead of expressing surprise, the General ought rather to have approved the retreat and shared the responsibility.

But it is to be observed, in reply, that Schuyler was then marching to St. Clair's support; that he had reached Fort Edward; that for several days St. Clair had written hopefully, believing that the enemy were not in force, never hinting at retreat, and that he had actually called in the surrounding militia to assist in holding Mount Independence. To Washington St. Clair wrote after the event: "Until the Enemy sat down before the place, *I believed the small garrison I had to be sufficient.*" The Commander-in-Chief was no less taken back than Schuyler by the evacuation, for the tenor of all St. Clair's latest letters was against the probability of such an event. Schuyler, accordingly, could be, and doubtless was, entirely honest in his surprise.

Mr. Smith goes further and accuses General Schuyler of "moral cowardice," in failing to order the evacuation of Ticonderoga at an earlier date, and an answer of the General's is quoted in proof—an answer given at the St. Clair court martial—where he says of the works, that "as the continent conceived them of great importance, and very strong, I did not think myself at liberty to give any orders for an evacuation of them." This is described by the biographer as "standing in fear of public opinion," but Mr. Smith fails to notice that General Schuyler is speaking of the abandonment of the fortress *before the enemy put in an appearance*. It had been regarded as the stronghold of the North. Why should it be given up when not threatened, as far as known, in heavy force? Congress, to whose attention Schuyler had referred the matter, gave no directions, and public sentiment in the case was very properly taken into account. In point of fact, Schuyler, as a member of the Ticonderoga Council of June 20th, did give his authority to retreat in case of an emergency. That emergency never was presented to him by St. Clair, and orders, in consequence, could not be given for the evacuation. How Schuyler felt in the matter is best ex-

pressed in the following letters, hitherto unpublished, from the papers of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.:

HEAD QRS. FORT EDWARD, July 10, 1777

TO COLO. WM. WILLIAMS,

*Gent<sup>men</sup>*, Your favor of yesterdays date I have this moment received. The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is unhappily too true. I am informed it was done in consequence of a Resolution of the General Officers in Council. I have not yet been so happy as to see any of them, and can not therefore inform you upon what principles that resolution was founded. I am sorry to learn from Colonel Williams of White Creek and other Gentlemen that it is imputed to me, as having given an order for the purpose. If such order was ever given I should not dare to deny it, as the means of Detection must be very easy, if principle was no restraint to asserting a falsehood. General Learned has seen the Originals of my Last Letters to General St. Clair, for they were returned sealed by Colonel Long having never reached Ticonderoga. They held up Ideas widely nay directly repugnant, to the Orders I am so unjustly charged with giving; you will please therefore to give my own words in contradiction to such report should it have taken place with you. The Enemy have appeared at Fort Ann But at present none of them are there except a few Lurking Indians or white men Disguised like Indians of which we have good assurances. The Enemy have many in order to intimidate. I am in hopes that when General St. Clair and General Nixon with the Troops respectively with them arrive, that I shall stop their progress in the vicinity of this place, provided we are properly supported by the Militia. . . . .

I am Gentleman

With much respect

Your Obedt. Humb. Servt.

PH. SCHUYLER

FORT EDWARD July 12, 1777

TO JACOB CUYLER

*Dear Sir*, . . . . I am getting matters into tolerable train and if a hundred waggons arrive to day or to morrow I hope to save the most minute article we have at Fort George. I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the Country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. It is an utter falsehood. Not an expression in any of my letters can with the severest construction be brought to countenance such a suggestion. It is impossible to impose on the public on such an occasion, as the order must be produced if any was ever given; but the truth is it was resolved on in a Council of General Officers on the Day before it was evacuated, on what principles I know not. I suppose I shall be advised of them as soon as General St. Clair arrives who is now at Fort Miller. If the Enemy give me a Little time, and I believe necessity will oblige them to do that, we shall, I trust, put ourselves into such a posture as will prevent them from going down the Country, notwithstanding the variety of Cares that engross my attention.

I assure you that I am in high spirits and thank God in full health, hoping for the best and not doubting but that our affairs will soon wear a better face and take a more favourable turn and in the fullest confidence that America can not be conquered by Brittain. Why should we dispond? do you, my Dear Sir, and let every Gentleman inspire the people and all will be well.

Adieu

Yours Sincerely

PH. SCHUYLER.

As to misrepresentations, Mr. Smith alleges that "Washington was greatly perplexed, as he had not been supplied with copies of St. Clair's

letters to Congress, and had been misled by the correspondence of Schuyler." Examination of the record shows the contrary to be true. Washington had all the latest information, and Schuyler, in stating that the Ticonderoga garrison "amounted to five thousand men for duty," where St. Clair reported a little over two thousand, with nine hundred militia just arrived, was strictly accurate. St. Clair gave rank and file, and omitted, as he afterward acknowledged, nearly one thousand men "on command" or fatigue duty. Schuyler took the official returns as subsequently given in evidence at the St. Clair trial, which show that "on the 5th of July, 1777, the whole force in Ticonderoga was 5,639 men and officers, of which a number not exceeding 639 could be considered as sick." St. Clair did not dispute these figures, which more than sustain Schuyler.

Respecting St. Clair's subsequent revolutionary career, it needs but to say that he was honorably acquitted by the Court of Inquiry which investigated the Ticonderoga affair; that he rejoined the army and filled all stations well, though not conspicuously engaged at any time. We regret that his papers throw no additional light on many points, especially on the Andrè case, with which he was identified as a member of the Court. Mr. Smith puts him in the battle of Monmouth, but St. Clair himself states that he was not there.

This review of the General's military record has been necessarily extended to meet statements made in the present biography. We could have wished that the work had been less eulogistic, less sweeping and confident in many of its expressions, more judicial in its tone. St. Clair was an officer of merit, whose services are to be gratefully recalled, but we cannot believe that his compatriots regarded him with the devotion with which he is regarded to-day by an admiring biographer. His interesting career as a civilian and Governor of the Northwest—perhaps the most important period of his history—must be considered at some future opportunity.

H. P. JOHNSTON

<sup>1</sup> The St. Clair Papers. The Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War; President of the Continental Congress, and Governor of the North-Western Territory. With his Correspondence and other Papers, Arranged and Annotated by William Henry Smith. In two volumes, 8vo, pp. 609-649. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & CO., 1882.

NOTE.—The "Original Documents" in the present number throw some new light on the Ticonderoga evacuation. A few of Schuyler's orders given here also appear among the papers introduced at the Schuyler court-martial, whose published "Proceedings" is now a scarce work.

## THE PRINCETON SURPRISE, 1777

The flank movement of the American army in the early morning of January 3, 1777, was a brilliant conception in the soldierly mind of General Washington. In General St. Clair's narrative the following remark occurs: "The General summoned a council of the general officers in my quarters, and, after stating the difficulties in his way, the probability of defeat, and the consequence that would necessarily result if it happened, desired advice. I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of passing the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it, nor was there one dissenting voice in the council."

In General Wilkinson's "Memoirs" (I. 40) we read what he remembered to have heard of the proceedings of the council of war: "I have before observed that General St. Clair had been charged with the guard of the fords of the Assunpink, and in the course of the day, whilst examining the ground to his right, he had fallen on the road which led to the Quaker Bridge. Whether from this circumstance, or what other information I will not presume to say, it was this officer who, in council, suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy. The practicability of the route was well understood by Colonel Reed, Adjutant-General; and the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as satisfied on this point, adopted the proposition."

In a recent work entitled "Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair, Soldier of the Revolutionary War," by William Henry Smith, in allusion to this event, we find the following remark: "Hereupon one of the council made a suggestion so happily solving the problem as to add in its brilliant execution to the well-deserved renown of Washington. . . . It was the inspiration of true genius."

Mr. Bancroft, in his "History of the United States" (IX. 246), questions the assertion made in the above-mentioned works that General St. Clair first suggested the movement of turning the left of the British column, and says: "St. Clair liked it so well that, in the failing memory of old age, he took it to have been his own."

It has always seemed strange to me, familiar as I have been all my life



with the movements of the American army in the Revolutionary period, in and near Trenton, N. J., that General Washington waited until a council meeting at night before he prepared for some movement which he must make before the dawn of the following day. I cannot be convinced, with my knowledge of this locality, and my study of the character of Washington, that he put off his plans for the next day until the voice of General St. Clair, around the council-table that night, indicated what was best to be done.

In examining into the truth of this claim of General St. Clair, his aide and his biographer, it will be well to note here a few of the events which had just been enacted, and study for a moment the position of the respective armies on January 2, 1777.

The American army having been driven from the forts on the Hudson River, had beat an inglorious retreat through the Jerseys and over the Delaware River. Recrossing that river in a fierce storm and in the crushing ice, they had suddenly surprised the Hessian Rall and his veterans, overcome with their Christmas revels, and had carried off nearly a thousand of the trained soldiers of European wars. These prisoners had been safely taken over the river into Bucks County, Pa., and soon after, Washington and his army crossed the stream again and quartered in Trenton, prepared once more to meet the foe, with some additional force which General Mifflin, General Cadwalader, and Colonel Hitchcock had brought over from Bristol, Pa., to the south bank of Assunpink Creek. On the morning of January 2, 1777, the British army commenced their march from Eight Mile Run, near Maidenhead, now Lawrenceville, four miles south of Princeton. All day the advance party of Lord Cornwallis's force contended with the American riflemen under Colonel Hand, and later with the troops commanded by General Greene, and night came on as they reached the Queen Street Bridge, leading over the Assunpink Creek. The whole British army quartered in Trenton that night, except a detachment under General Leslie at Maidenhead and a brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Mawhood at Princeton. The British army then held the north bank of the Assunpink Creek, and the American army the high ground on the south bank of this little stream. Washington had hardly 2,000 Continentals and 3,000 militia, and Cornwallis had at least 7,000 men, the finest troops in the British service. This was the military situation at this critical moment in the winter campaign in New Jersey.

Every officer, every man in the American army must have seen the danger to which they were now exposed. In front lay a proud, confident, valorous foe, nettled by the seizure of the German brigade, boastful that

they would bag the rebels on the morrow. To the rear of the patriot troops was a comparatively level country, with no natural means of defence, and no position from which either to damage, or even to hinder an advancing enemy. To the left was a river, which could they but safely cross again would certainly protect them, but to cross in boats under a raking fire was sure destruction.

The alternative was then presented, either a running fight southward along the river, toward Burlington, a struggle across an icy river with an insufficient number of boats, or a quick movement on the rear of the enemy at Princeton.

General Washington knew from his scouts the numbers of the British army advancing on him. He knew all day of January 2d what his position would be at night, if, by any good generalship, he could keep the foe from crushing him during the daylight hours. Can it then be for one moment supposed that he postponed his plans until the assembling of the council, and until General St. Clair rose to suggest a scheme which, by twelve o'clock midnight, was in full process of being carried out?

General Wilkinson, then Major Wilkinson, and an aide to General St. Clair, says that the General, being charged with the guard of the fords of the Assunpink (meaning the upper crossings by Henry's Mill and at Phillips's Ford), while examining the ground, had fallen on the road which led to the Quaker Bridge. Are we then to suppose this was a road unknown to Washington, and not suggested to him all day of January 2d by other officers than St. Clair, and only mentioned to him for the first time in council that night?

The officer who guided General Sullivan's column down the river road to the surprise at Trenton, December 26, 1776, Captain John Mott of Third Battalion, New Jersey Continental Line, and who was now recruiting his company for the Second Establishment, was with Washington at this time. He was born near Trenton, had always lived there, and it is not possible to conceive that he did not know well the road to Quaker Bridge. Colonel Isaac Smith, commandant of the militia regiment in the town, a leading citizen, a physician, and a soldier, was, of course, ready to give Washington any information in his power. The New Jersey militia was commanded by General Philemon Dickinson, a resident of Trenton, and for many years living within sight of the Quaker Road, and this intimate friend and trusty counselor was certainly prepared to map out the country to his chief. The headquarters of General Washington were at the inn kept by Jonathan Richmond, and he was the barrack-master of the American army in the village. The Quaker Road must have been perfectly familiar to him. On Decem-

ber 30, 1776, Washington sent out his own Adjutant-General, Colonel Joseph Reed, a native of Trenton and a graduate of Princeton College, to ascertain the position and force of the British army. Colonel Reed must have been familiar with this road in his boyhood days, and even Wilkinson says he "well understood the practicability of the route." When Colonel Reed performed on the day mentioned the little exploit with the Philadelphia City Troop, so fully recorded in Wilkinson's "Memoirs," the only road which he could then have taken from the house where this affair occurred, was by way of Quaker Bridge and Sandtown to Bloomsbury and Trenton. Washington's own aide must then have known the road that he galloped over three days previous.

But Washington also prepared for the midnight march during the day of January 2d, by procuring his guides to lead him over the very road St. Clair afterward "suggested." Ezekiel Anderson lived near Henry's Mills, on the Assunpink Creek, two miles from Trenton. Patrick Lamb lived at Quaker Bridge, a bridge over the upper waters of the Assunpink Creek, a little over one-half the way to Princeton. Elias Phillips lived between Patrick Lamb's house and Maidenhead, where General Leslie's British forces were quartered. These men left their homesteads that day, and it is well known, by tradition in their families, that they appeared in the council room and offered to guide the patriot army that night in the great flank movement. They certainly, in those troublous times, did not leave their homes unprotected unless to do a patriot's duty in compliance with the desire of one whom it was their delight to obey.

In Revolutionary times the road from Bloomsbury, now that part of Trenton south of the Assunpink Creek where the American army was then quartered, to Sandtown, was a well-known and much used road leading toward Cranberry, and thus to Monmouth County or Amboy. From Princeton to Allentown and to Crosswick's was a road blazed for the use of Quakers going to Stony Brook, or Crosswick's meetings. Between Quaker Bridge and Sandtown was a tract over a mile in length, called "The Barrens," just east of the Bear Swamp, from which the scrub-oak trees had at that time just been cut. To avoid the long, circuitous route by Nottingham Square, General Washington chose to cross a field of stumps, by a path somewhat west of the present road, and so reach the blazed road near the Quaker Bridge and the route to Princeton. In Stone's "Life of Howland" (p. 75), we find: "A considerable part of it was by a new passage, which appeared to have been cut through the woods, as the stubs were left from two to five inches high." To guide the army across this very tract Washington wanted Patrick Lamb, of Quaker Bridge, and to keep his column a sufficient dis-

tance from General Leslie's sight and hearing at Maidenhead he needed Elias Phillips. And they were in Trenton before the council meeting, ready for the duty.

General Washington having settled in his own mind the best mode of escape from the apparent *cul-de-sac* in which Cornwallis had placed him, called his officers around a council board in General St. Clair's quarters. It is possible General Washington may have asked General St. Clair, whose guest he then was, to open the discussion, and to have indicated privately to him beforehand the line of march he proposed. Or it is possible Washington may have desired to see what better plan could be suggested by his general officers, and then have heard named the same plan and nothing else than what he had himself been preparing to execute. Was it like Washington to have left so vital a question undecided, unprepared for until so late an hour? His character and his conduct during the war forbid such a conclusion.

In the despatches to Congress sent by Washington December 27, 1776, he made special mention of the "spirited behavior" of his aid-de-camp, Colonel Baylor, and in general orders the same day he gave to Colonel Knox, his chief of artillery, much praise for the handling of the guns in the Trenton fight; but in the official report of this grand flank movement to Princeton, dated Pluckemin, January 5, 1777, the name of St. Clair is not mentioned. General Washington was never so ungenerous as to claim for himself the credit of all the gallant acts of his troops. He was always ready to gratefully recognize and acknowledge the good services of his subordinates, and he would certainly not have omitted to give due praise to one of his general officers had this plan been entirely of St. Clair's conception and suggestion.

It is impossible for me to suppose that General Washington did not know well what he was doing all day of January 2d, and into what a critical position he was being driven. It is quite impossible for me to think he deliberately allowed himself to be placed in a trap, and then, after dark, in deep despair called upon his generals to get him out of a scrape from which he felt himself powerless even to suggest a plan of escape.

WILLIAM S. STRYKER

## THE TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LANDING AT THE KENNEBEC

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the coast of New England, still called Norumbega, was the subject of golden dreams. Somewhere in the Penobscot region was to be found a splendid city abounding in precious metals, while silver and pearls were said to be obtained along the shores.

The first English voyage in the seventeenth century was that of Bartholomew Gosnold, who, in 1602, with the letter of Verrazano in his hand, stole out of the port of Falmouth, England, and sailed to this coast, named New England by Captain John Smith in 1616, finally making a harbor at Cuttyhunk, one of the Elizabeth Islands southward of Cape Cod, where he loaded his ship, the Concord, with fragrant sassafras, although, owing to their quarrels, the Concord was already heavily freighted with discord; which, on arriving at Southampton, was only increased by the confiscation of the cargo by Sir Walter Raleigh, Gosnold and his friends having made a contraband voyage, poaching upon the manor of the patentee. The voyage of these interlopers will never lose its interest, being invested with something akin to romance. It so impressed the mind of one well-known Antiquary, that, for the nonce, he seemed quite to forget his allegiance to the pilgrims of Leyden, and proposed, knowing only one side of the story, that the American Antiquarian Society and the Massachusetts Historical Society should unite in a formal celebration of Gosnold's voyage, by this proposition delicately suggesting that no other society need aspire to the privilege of swinging the incense boat in honor of such exalted worth. Yet, as a matter of fact, according to the morals and the laws of that age, the amiable, interesting, and, no doubt, upright Gosnold, was simply a squatter and a thief. At least it was so decreed; while to give the subject short shrift in the court and hurry up the proceedings, Raleigh agreed that Gilbert, who was the principal man in the so-called "Gosnold voyage," should "have his part agayne." Sir Walter, to anticipate the action of another party, thus proposed to compound the felony.

The next voyage was that of 1603, the voyage of Martin Pring, which was encouraged by the great Hakluyt, and had the sanction of Sir Walter. Pring made his harbor at Plymouth, anticipating the Leyden men by seventeen years, and loading two ships with sassafras.

In 1605, Waymouth, in the Archangel, came upon the New England coast,

anchored at Monhegan and explored the Kennebec. Here he captured five Indians, who were taken to England and trained for future use in colonization. They attracted the attention of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor at Plymouth, who says that, "under God, they were the means of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

What he learned in connection with this voyage led him to use his influence with Sir John Popham; and, finally, by their joint efforts, the king was induced to grant two patents, one for the London and one for the Plymouth Company, both being under the general governing body composed of thirteen persons, called the "Council of Virginia." The territory of the London Company included the regions between  $34^{\circ}$  and  $41^{\circ}$  N., and that of Plymouth  $38^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ}$  N. They were entitled to coin money, impose taxes and duties, and exercise a general government for twenty-one years. The value of Waymouth's expedition, therefore, cannot be questioned, and whatever may be said about Gosnold, Waymouth, in no inferior sense, is entitled to take rank as one of the founders of New England.

The year 1606 was devoted to preliminary exploration, and on the last day of May, 1607, an expedition, composed of the ship *Mary* and John and the fly-boat *Gift of God*, sailed from the *Lizard*, commanded by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert. At the end of twenty-four days they reached the Azores. Here the *Mary* and John had a narrow escape from the Netherlanders, who seized Captain Gilbert, charging him with being a pirate.

The two ships, being separated, proceeded on their course. At present we have no record of the voyage of the *Gift of God*, but the *Mary* and John sped on her way, and, July 30th, made Cape La Have, and afterward sailed down the coast of Nova Scotia, entering the Gulf of Maine. August 5th, they saw the Camden Hills, whose three double peaks were sketched by Pilot Davis, who made the first known sketch of any portion of the coast scenery of New England, and anticipated that practice of making elevations which is now a part of the work of the United States Coast Survey. They finally obtained anchorage at Monhegan, where, the next morning, to their great joy, they sighted the *Gift of God*. The following day was Sunday, when the companies of the two ships landed on Monhegan, and celebrated divine worship.

Upon this romantic island the Pilgrims of Maine set up their altar, under the shadow of a tall cross, and there, where each flower tolled its sweet incense upon the soft summer breeze, they celebrated the worship of God in simplicity and faith. The following is the quaint memorandum recorded by one of the worshippers:

“Sondaye beinge the 9th of August in the morninge the most part of our holl company of both our shipes landed on this Illand the wch we call St. George’s Illand whear the crosse standeth and thear we heard a sermon delyvred unto us by our preacher gguinge God thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the contry & so returned aboard aggain.”

The orators have celebrated the religious spirit of that little band, who, upon “Clark’s Island,” in Plymouth Harbor, kept such a memorable Sunday, crouching around their half-frozen fire; but the men of the *Mary* and *John* and the *Gift of God* were not less duteous than those of the *May-flower*. Indeed, they were Englishmen, and representatives of one of the two peoples who alone in the ages all along have shown a supreme regard for the sanctity of the day of rest. The scene upon *Monhegan* was unique. A Christian priest, the Rev. Richard Seymour, stepped upon the soil of New England for the first time, an authorized minister pronounced his first known blessing, and then and there New England was formally consecrated to Christian civilization.

This event would justify a monument on *Monhegan*; while a simple, massive memorial, conspicuously placed, and surmounted by the cross, would serve as a landmark to the voyager on the sea, while from its granite pedestal it would speak in tones that could not be misunderstood.

Next we read of the voyage of the *Mary* and *John* to the *Kennebec*, when she narrowly escaped shipwreck, and was buffeted as badly as the *May-flower* when seeking a harbor at *Cape Cod*. We give the account entire from the narrative found by the writer in the *Lambeth Palace Library*.

Wensdaye beinge the xii<sup>th</sup> of August we wayed our anckor and sett our sailles to go for the ryver of *Sagadehock*.

We kept our course from thence dew weste untill 12 of the klok mydnyght of the sam then we stroke our sailles & layed a hull untill the morninge doutinge for to overshoot ytt.

Thursdaye in the morninge breacke of the daye beinge the xiii<sup>th</sup> Auguste the Illand of *Sutquin* [*Seguin*] bore north of vs nott past halffe a leage from vs and ytt rysseth in this form hear vnder followinge the w<sup>ch</sup> Illand lyeth ryght beffore the mouth of the ryver *Sagadehock* South from ytt near 2 leages but wee did nott make ytt to be *Sutquin* so we sett our sailles & stood to the Westward for to seek ytt 2 leages farther & nott fyndinge the ryver of *Sagadehocke* we knew that we had overshott the place then we wold have returned but could nott & the nyght in hand the gifte sent in her shallop and mad ytt & went into the ryver this nyght but we wear constrained to remain att sea all this nyght and about mydnight thear arosse a great storme and tempest vpon vs the w<sup>ch</sup> putt vs in great daunger and hassard of castinge awaye of our ship & our lyves by reason we wear so near the shore the wynd blew very hard

att South right in vpon the shore so that by no means we could nott gett of thear wee sought all means & did what possybell was to be done for that our lyves depended on ytt hear wee plyed ytt w<sup>th</sup> our ship of & on all the nyght often times espyeing many soonken rockes & breatches hard by vs enforsynge vs to put our ship about & stand from them bearinge sail when ytt was mor fyttter to have taken ytt in but that ytt stood vpon our lyves to do ytt & our bott soonk at our stern yett woold we not cutt her from vs in hope of the appearninge of the day thus we contynued vntil the daye cam then we perseaved ourselues to be hard aboard the lee shore & no waye to escape ytt but by seekinge the shore then we espyed 2 lyttell Illands lyenge vnder our lee. So we bore vp the healme & steerd in our shipe in betuyxt them whear the Lord be praised for ytt we found good and sauffe anckoringe thear anckored the storm still contynuinge vntill the next daye followinge.

Frydaye beinge the xiiii<sup>th</sup> of August that we anckored vnder these Illands thear we repaired our bott beinge very much torren and spoiled then after we landed on this Illand found 4 Salvages and an old woman this Illand ys full of pyne trees of ocke and abondance of whorts of fower sorts of them.

Satterdaye beinge the 15<sup>th</sup> of Auguste the storme ended and the wind cam faier for vs to go for Sagadehock so we wayed our anckors and sett sail & stood to the estward & cam to the Illand of Sutquin w<sup>ch</sup> was 2 leages from those Illands we rod att ancor beffor and hear we anckored vnder the Illand of Sutqin in the ester syd of ytt for that the wynd was of the shore that we could no[t] gett into the ryver of Sagadehock and thear Cap<sup>t</sup> Pophams shipp bott cam aboard of vs & gave vs xx fresh cods that they had taken beinge sent out a fyshinge.

Sondaye beinge the 16<sup>th</sup> of Auguste Cap<sup>t</sup> Popham sent his shallop vnto vs for to healep vs in so we wayed our anckors and beinge calme we towed in our ship and cam into the ryver of Sagadehocke and anckored by the Gyftes syd about xj of the klok the sam daye.

Here on the peninsula of Sabino they built a fort, which has been succeeded by a modern fortress called "Fort Popham." It mounted twelve guns. They also built a storehouse, a chapel, and a small vessel called the Virginia, which crossed the Atlantic several times. Everything was done in a religious spirit, suggesting the words, "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Thus we read:

Wednsdaye beinge the 19<sup>th</sup> of Auguste we all went to the shore whear we mad choise for our plantation & thear we had a sermon delyvred vnto vs by our precher and after the sermon our patten was red w<sup>th</sup> the orders and lawes thearin prescrybed then we returned aboard our shipp again.

Thursdaye beinge the 20<sup>th</sup> of Auguste all our companys landed & thear began to fortifye our presedent Capt. Popham sett the fyrst spytt of ground vnto ytt and after hem all the rest followed and labored hard in the trenches about ytt.



The first celebration of which we have any account in connection with the settlement at Sagadahoc, that is, if we may call it a celebration, took place upon the two hundredth anniversary, in 1807, when the late Dr. Jenks, a well-known Congregational clergyman, with a party of gentlemen, recognized the event by a visit to the spot. In 1862 an imposing celebration took place under the auspices of the Maine Historical Society, when many eminent men from different parts of the country were present, and the oration was delivered by Mr. John M. Poor. The proceedings and contributions were published in an octavo volume called "The Popham Memorial."

Invitations were given to men of all shades of opinion to speak on that occasion, but the speech of the late J. Wingate Thornton was so peculiar that the committee refused to print it, and thus gave it an importance to which it was not entitled. Other celebrations have occurred since.

The celebration of 1864, when Professor Patterson, of Dartmouth College, gave the oration, led to some controversy; and two or three writers did all that lay in their power to cast aspersions on the colony, though without avail. By an appeal to Sir William Alexander and Lord Bacon they even sought to show that the colony was composed of transported felons! An examination of the statutes, however, brought to light the fact that no law existed at the time in accordance with which criminals could be sent out of the country, so that the language of the above-mentioned authors did not apply, while the charter provided for such as went "willingly"—all being free to return. This attempt to injure the reputation of the men of Sagadahoc originated with those who were nettled by the thought that the colony set on foot by Church of England men, antedated Plymouth. They, nevertheless, had comparatively few sympathizers among non-Episcopalians. Indeed, some of the most generous recognitions of the colony came from individuals traditionally connected with the ancient glories of Congregationalism. Several have gone far beyond all others in declaring the importance of the event in connection with New England colonization, maintaining that the colony was never wholly given up, and that a portion of the colonists remained and transferred their activity to the neighboring harbor of Pemaquid.

Sixteen years have passed away since the attack was made upon the character of the men of Sagadahoc, and not a single charge has ever been substantiated. The Popham colonists were undoubtedly men of fair character, though the majority may not have been much superior to colonists in general. Under trying circumstances, but supported by the influence of their minister, moral order prevailed—the savages themselves, who looked on, being impressed by the solemnity of public worship. The record of the

colony at Sagadahoc is unstained, while the attempt to make this a sectarian question has failed.

This subject, it will be seen, is one of no mere local interest. It is worthy of the attention of all who desire to make themselves acquainted with the beginnings of New England colonization. The commencement at Sagadahoc formed an essential preliminary, though it may prove difficult to render this apparent to such as accept the dictum of a writer who declares that, but for persecutions in Old England, there would never have been any New England, which would, of course, have been a howling wilderness to-day. At the opening of the seventeenth century, colonization, as Hakluyt proves, had become a moral, social, and commercial necessity. The colony in Maine formed an essential part of the irrepressible British activity abroad, and, both in Virginia and New England, the people generally were alive to the demands of the situation. Nevertheless, many have allowed the exclusive claims of the Brown-Barrow Separatists in connection with colonization. The agency of the men of the Church of England was conspicuous. The Plymouth colonists have their claims, and they have been fully acknowledged. These claims do not conflict with those of the men of Sagadahoc, who, animated by the enthusiasm of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, first lawfully undertook to establish civil society in New England, their action forming part of a great and irrepressible movement.

Maine, therefore, is entitled to distinction in common with Massachusetts, and the importance of the work done there in staying the advance of the French must be admitted; for all through the years following the beginning at Sagadahoc the English claimed the coast, continually occupying it, confiscating French ships and driving them from the Island of Mount Desert, where they attempted a settlement.

Whether the Popham colonists furnished any direct successors to carry on the work in Maine we cannot say. In the plenitude of their ignorance, however, some have assumed to know all about it, and thus we are assured that they did not. Unfortunately for this negative theory we do not possess the names of the men engaged in the Popham colony beyond those of the officers, and hence we cannot at present decide upon the relationship existing between the men of 1607 and those who afterward figured upon the coast. Strachey, who was not in the expedition, says that the next spring they all embarked for England; but it is of very little consequence in connection with this discussion whether they all embarked or not. We have already pointed out the fact that this expedition was part of a general movement in favor of colonization, which was destined, irrespective of the results of religious disturbances in England, to people this country at no distant day.

Future researches, however, will doubtless bring to light many facts bearing upon the settlement of Maine, and when the contents of some of the garrets in the old seaports in the south and west of England are brought to light, we may find that the adventurers at Sagadahoc at a later period had many direct representatives in New England. The discussion of this subject is not yet ended.

B. F. DE COSTA

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## GARFIELD AND AMERICAN HISTORY

General Garfield belonged for some years to the Literary Society of Washington, and at the time of his death was its president. The society is limited in its membership, and holds its meetings in a social and informal way at different residences. Garfield was a frequent attendant and often took part in the exercises, which he found to be a relief even after a hard day's debate in the House. He was always at home on topics of American history, and is on record as having engaged, at one of his first meetings, in a discussion as to who were the five chief promoters of American independence. At the meeting on the evening of Washington's birthday, 1879, he made an address on "the wonderful character of the revolutionary career of the Father of his Country, taken in connection with the preceding circumstances of his life." On the same anniversary in 1880 he called attention to "the remarkable fecundity of Virginia in great men about the Revolutionary period," and named several of her sons who were eminent in various capacities, viz. : Patrick Henry as orator, Lee as cavalry leader, Madison as constitutional expounder, Marshall as jurist, Mason as parliamentary debater, Jefferson as philosophical statesman and Washington as soldier, statesman, and patriot. The General suggested that "an inquiry as to the causes of this unusual wealth of talent found in one State at one epoch, might furnish the society an interesting subject for discussion at a future meeting."

Some of his best efforts were inspired by historical topics, notably his address on the "Future of the Republic," and his speech on the occasion of the acceptance by Congress of the statues from Massachusetts of Winthrop and Adams in the National Memorial Hall.

## THE TOMB OF THE GORGES AT ST. BUDEAUX

Being a foremost member of the old council of Plymouth, of England, of 1620, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the division in 1635, became the sole owner of the territory between the Piscataqua and the Sagadahoc or Kennebec River. This hundred miles of coast, and in the words of the Plymouth charter, "from sea to sea," he named the Province of Maine. What prompted this name is uncertain, and will not probably ever be known. Like himself, the first settlers were firm adherents to the Established Church of England, and indignantly rejected the overtures of Massachusetts to extend their protection over the territory. The old knight died in about 1645, in the midst of the controversy with Massachusetts. In 1675 his grandson and heir sold his birthright in Maine to the Massachusetts colony for 1,250 pounds. Sir Ferdinando's manor-house at Ashton Philips is now in ruins—only a small part of the dwelling apartments remain, but the chapel where the noble old knight led his tenants in their responses in the service, is yet perfect.

As a mistake has been made in connection with the Tombs of the Gorges, it may be stated here, on the authority of the Rev. Frederic Brown, of Beckenham, Kent, that the tomb in Wraxall Church, in Somersetshire, contains the tomb of Sir Edmund Gorges, Knight, who was the great, great grandfather of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It is a splendid tomb, in a beautiful condition, and has never gone to decay. It formerly stood in the centre of the chancel of the Wraxall Church, but several years ago was removed to a recess made specially for it in the north wall of the church, when all the colors and gilding were renewed. Sir Edmund married three wives, and the effigy of one of them, Lady Ann Howard, his first wife, lies beside his own.

The Gorges Tomb at St. Budeaux, however, is that of Sir Tristram Gorges. This monument went to decay, but eventually a representation of facts and an appeal for assistance in restoring the monument was made by the rector of the parish of Wraxall to the Maine Historical Society. A generous sum was made up by subscription among the members, and a small appropriation was made by the Society and forwarded to the proper officers of the church.

The restoration cost fifty pounds, thirty-four of which came from Maine. A Plymouth (England) journal gives the following account :

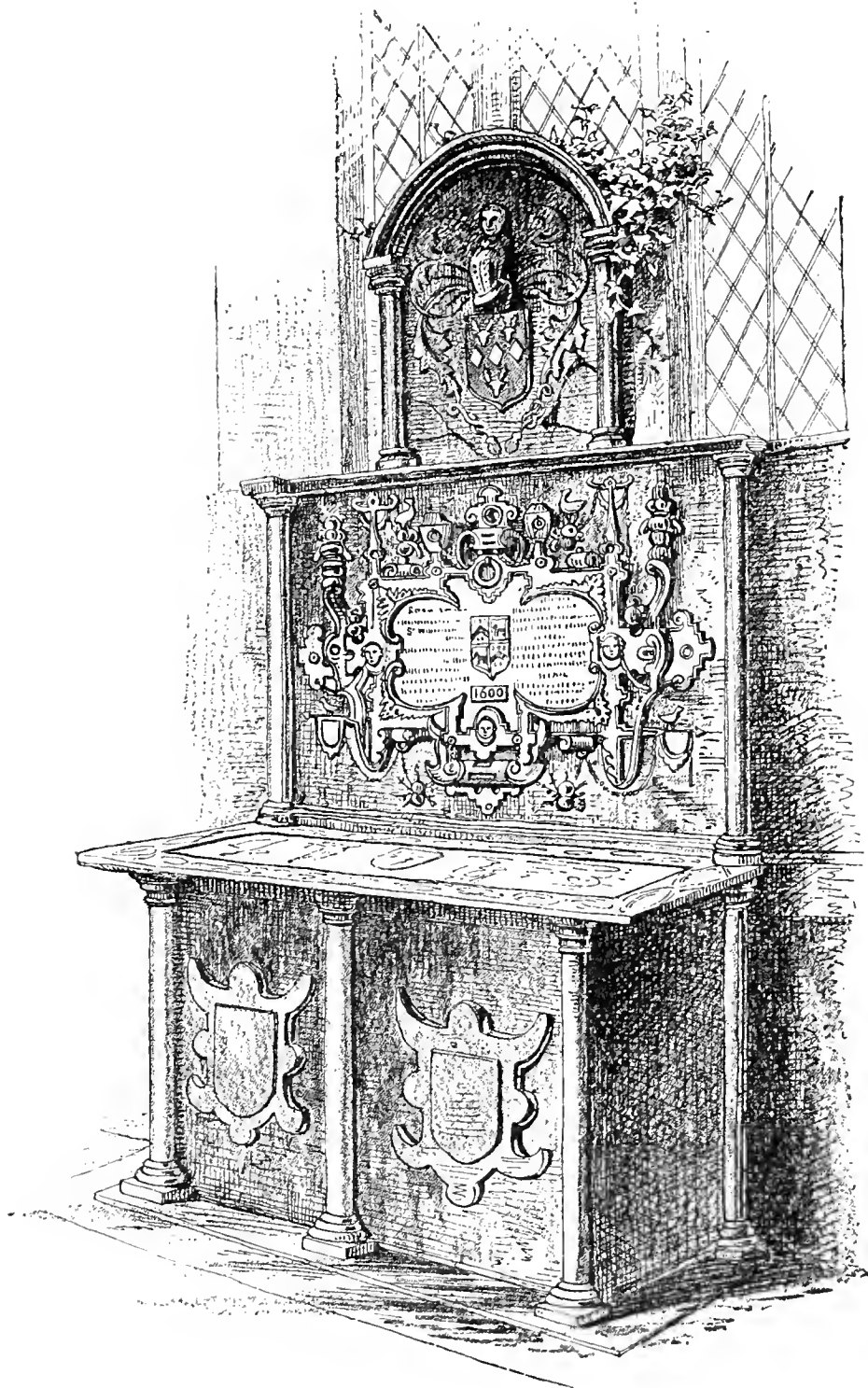
One of the most interesting old monuments in this county—historically as well as architecturally—has just been carefully renovated through the exertions of the Rev. Wollaston Goode, M.A., Vicar of St. Budeaux, and principally at the expense of the Historical Society of the State of Maine, U. S., the Duke of Bedford, and a few other gentlemen.

The memorial has stood for the last two or three hundred years at the east end of the north aisle of the parish church. It is an altar-tomb built against the wall, and of goodly proportions. It is of Elizabethan character, and exhibits much beautifully carved and heraldic ornament of that period. It had long been in a lamentable state. Yet, considering the years which have lapsed since its erection, and the vicissitudes it has passed through, it is surprising that it exists at all. During the wars of the commonwealth, in 1642, and again in 1645, St. Budeaux was the scene of much fierce fighting, and it is recorded that at one time upwards of one hundred unfortunate Royalists were kept prisoners within the walls of the sacred fane.

The restoration of this venerable monument having been placed in the hands of Mr. Harry Hems, of Exeter, it has, under that well-known statuary's supervision, been entirely taken down and rebuilt. Although of goodly proportions, and exhibiting a wealth of ornate detail, the structure is composed wholly of slate from the celebrated Delabele quarries in Cornwall. All the restored masonry is in the same ashy-hued material. Originally around the altar portion were five detached columns, resting on moulded bases and carrying ornamental capitals. Only one of these remained, but happily it was sufficient to form the *motif* for the rest, and these have been carefully made in unison. What may perhaps be termed the altar-stone is most elaborately carved. There is a wide border of conventional ornament, and within, in low relief, coats of arms, and mantling. At the rear of the altar is a reredos, supported at each side by columns. It is filled with elaborately chiselled Elizabethan scroll work. In the centre is a shield bearing the arms of the Gorges and Cole families, and beneath, upon a label, is the date 1600. Above this reredos again are columns supporting a moulded segmental arch, and within the recess thus formed are exquisitely carved in high relief the arms, helm, and crest of Roger Budockshed, surrounded by fine flowing mantling. All the old work has been most tenderly cared for and renovated, additions have been judiciously made, and the tinctures of the different arms brought out again with their proper heraldic colors.

The arms may be described as—

1. *Sable*, three fusils in fesse, between three stags' faces *argent*; crest, a Saracen's head *proper*. (Budockshed.)
2. Lozenges, *or* and *azure*, a chevron *gules*, differenced with a crescent



The Gorges Tomb at St. Budeaux.

of the first; crest, a greyhound's head and neck coupe, *argent*, collared *gules*, thereon a crescent *or*. (Gorges.)

3. Gorges and Budockshed, quartered.

4. Budockshed, with crest.

5. Quartering; 1st and 4th quarters, lozenges, *or* and *azure*, a chevron *gules*, with a crescent of the first for difference (Gorges); 2d and 3d, *argent*, a bull passant, *sable*, coward, within a bordure of the second, charged with twelve bezants. (Cole.)

The following legend has been inscribed upon the monument in suitable characters :

“Restored 1881, chiefly at the expense of the Historical Society and citizens of the State of Maine, U. S. A., in memory of Sir Fernandino Gorges, the first Proprietor and Governor of that Province, A.D. 1635.”

Then follows a list of the family buried there :

“Roger Budockshed, of Budockshed, Esq., ob. 1576.”

“Sir William Gorges, Knt., ob. 1583.”

“Tristram Gorges, of Budockshed, Esq., ob. 1607.”

“Mrs. Elizabeth Gorges, ob. 1607.”

The better to maintain the faithfulness of the restoration, and for the more particular satisfaction of our American cousins interested, the monument was photographed some months ago, in its forlorn state, by Mr. Long, of Union Street, Plymouth, and has been photographed again by him since completion. Mr. Harry Hems has fulfilled his delicate task with his usual care and skill.

The view of the tomb which accompanies this article was drawn from a photograph of the monument, and gives a tolerable idea of its general appearance and the details of the sculptures, and the Maine Historical Society may be congratulated on the part which it has taken. No architectural pile, however, whether in St. Budeaux or in the New World, can ever serve as the monument of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The *real* monument is to be sought in that happy and prosperous portion of the country known as New England, of which, in such an eminent sense, he was the founder.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## EVACUATION OF TICONDEROGA, 1777.

## I—LETTERS.

[From the originals in possession of the Mercantile Library, New York City.]

## II—GENERAL SCHUYLER'S ORDERS, ETC.

[From the Manuscripts of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.]

## I. FROM COLONEL RICHARD VARICK.

Albany July 7, 1777

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

I did myself the pleasure to write you on the 5<sup>th</sup> instant informing you of my safe Return from Tyconderoga. I now have the happy Reflection of having escaped a most Ignominious inconceivable flight & of having saved every Paper and my clothing, when the Gen<sup>l</sup> & other officers & soldiers whom I left there brought about 4000 men off without a second shirt for their backs, having their Magazines pretty well stored with ammunition, Provisions & about 100 pieces of artillery with every other necessary article. Part of the army fled in Boats to Skenesborough where being pursued they lost their Baggage & Vessels & every trifling article they had brought off. The Gen<sup>l</sup> officers with at least 3000 men have Gone into the New England States the Lord Knows where or when to return. If Burgoyne knew our situation he would be here in 6 Days if his army is respectable which is doubted. Gen<sup>l</sup> Schuyler is gone up to Fort Edward at the Head of the Militia & a handful of Continental troops to check the progress of the Enemy. I hope Gen<sup>l</sup> St. Clair will make a speedy return.

The long expected Brigade from Peekskill is not yet arrived. When these join we will treat with our Enemy par pro pari. We must bear these fortunes & Disappointments with the calmness of Philosophers, agreeing with Pope in his maxim of "*What is, is right!*" It must be so with us—we shall now fight on equal ground except their hav<sup>g</sup> cannon as so many Bugbears. . . . I am Dear Sir,

Your Most obed.

& very hmble Serv<sup>t</sup>

RICH<sup>D</sup> VARICK.

To Colo. Joseph Ward,

[*Mustering Officer Northern Department*]

## II. FROM MAJOR LANSING.

[*Aid to General Schuyler.*]

Fort Edward July 9<sup>th</sup> 1777.

Dear Colonel

The incessant Run of business in which I have been constantly involved, as well as my being uninformed of the Fate of our army and some other circumstances has prevented me from paying my Respects to you sooner.

The evacuation of Tyconderoga and Mount Independence was a Measure so unexpected and to all Appearance was so inexpedient, that it is to me matter of surprize what Inducements they could have to adopt it. This with every other unpopular measure is ascribed solely to our General by the insidious emissaries of the Enemy, who lurk under the Mask of Friendship. It is said that he ordered it. Our general has not yet received a line from General St. Clair, tho' we have just received Information that he was at Castle Town yesterday and bending his course this way. However expedient a Retreat might have been (and its pro-



priety I much doubt) it was certainly very ill conducted, but Colo: Hay has doubtless related to you every particular until Long's retreat from Skenesborough. Upon his arrival at Fort Ann he posted himself at that place with his party and yesterday was attacked by part of the 9<sup>th</sup> Regiment. Upon receiving intimation of it a Reinforcement was dispatched from this post under the Command of Colo. Renselaer, who drove the enemy back killed about 20 and took a Captain prisoner who is now on his way to Albany with Colo. Renselaer who is also wounded. The general wishes you to take Measures to have them accommodated with Conveniences and Lodgings.

July 10<sup>th</sup> 10 A.M.—Major Livingston is this Moment come in. General St. Clair with the army will be here in a few Hours; this Reinforcement with General Nixon's Brigade will make our army respectable here and if the Enemy do not pay us a visit in a Day or two we shall be ready to receive them and probably stop their progress.

I beg my Respects to Mrs. Schuyler and Family and am respectfully

Your's &c. &c.

J. LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup>

[To Colonel Varick, Albany.]

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### III. FROM COLONEL VARICK.

Albany Aug<sup>t</sup> 28, 1777.

Dear Sir

. . . Genl. Gates is a happy man to arrive at a moment when Genl. Schuyler had just paved the way to victory; He has not taken any Measures yet & cannot claim the Honor of anything that has as yet happened, Except the appointment of a Commissary Genl.

of Issues whose Ignorance of Business & Inability at the pen (I am informed) can only be equalled by the partiality & want of Judgment of the Officers who recommended him to Genl. Gates. I wish a more experienced hand in that Branch—the Genl. knew not the man, but slighted a spirited able Gentleman, because he returned the Blow when a Genl. officer struck him.

Genl. Gates I am told takes the merit of ordering Colo. Gansevoort to command Fort Schuyler during Genl. Schuyler's absence at Philadelphia. This piece of Vanity he is indebted for to want of Information for Genl. Schuyler had ordered him up some days before his departure for Philadelphia; but I believe Genl. Gates delivered him his instructions.

It is said that Resentment in the Southern army runs high against *all* the Genl. officers who were in this Department when Tyconderoga was evacuated. I believe were even malice itself to sit in judgment on Genl. Schuyler's conduct and spirit, she would at once give the lie to her profession and acquit him with honor & applause. . . .

Your's Very Sincerely,

RICH<sup>d</sup> VARICK

COLONEL WARD.

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### GENERAL SCHUYLER'S ORDERS, ETC.

Albany July 6 1777

TO ELISHA AVERY Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir

Whatever fat Cattle you may have here shou'd be sent without delay to Fort Edward and Fort George for the use of the troops there, otherwise the little salt provision which we have and which I

want if possible to get sent to Ticonderoga will be expended, and such a constant supply kept up at every post as that we need not expend above one Days salt meat in seven

I am Sir your hum : Serv<sup>t</sup>  
PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 7<sup>th</sup> 1777

To COL<sup>o</sup> LONG

Dear Colonel

Your second of this Day I have just before received. I have sent a Detachment to your Assistance with some ammunition and doubt not but it will be well expended. . . . I wish you to send the prisoners to this post. . . . The Moment you hear from Gen<sup>l</sup> St Clair I beg you to advise me of it by Express. I expect General Nixon with a Brigade tomorrow or next day. I hope when Gen<sup>l</sup> St Clair & General Nixon and the other troops from below arrive that we shall be able to do a little more than merely keep them at Bay

I am Yrs &c  
PH SCHUYLER

To COL<sup>o</sup> LONG

A Reinforcement is this moment moving towards you with some ammunition, more will be sent as soon as it arrives. Keep your post as long as possible

I am Yrs &c  
PH SCHUYLER

Saratoga July 7<sup>th</sup> 1777

To PHILLIP V RENSSELEAR Esq<sup>r</sup>

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

The General desires you will employ all the hands you can procure in making the Lead into musquet Balls, and

to push it up with all expedition, together with Cartridge paper and thread

By order of GEN<sup>l</sup> SCHUYLER  
JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

H<sup>d</sup> Quarters Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 8 1777  
To COL<sup>o</sup> LEWIS

D<sup>r</sup> Sir

The Carpenters who have been employed at Ticonderoga and Skeensborough are totally destitute of Tools, having lost them all in their Retreat. Some of them are on their way down and will apply to you to be furnished with what Tools you can procure. The General desires you will take the most effectual Measures to procure them a Supply. Inclosed you have a list of necessaries wanted by the Garrison at Fort Schuyler. Such as have not been sent by Rensselaer and in your power to furnish you will please to send on with all the expedition possible to Col<sup>o</sup> Gansevoort except the Musquet Ball, which must be delayed till we have a supply here

I am &c  
By order of GEN<sup>l</sup> SCHUYLER  
JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Fort Edward July 8 1777

To COL<sup>o</sup> LEWIS

Dear Sir

Three hundred Carriages are wanted at this place which it will be necessary to detain only a few days. Your best exertions will be required to send up that Number. . . . Let none be neglected. Apply to the Committee at Albany and General Ten Brook in my name and request their aid to induce the people from every Quarter to come up with Waggons. . . . Let the Militia bring

with them as many as they think proper and assure them that their Detention will be only for a few days. We are in great Distress for want of Lead. An Article so essentially requisite that we cannot even hope to do anything here to prevent the Enemies advancing without it. The Citizens of Albany only can supply our present exigencies immediately. Recourse must therefore be had to the Committee, begging their interposition to collect such Lead as is in the City. The Lead from windows and Weights may perhaps afford a supply for the pres<sup>t</sup>. As soon as it can be collected Mr. Rensselaer will have it made into Ball, and send it up without a moments Delay

I am Sir

Your very humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

P. S.

Should a Waggon only be sent with one Box, as soon as it is ready it must be pushed up : also all the Buck Shot.

Fort Edward July 8 1777

To MAJOR YATES

Sir

By the return of the first Carriages, you will please to send the remainder of the powder, keeping a Quantity sufficient for the Garrison & Schooner. You will also send what entrenching Tools can be spared and all the Cannon except those in the fort and on board the Schooner and the Salt.

Should there be a greater Number of Carriages than what are wanted for the above Articles you will cause them to be Loaded with Flour, as we shall soon be in want here. . . .

As soon as General St Clair arrives I shall reinforce your Garrison, but should

you certainly discover that the Enemies Army are near you and so strong as that you will not be able to keep your post, you are then to Quit it bringing off all you can and effectually destroying the rest together with all the Buildings. If you are obliged to come away try by all means to bring of the Cannon and Tents.

Keep the Contents a profound secret for fear of Dispiriting the Troops

I am Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> hum Ser<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

If you have any musket Ball send it over in the very first Waggon with what Bullet moulds you may have.

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 8 1777

To EPHRAIM V VEGHTEN Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

Carpenters are indispenibly necessary at this post as well as Carpenters Tools.

The General wishes you to push up Hilton with his Company and all the Carpenters Tools you can possibly collect as it is so very essential to the service to have them forwarded without a moments delay pray do not suffer them to make any

I am Y<sup>rs</sup> &c

By order of the Gen<sup>l</sup>

JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>or</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 8 1777

To ELISHA AVERY Esq<sup>r</sup>

Sir

The Army is on its march to this place, the Militia are coming on from every Quarter, and unless a Speedy supply of meat is sent up we shall be in Dan-

ger of Starving. You will therefore strain every nerve to procure that necessary Article and take measures to have a Quantity of Fat Cattle and Beef to answer our exigencies instantly forwarded

I am Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 8 1777

To PH V RENSSELAER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

Such is the urgent necessity of a speedy supply of musket Ball that no exertion should be Spared to have it immediately furnished—Every Man therefore that can be got must be employed in that necessary work must be engaged and push it up as soon as any is ready. The Cartridge Paper is doubtless on its way

I am Dear Sir

Your very hum : Serv<sup>t</sup>

by order of GEN<sup>l</sup> SCHUYLER

JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Head Qua<sup>rs</sup> Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 9 1777

GENERAL ORDERS

One thousand Men composed of General Fellows's Brigade and the Militia of this state to parade at 8 o'clock this Morning on the Road in Front of the Fort. Cap<sup>t</sup> Wendell to furnish as many Felling axes as he can procure. All the sick to be embarked in Batteaus and carried down to Fort Miller from thence forwarded on to Albany

The Batteaus to return to this place without a moments delay

By order of the General

JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Head Qua<sup>rs</sup> Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 9 1777  
To COL<sup>o</sup> LEWIS  
Sir

You will please to send up all the Camp Kettles and Potts in Store to this place without a moments delay

By order of the General

JOHN LANSING Jun<sup>r</sup> Sec<sup>y</sup>

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 9<sup>th</sup> 1777

To MAJOR YATES

Sir

Your Letter of this Day is just Delivered me. . . . The Large Waggon which now go up are capable of carrying the Eighteen Pounders you will therefore send them on without Delay. . . .

Send over the Carpenters Tools and likewise the Blacksmiths tools and Bellows &c. We stand much in need of both. Send 8 Barrels more of Powder. . . . When these things are forwarded send all the Rum that belongs to the settlers for we shall need it much. It is to be left in their own possession, as are the other articles mentioned in my Last. . . . General St Clair is expected here tomorrow, if he arrives I shall not be in haste to evacuate fort George. The stores however must be removed. Should you be obliged to retreat bring off all the horned Cattle & Carriages belonging to the Inhabitants, except their Milch Cows. Such carriages as you cannot bring away you must destroy. Keep this a secret least they should put it out of your power to comply with this order

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 9<sup>th</sup> 1777  
TO JACOB CUYLER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

I have this moment received your letter of Yesterdays date and note the Contents. . . . I have the Misfortune to inform you that I have little or no provisions, here of the meat kind. I ordered Mr. Avery to send on all the Cattle, he could get, but have not yet seen a single one.

For Gods sake hasten up Cattle. I cannot learn what is become of General St Clair and the Army, and last night a Col<sup>o</sup> Long from new Hampshire contrary to my orders evacuated fort Ann, after a party of the Enemy were drove off. I am here with about fifteen hundred men including Militia without hardly any amunition—not having above five rounds a man, nor have I any Waggon to bring away the stores from Fort George which I expect every moment to hear is attacked. They have got it in the Country that I have order'd the Evacuation of the Fortresses above. Not an expression in any of my Letters conveys even the most Distant hint of anything like it. I cannot be particular on that part of your Duty. Let it suffice that you take every possible measure for supplying the Army

I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

Y<sup>rs</sup> &c

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edward, July 9<sup>th</sup> 1777  
TO COL<sup>o</sup> JOHN WILLIAMS  
D<sup>r</sup> Sir

Your letter of yesterdays Date I have this moment received. So far from ordering the Evacuation of Ticonderoga, not a sylable in my letter con-

veys the most distant idea of such an intention. Indeed neither of my last letters even reach'd General St. Clair. They were returned last night by Col<sup>o</sup> Long who has Evacuated Fort Ann contrary to my Express orders. I am sorry to find the people in such Consternation. If they will come forth and defend the Country, we may still be able to prevent the Enemy from penetrating down the Country. For God's sake encourage them all in your power. If you can give me any Intelligence of what is become of General St. Clair & the Army pray send it by Express.

I am Y<sup>r</sup> Most Obed<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 9<sup>th</sup> 1777  
TO PHILLIP V RANSELAER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Dear Sir

I am extremely sorry to hear that the ammunition Waggon did not Leave Albany until yesterday Morning. Nothing can equal the Distress we are in for the want of it.

Let me intreat you in the Name of God to hasten on the Ball & Cartridge-paper, and let a trusty hand attend the Waggons in which they come.

I am Yours &c

PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 10 1777  
TO COL<sup>o</sup> LEWIS

Dear Sir

Yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> Instant is before me. I am happy at the measures you have taken, hasten up everything that an Army may stand in need of which has hardly anything. . . . Carriages are so much wanted that we may be

utterly ruined for the want of them. They must be sent me. The Ammunition Waggon that was loaded on Sunday last is not yet arrived—whenever any ammunition is sent up apply to the commanding Officer for an Officer to escort it, and let me know the very hour on which it Leaves Albany.

Let the Smiths make axes. The Batteauxmen are I think acquitted, if not, I pardon them—please to signify this to Colo. Wesson for I have not time to write to him. . . . If the Enemy gives us a little time and I am joined by General St Clair they will not see Albany this Campaign.

I am Sir your most Obed<sup>t</sup>  
PH SCHUYLER

Fort Edw<sup>d</sup> July 12<sup>th</sup> 1777

To MAJOR YATES

Dear Sir

Both your Letters of Yesterday came to hand—I thank you for your diligence and activity. General S<sup>t</sup> Clair with the Army will be here this morning—General Nixon with his Brigade also and more Waggon are coming up. . . . Be carefull if you are forced to leave your post to bring away your Camp equipage.

The Articles Mr Lansing wrote for are come to hand. . . .

There will be no necessity for taking receipts because the things cannot in our present confused state be regularly received, the Corn may be left to the very last.

The Bar Iron I wish to have sent. . . .

Prepare light Wood and Combustibles at every place that will require to be fired. that nothing may be left uncon-

sumed that may be of the least advantage to the Enemy. . . . If they give us time we will also bring away the small Batteau's and as many of the Large ones as we can and burn the remainder

Adieu

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup> Hum : Serv<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

Albany Aug<sup>t</sup> 10 1777

To COLO GANSEVOORT

Dear Colonel

A Body of Troops left this Yesterday and others are following to raise the Seige of Fort Schuyler. Every Body here believes you will Defend it to the Last and I must strictly enjoin you so to do. . . .

General Burgoyne is at Fort Edward, our Army at Still Water great reinforcements coming from the Eastward, and we trust all will be well and that the enemy will be repulsed.

General Howe landed at New Castle In Delaware but was soon obliged to re-imbark.

It is said he means to Land on the Jersey shore and try to get Opposite—Philadelphia and Bombard it—Mr Watts who was wounded in the engagement with General Herkimer died the next Day

I am D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>

Your most Obed<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER

Albany Aug<sup>t</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> 1777

To MR P SPOONER

Sir

Last night I received your Letter of the 7<sup>th</sup> Instant. . . . As General

Burgoyne has withdrawn every Detachment he had in the Grants; As his whole force is pointed this way; as he is already so far advanced as Saratoga with part of his Army. There is no great probability that force will be sent your way untill he shall have taken possession of this City which he will certainly do if every body remains at home under one pretext or another, and then Fort Schuyler which is besieged, must Doubtless fall into the Enemies hands.

Such an Acquisition of force as this will give him will render the whole Country however wide extented an easy Conquest.

It behoves every man therefore to come forth to join the Army and try to repulse the Enemy, and I most earnestly entreat they will do it without a moments delay.

If General Burgoyne is obliged to retreat every family will be safe.

The Stores at Bennington should be removed if it can be done without preventing the Militia from coming to join us but not otherwise, for of what value are these stores If the country is lost

I am Sir Your hum : Serv<sup>t</sup>

PH SCHUYLER.

## NOTES

JOHN BONYTHON—The hints and admonitions received from time to time by our American poets occasionally does some good. This proves to be the case with Mr. Whittier, though he withstood so stoutly the attacks made upon his poem entitled “The King’s Missive,” for he gives up quite gracefully in connection with his “Mogg Megone,” a poem in

which he makes John Bonython appear in a false position. This worthy was outlawed for a time, but afterwards became a citizen. A descendant of Bonython in Australia wrote Mr. Whittier on the subject, explaining the case; and in his reply, dated at Amesbury, Mass., “9th mo., 15, 1881,” the Poet says, “The poem was written in my boyish days, when I knew little of Colonial history or of anything else, and was included in my writings against my wishes. I think that thou art right in regard to John Bonython;” and also says that, in case the poem is retained (as we hope it will be), “I will cheerfully add the little note suggested.”

PÈRE BRETEUX—While the subject is up we will make a little request of our own in connection with the same poem, “Mogg Megone,” which gives some very charming pictures of the scenery around Mount Desert. Our special point relates to “Père Breteux,” whose case we may plead without attempting to do the proper work of his descendants, since the pious father was never a father, and never had any ascendant. Still the poet, in describing the scenery of the neighborhood from the summit of one of the hills of Mount Desert, says :

“There sleep Placentia’s group—and there  
Père Breteux marks the hour of prayer;  
And there, beneath the seaworn cliff,  
On which the Father’s Hut is seen  
The Indian stays his rocking skiff  
And peers the hemlock bough between,  
Half trembling as he sees to look  
Upon the Jesuit’s Cross and Book.”

The note required by these lines should state that Père Breteux never had any existence, except in Mr. Whittier’s

imagination. In reality, "Mogg Megone" requires a good many little notes, and we hope its venerable author may attend to the matter in time, and, in fact, give all his pieces an overhauling, that the reader may know what is offered as truth and what is mere fiction.

HORICON—As it is still so generally believed, at least by tourists, that the original Indian name of Lake George was "Horicon," it may be well, in this connection, to quote from the preface of the "Last of the Mohicans," edition 1872, page 4, where Cooper says: "There is one point on which we would wish to say a word before closing the preface. Hawk-Eye calls the *Lac du Saint Sacrement* 'the Horicon.' As we believe this to be an appropriation of the name that has its origin with ourselves, the time has arrived, perhaps, when the fact should be frankly admitted. . . . We relieve our conscience by the confession." He also might have confessed that, in taking a party up the hill at the head of Lake *Saint Sacrement* (changed by General Johnson in 1755 to "Lake George") to view the "countless islands," he also made a mistake, as the countless islands seen from that ilk amount to only five or six.

A DESCENDANT OF RALEIGH GILBERT—The first note was suggested by the letter of Whittier, in reply to a descendant of John Bonython, living in Australia. This reminds us of a letter received some time ago from a descendant of Raleigh Gilbert, who commanded the Mary and John in the Popham expedition to Maine in 1607-08, to which an article is devoted

in the present number of THE MAGAZINE. The correspondent referred to is Treasurer of the English colony at Akra, on the Gold Coast of Africa, and his presence there shows that blood is thicker than water, and that the spirit which carried Raleigh Gilbert to Maine in 1607 is active elsewhere to-day. The Treasurer promised, on his return to England, to make diligent inquiry for documents that may farther illustrate the history of the Popham colony in Maine. Nor can this manifestation of interest be regarded as hopeless, since other documents than the Lambeth Palace *Journal* may be waiting to reward search, and dispose of the notions of those who make their lack of knowledge the basis of profound ratiocination, thus arriving at the comfortable conclusion that the Popham colonists of 1607-08 had no successors in their work, and that the colony at Sabino had no connection with anything that afterward transpired.

BONELESS AMERICA—A writer in a British periodical calls attention to the declaration of Fisher Ames, who, during the administration of Washington, said, that "though America is rising with a giant's strength, its bones are yet but cartilages." Since then there must have been some advance in the direction of the osseous. Otherwise, the fragments of America would by this time have become scattered like the fossil invertebrates that the geologist digs out of the cliffs of Gay Head. But the same writer also quotes Burke, who called the Americans "a nation in the gristle;" while Talleyrand, being a Frenchman, must needs have his *mot*, and, accordingly,



defines the United States as "un géant sans os ni nerfs." Thus one and all "make no bones" of describing us as boneless. As for Talleyrand, it would have been quite as satisfactory if he had told us less about America and more about himself; for tradition runs that he was half American, and the son of a pretty girl, the daughter of a fisherman, whose home lay under the shadow of what Whittier, if we may quote him again, calls

"The gray and thunder-smitten pile  
Which marks afar the Desert Isle."

It is said that Lieutenant-Governor Robbins, of Massachusetts, once found him wandering *incog.* at Mount Desert. The testimony on this subject is at least curious, and when the long-delayed "Memoirs of Talleyrand" appear we may get that information respecting his early life which is now wanting. Possibly we may then have "a bone to pick" with him.

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THE GORGES MONUMENT—Some years ago, when the American Antiquarian Society requested permission to restore the monument of Captain John Smith in St. Sepulchre, London, the committee were informed that the vestry must first have a fee. This certainly was exquisite; yet there are vestries and vestries, while the vestry of St. Budeaux did not stand in the way of their rector, who brought the subject before the Maine Historical Society, whose members contributed toward the restoration of the Gorges Monument, as stated in the article on that subject. There are other monuments that ought to be looked up.

THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS—At an early period the people of Plymouth began to celebrate the arrival of the Leydan Colonists at that place, and the particular day selected was that which they *supposed* to correspond with December 11th, old style. Their astronomy being at fault, they observed the 22d, new style, instead of the 21st as required. Some time ago the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth appointed a committee to inquire into the facts, and while they admit the astronomical error, they recommend the continuance of the observance of the 22d. An attempt, however, has been made to show that the 22d, old style, was the day commemorated, but of this no proof has been given, while it is sufficiently clear that the 11th of December, old style, was the day held in mind. This is the view of Dr. Dexter, the editor of "Mourt's Relation," who says, "M. 11th Dec., 21 Dec. [N. S.], Forefather's Day. Landed on the Rock and explored the coast." That they landed upon what is called "the Rock," is of course understood to be a tradition. The "Journal" does not indicate all that was done on the 11th, and hence the exploring party in the shallop may have landed on the Rock. "Mourt's Relation," the only authority we have, says that, "we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes," which indicates that a landing was made at Plymouth, where there are no less than eight well-known brooks emptying into the harbor. If there was no landing on the 11th, there was no landing to which we can point that included women and children, as there was no place to shelter them. January 9th, 1621, the house

being built for their reception had no roof. The *Evening Post*, finding that the landing from the shallop, December 11th, 1620, "was an affair of small significance," is troubled, and resorts to "the *idea* of a general landing" on or after the 22d. This ideal landing, however, is of less "significance" than the real one of the 11th; and, upon the whole, the *Post* is pretty severe, very innocently demolishing the *raison d'être* of the annual celebration. The fact is, the first celebrants blundered like modern orators, both as respects the landing and the aims and principles of those who landed, making altogether too much of the matter, and they are now trying to wriggle out. Nevertheless, the "Landing" of the 11th of December, the only landing that we have been able to discover, is of deep interest, and at the proper time we hope to have the subject duly presented in THE MAGAZINE.

THE FANEUIL PORTRAIT—This portrait, which appears in the present number of THE MAGAZINE in connection with Dr. Hague's article, is now engraved on steel for the first time. The original, by John Smibert, is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Smibert was born in Edinburgh, and was intended by his father for the Church; but, having a taste for painting, he entered upon the study of art. His first picture was that of a negro, who had been brought to Scotland from Martinique. He is said to have spent some time in Italy. He painted portraits in London, and came to America with Harrison and others, who followed in the train of Dean Berkeley. He is said to have instructed Copley, who is said to have had no instructor.

## QUERIES

THE MAP OF VIRGINIA—When was Smith's map of Virginia first engraved? Has the plate been altered since the first engraving? If so, when and in what respect? Was it engraved from Smith's own original drawing and notes? or were the drawings and notes of others, also, consulted?

On the copy of this map which I have, I find the following English names of places, etc., not mentioned in "Smith's General History," viz.: (2) Bland's C., (1) Brooke's Forrest, Booter's Bush, (2) Burton's Mount, Cage's Harbour, (2) Downesdale, Democrites Tree, Gunter's Harbour, (1) Morton's Bay, (2) Sharpe's Ile, (2) Sparke's Poynt, (2) Sparke's Valley, (1) Taverner's roade, (1) Tindal's Point, (1) Wiffin's Point, (2) Washebonne C., Winston's Iles.

The following English names are in the "History," but are not on this map, viz.: Cantrell's Point, Ployer, Profit's Poole, and Sicklemore Point. Of the names on the map and not in the "History," those marked (1) are names of some of those who came to Virginia before Smith left. Those marked (2) of some who came afterward.

ALEXANDER BROWN

SIR WILLIAM WEST—The person who was created Lord Delaware 5th February, 1568, had a daughter Jane, who married Sir Richard Wenman. Was not Sir Ferdinando Wenman, Knight, who came to Virginia, as Marshal of the colony, in 1610, the son of Sir Richard Wenman by his wife, the said Jane, daughter of Sir Wm. West? Also, who was Katharine

West, Lady Conway, one of the very few lady members of the Virginia Company of London? B.

ANOTHER MAY-POLE—In Onderdonk's "Queen's County in Olden Times," there is an extract (p. 3) credited to the "Albany Records," which recites, that, June 10, 1645, "Wm. Garritse sings libelous songs against the Rev. Francis Doughty, for which he is sentenced to be tied to the May-pole." Now, what was the history of this May-pole? To help the investigator, it may be added here that the reverend gentleman was "minister at Flushing at 100 guilders a year," and that "his contract for salary was burnt one year before trial [to recover arrears] by William Lawrence's wife who put it under a pye." MAY

CONCORD—Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE tell why the place so famous as the home of Emerson, Hawthorne, and others, was named "Concord?" D.

A DISFRANCHISED COUNTY—I have the original remonstrance of "the freemen of Salem County," New Jersey, addressed to the Provincial Convention. It is signed by Gamaliel Garrison and many others. Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE tell why Salem County was disfranchised? The Journal of the Provincial Congress is silent on the subject.

W. L. S.

PAINE'S MOTTO—Can any one refer me to Thomas Paine's own declaration or use of his alleged motto, "My country is the world; to do good, my religion;" or to any authority for attributing it to him? GERRITZE

## REPLIES

CHESSY CAT—[VIII. 437] "He grins like a Cheshire Cat," comes to us from Cheshire, England, where cheese was formerly moulded into the shape of a cat, with the mouth open. The allusion is to the grinning of the cheese-cat, and is applied to persons who show their teeth when they laugh.

HERBERT N. LATHROP

BADGES OF MERIT—[VII. 298, 460] A discharge signed by General Washington and countersigned by John Trumbull states that "Jotham Bemus, Corporal in the Rhode Island Reg<sup>t</sup>. has been honored with the Badge of Merit for six years faithful service." It is dated June 15, 1783 (Ass. Papers, xvii. 62).

In comparing the above discharge of Jotham Bemus with another, I find, that, if no Badge of Merit was granted, the passage at the bottom of the paper, mentioning the grant of a Badge, was cut off.

*Albany, N. Y.*

B. F.

VON EELKING—In the July No. [509], W. H. speaks of Von Eelking's work "as yet untranslated." If he means by "untranslated" unpublished, he is correct; otherwise not. The late Mr. T. W. Field, of Brooklyn, several years since had, at his own expense, Von Eelking's admirable work translated, and kindly loaned me the MS., of which I made great use, giving copious extracts in my translations of General and Madame Riedesel. It were to be hoped that Mr. Field's heirs will, for the benefit of American scholars, have the work published.

WM. L. S.

## LITERARY NOTICES

## THE BATTLE OF GROTON HEIGHTS: A

Collection of Narratives, Official Reports, Records, etc., of the Storming of Fort Griswold, the Massacre of its Garrison, and the Burning of New London by the British Troops under the Command of Brigadier-General Benedict Arnold, on the Sixth of September, 1781. With an introduction and notes. By WILLIAM W. HARRIS. Illustrated with engravings and maps. Revised and enlarged with additional notes. By CHARLES ALLYN. New London, Ct.: CHARLES ALLYN, 1882, Svo, pp. 399.

The author and publisher of this volume has used great diligence in making good its ample title page. He has collected pretty much all that we are likely to know concerning the subject, and if every point is not made clear it is hardly his fault, as the eye-witnesses do not always agree, having undertaken the task of reciting their experience long years after the fight took place, thus displaying poor memories. The English reports are scanty and partisan, while the subject is invested with a certain glamour. It is certain, however, that a battle was fought, that the commander of Fort Griswold refused to surrender, that the place was taken by storm, and a large portion of the garrison massacred. A large portion of the attacking force was also massacred. One witness says that the commander, Colonel Ledyard, resolved to hold the fort, having been assured by a certain Colonel that he would at once bring ample reinforcements. Ledyard unintentionally sacrificed himself, not believing that the British could take the fort; and Arnold, when he saw the strength of the position, recalled the order to attack, but too late. Thus both sides blundered, and to no purpose. Still, whether Ledyard believed in his own ability or not, in refusing to surrender he agreed to accept the chances of war, and knew that if he forced the enemy to storm the position the lives of the garrison were forfeit. In accordance with the rules of war, the British could have slain every man, but they did not. Whether, as affirmed by "the State of Connecticut," Ledyard was run through with the sword that he is said to have surrendered to the British officer, one cannot determine. Nothing lies like a tombstone. Still, it has been considered patriotic to hold that such was the case. It has also been deemed the correct thing to hold that the conduct of the British, and especially that of Arnold, was eminently disgraceful. Arnold says, in his official report, that he did not intend to burn the town, but it is thought improper to credit anything he says; or to hold that Connecticut militia officers had any responsibility for

the burning, though found guilty by court martial of "plundering in a wanton and shameful manner the goods of the inhabitants of Groton on the day of the battle." Still, whatever may be said on anniversary days at New London, whoever reads the testimony impartially, as given in this book, will see clearly enough that, bad as may have been the conduct of the British, it was not much worse, upon the whole, than that of the people of the vicinage, who lay supinely upon their arms and sacrificed the defenders of the fort, when an attack upon the enemy's flank would have brought off the garrison, as Ledyard probably expected, without a scratch. It is difficult, however, for the average reader of a local narrative like this to appreciate the exquisite Pickwickianism of a court martial, which, after finding the poltroon, Colonel Harris, guilty on four points, one of which being his shameful refusal to aid Ledyard, gravely says, "Lieutenant-Colonel Harris has been and is a worthy member of society." New London did not cover itself with glory, September 6, 1781, when her citizen soldiery stole muskets that they did not dare to point at the face of the foe, and plundered the houses of those helpless ones whom they had sworn to protect. Still, the volume before us makes a good exhibition for one class of the people, however severe it may be upon that other class whose blood, evidently, had "crept through scoundrels ever since the flood." The narrative is a mingled one of glory and shame. Oddly enough, the most elegant portrait in the book is that of Arnold, described on the tombstone of Mr. Rufus Hurlbut (p. 195) as one of "ye sons of hell." But as brave fighters like Hurlbut are poor haters, we may refer the spirit of the inscription to those excellent haters who did not fight. Yet, however unlovely may appear the inscriptions upon the tombstones of the victims, the artist lingered over them with great care; and if a delicate and sympathetic treatment could have eliminated the unchristian sentiments so profanely put, as it were, in the mouths of the sleeping dead, these picturesque memorials of the New London burying ground would tell a nobler and more fitting story. Some other useful illustrations are given. The volume is one of great interest and is of permanent value, the author having carefully sought to furnish every accessible fact; yet, no satisfactory *résumé* of the testimony is given, and the reader may skip the oration, sift the various narratives for himself, and thus try to find out the truth of the story.

## RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS.

No. 9. A Representation of the Plan Formed at Albany, in 1754, for Uniting all the British Northern Colonies, in order to their Common Safety and Defence. By STEPHEN HOPKINS,

with introduction and notes by SIDNEY S. RIDER, 1880, 4to, pp. 65.

No. 10. An Historical Inquiry Concerning the Attempt to Raise a Regiment of Slaves by Rhode Island during the War of the Revolution. By SIDNEY S. RIDER. With several tables prepared by Lt.-Col. JEREMIAH OLVEY, Commandant, 1880, 4to, pp. 85.

No. 11. Bibliographical Memoirs of Three Rhode Island Authors, Joseph K. Angell, Francis H. (Whipple) McDougall, Catharine R. Williams. By SIDNEY S. RIDER. To which is added the Nine Lawyers' Opinion on the Right of the People of Rhode Island to Form a Constitution, 1880, 4to, pp. 90.

No. 12. The Medical School formerly existing in Brown University, its Professors and Graduates. By CHARLES W. PARSONS, M.D., Professor of Physiology in Brown University, 1881, 4to, pp. 59.

No. 13. The Diary of Thomas Vernon, a Loyalist, Banished from Newport by the Rhode Island General Assembly in 1776, with notes by HENRY S. RIDER, to which is added the Vernon Family Arms, and the Genealogy of Richard Greene, of Potowomut, 1881, 4to, pp. 150.

No. 14. Roger Williams' "Christenings make not Christians," 1645. A Long-lost Tract Recovered and Exactly Reprinted. Edited by HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, followed by certain letters written by ROGER WILLIAMS, and believed to have been hitherto unpublished, 1881, 4to, pp. 62.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the interest and value of this series of Rhode Island historical tracts published by Sidney S. Rider at Providence. In No. 10 we find a refutation of some false opinions respecting the great value of the services rendered by colored troops. No. 11 is a valuable contribution to the literary history of Rhode Island. No. 13 gives a picture of life in a quiet inland town during the Revolution, by one who was confined there as a suspected person for two months, when the "patriots" recovered their senses and allowed Vernon to return to his home. No. 14 is a tract found in the British Museum, "uncatalogued," by Dr. Dexter. It has been reprinted "in all its glory of misprint." The added letters by Williams are characteristically rich; and in them he defends himself against the charge of having "called Ths: Olny Junr., Brazen fac'd fellow & after ward you say I call

him Jackanapes and Devill;" also of "taking the land of Providence in his own name, which should have been taken in the name of those that came up with him. 2nd he sold the lands of Providence for more than it cost him. 3rd he promised Pawtuxet for £5 and took £20. 4th he stirred up Providence men to rise simultaneously against Pawtuxet men." In his answer he says, in one place, "it pleased the most high to direct my steps into this Bay, by the loving private advice of that very honoured soul Mr. John Winthrop the grandfather who, though he was carried with the stream for my banishment, yet he personally and tenderly loved me to the last breath."

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VERRAZANO THE EXPLORER: Being a Vindication of his Letter and Voyage, with an Examination of the Map of Hieronimo Da Verrazano, and a Dissertation upon the Globe of Vlpius, to which is added a Bibliography of the Subject. By B. F. DE COSTA. New York: A. S. BARNES & Co., 1880, 4to, pp. 82.

These essays were contributed to THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, and in 1880 were reprinted with certain revisions. The press-work not proving satisfactory, the sheets were discarded. In 1881 some important changes were made, and another edition was struck off, with a preface, containing a document never before printed, and throwing additional light upon the personal history of Verrazano the Explorer. The title page of the edition of 1881, by an oversight of the printer, remained 1880, though the cover bears the date 1881. By an oversight of the binder, the engraving of the Lenox Globe was bound up with the volume, while the sketch map belonging to the second chapter was omitted. Subscribers can obtain copies of the missing map, on application, together with an additional Verrazano map, engraved after the work was issued. Only fifty copies of this work were offered for sale. This explanation is made to avoid confusion among the bibliographers.

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HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA, AND REPORT ON THE CITY OF AUSTIN, TEXAS. By GEORGE E. WARING, JR., and GEORGE W. CABLE. Quarto, pp. 99. Department of the Interior, Washington.

This elaborate, large-paper pamphlet forms a part of the last census report, and is one of a series of minor reports on the social statistics of cities. Mr. Waring, special agent of the department, explains that it is more minute and complete than the sketches of the larger cities of the North

and East will be, because "the detailed history of New Orleans has not hitherto been accessible in a form suitable for popular use, the shorter histories having been too slight and the larger ones too much involved with the general history of the Southwest, to afford an easy view of the growth and condition of New Orleans itself. Furthermore, as this city was founded and brought to considerable importance under French and Spanish rule, and as it is the only large American city whose influences have been so prominent, there seemed to be an especial reason for the extra care that has been devoted to this part of the subject." Are we to understand, however, by this explanation, that this history is issued by the department "for popular use?" If so, whom does it reach beyond Congressmen and stated libraries?

As a history of New Orleans, the work is clearly one of merit and value, and will stand as a book to be consulted by those who do bring out works for "popular use." About fifty pages are devoted to an historical sketch of the place, and the remainder describe it as it is, with all the necessary statistical information. A most valuable part of the publication is the series of seventeen maps from the "Plan de la Nouvelle Orléans, 1728," to the chart showing the relation between climatic changes and mortality. The population of the city in 1880 was 216,000.

Nine pages are devoted to an historical sketch and present condition of Austin, Texas, founded, in 1839, on the site of the hamlet of Waterloo, which then contained but two families. Its present population is 11,000.

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HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST, by JOHN A. NICOLET, in 1634. With a Sketch of his Life. By C. W. BUTTERFIELD. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & CO., 12mo, pp. 113.

The author of this little book does not make a good departure, being somewhat mixed about the Landfall of Cabot, and fancying that the St. Lawrence was first discovered by Cartier, who was a late comer in that region; nevertheless, he afterward goes on and gives a very interesting and pleasant *résumé* of the voyages and events which led distinctly to the explorations of the so-called Northwest. Nicolet was a young man from Normandy, brought out in 1618 by Champlain. He learned the language of the Nipissing Indians, and, in 1635, penetrated to the far West, reaching Lake Michigan, afterward returning to Quebec and being drowned in the St. Lawrence in 1642. The author has studied his subject with considerable diligence, and gives an abundance of foot-notes, many of which are from the French narratives that furnish the groundwork of his story. This volume is well worth having.

THE WHITE MOUNTAINS: A Handbook for travellers. A guide to the peaks, passes, and ravines of the White Mountains of New Hampshire, and to the adjacent railroads, highways, and villages; with the lakes and mountains of Western Maine; also Lake Winnepesaukee, and the upper Connecticut Valley. With six maps and six panoramas. Fourth edition, revised and enlarged. 16mo, pp. 436. Boston: JAMES R. OSGOOD & COMPANY, 1882.

This book may be described as the best book ever made for a similar purpose. It covers the ground so completely that as a matter of economy no visitor to the White Mountains should be without it. The book will save time and money at every turn, and furnish agreeable literary recreation. The index does not contain the name of "Garfield," but historically the author does ample justice to his theme, and his work will be found an admirable guide not only by the tourist, but by those who wish to investigate the subject at home.

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CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE STATE OF VERMONT AND THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON, August 15 and 16, 1877. Westminster, Hubbardton, Winson. Rutland: TUTTLE & CO., 1879, 8vo, pp. 252.

This volume is made up of regular addresses, after-dinner speeches, letters from invited guests, Sunday services, and various other matters. It is illustrated with maps, plans, and steel portraits, including the Rev. Thomas Allen (1799), Governor Fairbanks, Hiland Hall, Mrs. Dorr, and others. The volume in paper is sold at seventy-five cents for the benefit of the Bennington Battle Monument Association.

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TRISTRAM DODGE AND HIS DESCENDANTS IN AMERICA.

Tristram Dodge was one of the sixteen original settlers of Block Island who went thither in 1661 and founded a very unique community, which still retains many of its original characteristics. Mr. Robert Dodge, a descendant of Tristram and a member of the New York Historical Society, has undertaken the task of writing a history of the family, a task involving no little labor, yet one of much usefulness and interest, as the family has many representatives holding prominent positions in various parts of the country. The book will be published by subscription and names may be sent to the author, 12 Wall Street, New York.





ARTISTS, MINDS OF COURSE, AND LIBERTY



# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## YORK AND ALBANY

“GREAT York and Albany” is a title which we remember to have seen applied to James Stuart, brother of King Charles II., and afterward himself king as James II., in a political song aimed against the exclusionists who wished to deprive him of the succession. He is similarly denominated in Latin at the beginning of the legend on the obverse of the grand medallion by Roettier (silver, size 49, weight  $6\frac{5}{8}$  oz.), emanating from a period antedating by more than a decade the bitter controversy which produced the song. “James, Duke of York and Albany, Lord High Admiral of England,” is the translation of this abbreviated legend, which surrounds a bust of James at the age of about thirty-two, arrayed in the incongruous but not unimposing combination of peruke *à la Louis Quatorze* and toga *à la Romaine*, which was in the taste of the day, and which Roettier, son of the Antwerp goldsmith who had befriended Charles II. in exile, had singular skill in delineating. The reverse represents, beneath the brief “Not less great on Land,” the battle of Lowestoft, sometimes called of Harwich, fought off the Suffolk coast, under the command of our Lord High Admiral, and won by him, chiefly, as is alleged, through a system of signals which he devised, and a line of battle which he arranged. The great ship in the foreground, with St. George’s cross at bowsprit, mizzen-mast, and stern, the flag of the admiralty at the fore, and the royal standard at the main, indicates the triumph of the Duke of York over the Dutch Admiral Opdam, whose vessels are seen in the distance, with their plain tricolors. The date in the exergue is June 3, 1665. Not one year had elapsed since, in September, 1664, Colonel Richard Nicoll, acting under a commission based by King Charles on an arbitrary grant of New Netherland which he had made to his brother the duke, had seized that colony and renamed its two chief settlements. New Amsterdam and Fort Orange had become New York and Albany. This portrait of James Stuart may, therefore, be considered contemporary with that important event;

and, in the absence of any medallic memorial of the acquisition of New Netherland, this monument of the battle of Lowestoft, the most important battle in the war between England and Holland, which was in a great measure provoked by that acquisition, may be accepted as a substitute. It may, indeed, be, without impropriety, regarded as the earliest of *New York medals*, commemorating, as it does, the naval struggle excited by a conquest which, just a century after Shakespeare's birth (1564), made Shakespeare's language that of the conquered region and united that region with Anglo-America, preserving, too, an authentic portraiture of the namesake or eponymous hero of our capitals, commercial and political, in his best days. For, concurring, as we must, in the all but universal judgment that James, as king, made a wretched ruler, hardly less base than blind, we have, nevertheless, to recognize that as "York and Albany," at least in the beginning of his career, he passed for a great military and naval genius, and was then undoubtedly an intelligent as well as painstaking administrator or bureaucrat. More than this, Turenne, under whom he learned the art of war, said that he was "born without fear," and expected that he would become "one of the greatest captains of the age." So, at least, Miss Strickland quotes the Maréchal in her "Lives of the Queens of England," Phil., 1847, ix., 17. He did, in fact, become an imbecile coward, and the early portion of his manhood, to which our medal pertains, is consequently the only portion which we can contemplate with satisfaction. We are well pleased, therefore, to possess his portrait taken at that time, and it is this portrait which we would gladly see reproduced in memory of him, not only by the engraver's art, as in our frontispiece, but in another manner also, as shall be explained in the sequel.

Fifteen years ago, the writer of the present lines, in an article entitled "New York's Namesake," which appeared in the *American Journal of Numismatics*, then edited by him, used the following language in regard to this "incomparable medallion," as it is termed in a German catalogue: "We doubt whether one impression exists in New York or in America. No antiquarian curiosity more beautiful as a work of art, or more interesting as a memorial of our city's namesake, in a position of honor such as history seldom awards him, could be procured from abroad by one of its wealthy and enlightened residents." From that time to the present no specimen of the medal has come to light on this side of the Atlantic. The cabinet of William S. Appleton, Esq., of Boston, the first in the United States in regard to the illustration of history, American and foreign, does not contain one, nor does any other collection famous among us. It has not been offered in any of our auction-sales; and our amateurs have had to

content themselves with the pictures of it in Pinkerton's "Medallic History of England," Prime's "Coins, Medals, and Seals," and "The Student's Hume." Though the English portion of the writer's cabinet was sold in November, 1879, and he has since then refrained from purchasing coins and medals in that department of numismatics, he could not resist the temptation to secure this long and much coveted piece when its name finally appeared in the catalogue of James Sanders, Esq.'s, English Historical Medals, announced for sale by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, to take place in May of the current year. On the first of that month, accordingly, it became his property, per bid transmitted to London, in consideration of a number of pounds which he prefers not to mention. Thus, as our Virgil says:

"quod optanti divûm promittere nemo  
Arderet, volvenda dies, en ! attulit ultro."

But it is not the mere semi-puerile feeling of satisfaction which one feels in the ownership of a rarity that has suggested the present remarks. It has long been matter of regret to the relatively few inhabitants of New York City who are interested in her local history, that the periodical demolitions and transformations exacted there by traffic and progress allow no objects to remain whereon our associations may linger and attach themselves. Should some worshipper of stocks and stones sneer at their weakness, they might reply, in the oracular words of one whose style is unmistakable: "To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings." In the unavoidable absence, then, of ancient ramparts, churches, municipal buildings, patrician dwellings, famous in history, it would seem most desirable to perpetuate by statues, bas-reliefs, and similar works the remembrance of the worthies who may once have frequented them. A beginning has been made in this direction, or, rather, a laudable inclination has been manifested toward such a course, in the bronze statues and busts which adorn the Mall and other portions of our Park. But not one of the men hitherto thus honored was born in New York, though some, like poor Halleck, whose dreadfully constrained attitude seems to typify his torturing mercantile environment, passed much or most of their lives here. The majority, however, were not even American. Two colossal, seated figures, like those on the plain of Thebes, Memnon and his fellow, might, on the contrary, induce the inference that New York was a Caledonian colony. Standing before one of these, we once heard a Ger-

man parent explaining to his wife and offspring that it was "*Scott!—grosser Militär*"! An ignorant Teuton, certainly, but æsthetic; for a correct sense of propriety led him to look for something national in that conspicuous place. Might not an obscure corner be some day found for, perhaps, a little tablet with but the names of the New York signers of the Declaration of Independence: William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, and Lewis Morris?

"Now, to what does all this tend, and what do you aim at and propose?" It is this: that (as there is very much in a name, and the knowledge of names soon introduces the knowledge of things, events, and transactions) we begin the work of giving palpable expression to our history by setting up, as soon as may be, in an appropriate place, in the city of Albany and in the city of New York, with a view to call attention to a far-reaching event as well as an interesting etymology, a bust, bas-relief, or medallion of James Stuart, copied from the medal under notice, and giving information in its lettering that from his titles each of these cities derives its permanent English designation. On, in, or about our Capitol at Albany, more particularly, that vast and costly building, our new Houses of Parliament, would an intelligent and curious stranger expect and desire to find some artistic recognition, some plastic memorial, of the birth and naming (new birth and adoption, if my Dutch friend will) of this great and growing State. He might desire, but he would have to desiderate; for none such exists. The very eminent architect who now has charge of this important public work, politely gave the following brief but comprehensive answer when written to on the subject:

NEW YORK, July 5, 1882.

PROF. CHAS. E. ANTHON,

My dear Sir:—There is not in the Capitol any monument to the Duke of York (or any one else), and I fully agree with you that there ought to be, and will bear the matter in mind, in the hope of introducing a bas-relief of some kind to commemorate him. Many thanks for the suggestion.

Most truly yours,

LEOPOLD EIDLITZ.

It is vain to regret that the Duke of York and Albany was not a more worthy character. If we cannot have what would content us, we must be content with what we have; and, from the point of view of our numerous Catholic fellow-citizens, he ranks higher, be it remembered, than we are in the habit of placing him. Not every city can boast a founder like Roger Williams; and Providence, which is adorned by his statue, is not called after his name.

In regard to the great port whose world-known designation was taken

from the duke's principal title, we recommend that his bust, in the costume thought appropriate in his day, derived from the contemporaneous portrait furnished by this medal, be erected at the lower end of the Mall in its Central Park. It might be placed between Ward's fine Shakespeare, advancing musingly from the East, and his admired Indian Hunter, recklessly flying toward the West, for it would form a connecting link between them ; and on its pedestal might be read some such inscription as: "JAMES STUART, DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY, AFTER WHOM ARE NAMED THIS STATE AND ITS TWO CHIEF CITIES."

CHARLES E. ANTHON



MEDALLION OF THE DUKE OF YORK (REDUCED TEN-SIXTEENTHS FROM THE ORIGINAL).

## THE RECORD-BOOK OF COLONEL JOHN TODD, FIRST CIVIL GOVERNOR OF THE ILLINOIS COUNTRY

The early records of the region formerly known as "the Illinois" unfortunately have not been preserved. Those of its civil and judicial administration, during the sixty years of its organized government as a royal province, and the subsequent period of its existence as a county of Virginia, would be of exceeding value to its future historian. A large collection of such papers remained at Kaskaskia, once the capital, successively, of the province, territory, and State of Illinois, until the day came when the ancient village was obliged to yield even the honor of being a county seat to the neighboring city of Chester. To the latter place, several boxes filled with these papers were then removed, and stood for years in the hall of its court-house, until, by neglect or wanton misuse, their contents were lost or destroyed. One, however, of these mementos of the past, and not the least in worth among them, was recently found in an office of this court-house in a receptacle for fuel, just in time to save it from the fiery fate of many of its companions, and is now in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. This is the original Record or Minute Book of Colonel John Todd, the first civil governor of the Illinois country.

When George Rogers Clark had captured the British posts beyond the Ohio, under the authority of Virginia, that State was quick to act for the preservation of the rights thus acquired. Kaskaskia was taken on July 4, 1778; the first surrender of Vincennes, or St. Vincent, as it was sometimes called, occurred soon after; and in October, of the same year, the General Assembly of Virginia passed "An act for establishing the county of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defence thereof." The young commonwealth, only in the third year of its own independent existence, and then, with the other revolted colonies, engaged in a death-struggle with the mother country, did not shrink from the duty of providing a suitable government for the immense territory thus added to its domain. The act recites the successful expedition of the Virginia militia-men to the country adjacent to the Mississippi, and that good faith and safety require that the citizens thereof, who have acknowledged the commonwealth, shall be supported and protected, and that some temporary form of government, adapted to their circumstances, shall be established. It provides that all the citizens of Virginia, settled on the western side

of the Ohio, shall be included in a distinct county, to be called Illinois County. The vast area, afterward ceded to the United States under the name of the Northwest Territory, and now divided into five States, then composed a single county of Virginia. Of this county the governor of the State was authorized to appoint a county lieutenant, or commandant, who could appoint and commission deputy-commandants, militia officers, and commissaries.

The Governor of the State of Virginia, upon whom devolved the duty of selecting the commandant of the country of Illinois, was the first who ever held that office, the immortal patriot, Patrick Henry ; and the man whom he chose for this difficult and responsible position was John Todd. He was not unknown on the frontier nor at the Capital. Born in Pennsylvania and educated in Virginia, he had practised law in the latter colony for several years, when, in 1775, he removed to the Kentucky country. He was one of those who met at Boonesboro', in the spring of that year, under the great elm tree, near the fort, to establish the proprietary government of the so-called colony of Transylvania, comprising more than half of the modern State of Kentucky, and he was very prominent in the counsels of its House of Delegates or Representatives, the first legislative body organized west of the Alleghanies. He preëmpted large tracts of land near the present city of Lexington, and is said to have been one of the band of pioneers, who, while encamped on its site, heard of the opening battle of the Revolution in the far East, and named their infant settlement in its honor. When the agents of the Kentucky settlers had obtained a gift of powder from Virginia for the defence of the frontier, in the following year, and had brought it down the Ohio to the Three Islands, Todd led a small party through the forests to transport it to one of the forts, but was beaten back, after a bloody contest with the Indians. Early in 1777, the first court in Kentucky opened its sessions at Harrisburg, and he was one of the justices. Shortly after, he was chosen one of the representatives of Kentucky in the Legislature of Virginia, and went to the Capital to fulfill this duty. The following year he accompanied George Rogers Clark in his expedition to the Illinois, and was the first man to enter Fort Gage, at Kaskaskia, when it was taken from the British, and was present at the final capture of Vincennes.

Meanwhile the act above mentioned had been passed, and the governor had no difficulty in deciding whom to appoint county lieutenant of Illinois. At Williamsburg, then the capital of the Old Dominion, in the former mansion of the royal rulers of the whilom colony, Patrick Henry, on December 12, 1778, indited his letter of appointment to John Todd,

Esq., and entered it in the very book now before us. It occupies the first five pages, and probably is in Patrick Henry's handwriting. At all events, his own signature is subscribed thereto. This letter is not such a one as territorial governors would be likely to receive in these later days. It deals with higher things than those which occupy the modern politician. Conciliation of the newly enfranchised inhabitants, selection of competent advisers, defence against foreign and native enemies, subordination of the military to the civil arm of the government, establishment of Republican institutions, administration of equal justice to all, an alliance with friendly neighbors, encouragement of trade, and the exertion by the commandant of unwearied ability, diligence, and zeal, in behalf of his people, are the principal heads of this able and, for its time, extraordinary State paper. It shows us that the man who had taken the grave responsibility of the secret instructions which led to the capture of the Illinois country, was competent to direct the next step in its career. He could wisely govern what had been bravely won. With all the cares of a new State engaged in a war for its independence resting upon his shoulders, proscribed as a traitor to the mother country, and writing almost within sound of the guns of the British fleet upon the James, he looked with calm vision into the future, and laid well the foundations of another commonwealth beyond the Ohio.

This book, made precious by his pen, was entrusted to a faithful messenger, who carried it from tidewater across the mountains to Fort Pitt, thence down the Ohio, until he met with his destined recipient, and delivered to him his credentials. It is supposed that Todd received it at Vincennes, then known to Virginians as St. Vincent, not long after the surrender of that place, on February 24, 1779, and thereupon returned to the Kentucky country to make some necessary preparations for his new duties, and possibly to enlist some of the soldiers authorized to be raised by the act under which he was appointed. At all events, he did not reach the Illinois country until the spring of 1779, as we learn from the journal of Colonel George Rogers Clark, who says, "The civil department in the Illinois had heretofore robbed me of too much of my time that ought to be spent in military reflection. I was now likely to be relieved by Colonel John Todd, appointed by Government for that purpose. I was anxious for his arrival and happy in his appointment, as the greatest intimacy and friendship existed between us, and on the —— day of May (1779), had the pleasure of seeing him safely landed at Kaskaskias, to the joy of every person. I now saw myself happily rid of a piece of trouble that I had no delight in."

So came the new governor to his post, the bearer of Republican institu-



tions to a land and a people but just freed from the rule of a foreign king ; and with him he brought this very book containing, in the memorable letter inscribed in its pages, his own credentials, as well as the best evidence these new citizens could have that they were subjects no longer. This was no ordinary arrival at the goodly French village of Kaskaskia. In the eighty years of its existence it had seen explorers and missionaries, priests and soldiers, famous travellers and men of high degree come and go, but never before one sent to administer the laws of a people's government for the benefit of the governed. We may imagine its inhabitants gathered at the river side to watch the slow approach of a heavy boat, flying a flag still strange to them, as it toils against the current to the end of its long voyage down the Ohio and up the Mississippi. Then when there lands from it one with the mien of authority (having, perchance, this book under his arm), they are ready to render him the homage exacted by royal governors, and here and there a voice even cries, "*Vive le Roi ;*" and, as they are reminded that they are under a free government now, and learn that the newcomer is their own county lieutenant, on their way back to the village we may hear Francois and Baptiste say to one another, "Who is it that rules over us now?" and, "What is this free government of which they speak?" "Is it a good thing, think you?" Small blame to them if their wits were puzzled. Less than fourteen years before they had been loyal liegemen to King Louis of France ; then came a detachment of kilted Highlanders, and, presto ! they were under the sway of King George of Great Britain ; a few years passed, and one July morning a band, with long beards and rifles, looked down from the heights of Fort Gage and raised a new banner over them ; and now there was yet another arrival, which, though seemingly peaceful, might mean more than appeared. Perhaps the very last solution of the mystery which occurred to them was that henceforth they were to take part in their own government.

Whether Todd regarded his department as such "a piece of trouble" as Clark found it, we have no means of knowing, but certainly he addressed himself at once to his work. Under the clause of the statute which authorized him to appoint and commission deputy-commandants and militia officers, he took action, probably as soon as he arrived, and recorded it in his book. At page 6 is the first entry in Todd's handwriting, which reads as follows : "Made out the military commissions for the District of Kaskaskia. Comms. dated 14th May, 1779, 3d year of the Commonwealth."

This was the earliest organization of a militia force proper in this region, and the officers thus appointed were the first of the long line, adorned

by many brilliant names, of those who have held Illinois commissions. There was significance, too, in the concluding of this entry with the words, "Third year of the Commonwealth." It meant that in this "remote country," as Patrick Henry called it, men felt the change from subjects to freemen then being wrought by the great Revolution, and that they were playing a part in it. This is emphasized in the succeeding minute, for we find that Todd appears to have put in force the statutory provision, that all civil officers were to be chosen by a majority of the citizens in each district, and on pages 7 and 8 he records the "List of the Court of Kaskaskia, the Court of Kohokias, and the Court of St. Vincennes," and adds, "*as elected by the people.*" As elected by the people, and not as appointed by a king—as chosen by the citizens of each district, and not by the whim of some royal minister, thousands of miles away across the sea. This was, indeed, a change. For more than half a century the settlements at the Illinois had known a court and a judge; but the laws and the administrators thereof had been imported from a distant kingdom, and with the framing of the one or the selection of the other they had nothing whatever to do. Without doubt, the election here recorded was their first exercise of the rights as citizens of a republic and the first exercise of such rights within the territory of Illinois.

The financial question was the next to claim the attention of the busy county lieutenant, and he grappled with it sturdily. It was now the fourth year of the Revolutionary War, and the peculiar disadvantages of the continental currency, which had been severely felt at the East, began to be appreciated at the West as well. But John Todd did not hesitate to confront this evil. At any rate he devised a plan for its correction. Within a month of his arrival at Kaskaskia, on June 11, 1779, he addressed a letter to the Court of Kaskaskia, which appears on page 12 of his Record-Book. He informs it that "the only method America has to support the present just war is by her credit, which credit consists of her bills emitted from the different treasuries, by which she engages to pay the bearer, at a certain time, gold and silver in exchange; that there is no friend to American Independence, who has any judgment, but soon expects to see it equal to gold and silver; but that merely from its uncommon quantity, and in proportion to it, arises the complaint of its want of credit. And one only remedy remains within my power, which is to receive, on behalf of government, such sums as the people shall be induced to lend upon a sure fund, and thereby decrease the quantity." He states that the mode of doing this is already planned, and requests the concurrence and assistance of the judges. His zeal for the cause led him slightly astray when he predicted

that these bills would soon be equal to gold and silver, since, in the following year continental money was worth just two cents on the dollar, and never became more valuable. But in other respects his scheme was not so erroneous. He did not indulge in the delusion that all troubles could be removed by an unlimited issue of paper money. On the contrary, he favored the retirement of a portion of that in circulation, and of a kind of redemption of the public promises to pay.

Under date of June 14, 1779, this energetic "commander-in-chief" addresses himself to the subject of the land under his jurisdiction, and the title thereto. He issues a proclamation strictly enjoining all persons from making any new settlements on the flat lands within one league of the rivers Mississippi, Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash, except in the manner and form of settlements as heretofore made by the French inhabitants; and every inhabitant is required to lay before the persons appointed in each district for that purpose a memorandum of his or her land, with their vouchers for the same. Warning is given that the number of adventurers who will soon run over this country, renders the above method necessary, as well as to ascertain the vacant land as to guard against trespasses which will be committed on land not of record. The object of this step evidently was not to discourage actual settlers, but to prevent the taking up of large tracts of land by speculators; and it shows both wisdom and foresight on the part of the head of the Government.

The graver duties associated with that position were quickly to devolve upon John Todd, and on page 18 of his Record-Book is inscribed an entry, which reads very strangely at the present day. It is *verbatim* as follows:

"Illinois, to wit: To Richard Winston, Esq., Sheriff in chief of the District of Kaskaskia.

"Negro Manuel, a Slave in your custody, is condemned by the Court of Kaskaskia, after having made honorable Fine at the Door of the Church, to be chained to a post at the Water Side and there to be burnt alive and his ashes scattered, as appears to me by Record. This Sentence you are hereby required to put in execution on tuesday next at 9 o'clock in the morning, and this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia the 13th day of June, in the third year of the Commonwealth."

This is a grim record, and reveals a dark chapter in the early history of Illinois. It is not surprising that some one has drawn heavy lines across it, as if to efface it forever. It is startling to reflect that barely one hundred years ago, within the territory now composing that State, a court of law deliberately sentenced a human being to be burned alive! It is possible that the attempted cancellation of the entry may mean that the warrant was revoked; and so let us hope for the sake of humanity. No other evidence, so

far as known, of this peculiar case exists. But it is palpable that this inhuman penalty was actually fixed by the court, and as the statute deprived the commandant of the power to pardon in such cases, it is more probable that the sentence was actually executed. The cruel form of death, the color of the unfortunate victim, and the scattering of the ashes, all seem to indicate that this was one of the instances of the imagined crime of Voudouism or negro witchcraft, for which it is known that some persons suffered in the Illinois country about this time. Reynolds, in his "Pioneer History," says, "In Cahokia, about the year 1790, this superstition got the upper hand of reason, and several poor African slaves were immolated at the shrine of ignorance for this imaginary offence. An African negro, called Moreau, was hung for this crime on a tree not far southeast of Cahokia. It is stated that he had said he poisoned his master, but his mistress was too strong for his necromancy." There is no doubt that this is a correct statement of the facts, although the date of their occurrence is erroneously given. For on the next page of this Record-Book appears Todd's order for the detail of a guard for this very negro Moreau to the place of execution, dated June 15, 1779, which, of course, goes to show the probability of the infliction of the penalty above mentioned in the case of the negro Manuel. This order in regard to Moreau is as follows :

"To Capt. NICHOLAS JANIS.

"You are hereby required to call upon a party of your militia to guard Moreau, a slave condemned to execution, up to the town of Kohos. Put them under an officer. They shall be entitled to pay rashtions and refreshment during the Time they shall be upon Duty to be certiyed hereafter by you.

"I am sir your hble servant,

"JOHN TODD.

"15th June, 1779.

"I recommend 4 or 5 from your Compy and as many from Capt. Placey and consult Mr. Lacroix about the time necessary.

"J. T."

The different subjects thus far included in this interesting Record-Book were all dealt with by Todd between May 14 and June 15, 1779. He certainly was not idle, nor did he lack for important business during the first month of his administration. His duties appear then to have called him away from Kaskaskia, probably to Vincennes; and as he was about to leave, he addressed a letter to his deputy-commandant, Richard Winston, which is sufficiently interesting to be quoted entire.

"SIR: During my absence the command will devolve upon you as commander of Kaskaskia.— if Colo. Clark should want anything more for his expedition, consult the members of the court upon

the best mode of proceeding, if the people will not spare willingly, if in their power, you must press it, valuing the property by Two men upon Oath,—let the military have no pretext for forcing property—When you order it and the people will not find it, then it will be Time for them to Interfere.—by all means Keep up a Good Understanding with Colo. Clark and the Officers.—if this is not the Case you will be unhappy. I am sir

“Yr. Hble Servt JOHN TODD.

“June 15th, 1779.”

It would appear that during his brief absence, the newly appointed court at Kaskaskia had not transacted business with the diligence and celerity required by John Todd. The judges were all elected from among the French settlers, and we may assume that their easy-going ways did not find favor with the busy man from beyond the Ohio. They seem to have adjourned court to what appeared to him to be too long a day, and his consequent action savors somewhat of a direct interference of the executive with the judiciary, but, doubtless, was effective. On page 21 we read the following document :

“To GABRIEL CERRE &c. Esqrs. Judges of the Court for the District of Kaskaskia :

“You are hereby authorized and required to hold and constitute a court on Satterday, the 21st of July at the usual place of holding court within yr District, any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding. Provided that no suitor or party be compeled to answer any process upon said Day unless properly summoned by the Clark and Sheriff. Given under my hand and seal at Kaskaskia, July 31st, 1779. JOHN TODD.”

The slow-moving French settlers seem to have been in other ways a trial, and probably were dilatory in providing supplies for the troops, which were soon expected from Virginia. August 14th, Todd enters, on page 22 of his book, a brief address, in which the inhabitants of Kaskaskia are, for the last time, invited to contract with the persons appointed for provision, especially “flower,” for the troops who will shortly arrive. He says, “I hope they will use properly the indulgence of a mild Government. If I shall be obliged to give the military permission to press it will be a disadvantage, and what ought more to influence Freemen, it will be a dishonor to the people.” It is evident that Baptiste, Francois, and the rest, while willing enough to be “freemen,” on their money still preferred a king. The supplies which they would have furnished readily in exchange for coins stamped with the head of George III. or Louis XV., were not forthcoming when continental currency was offered in return, despite all of Todd’s efforts in that behalf. It is said that the early French inhabitants were so puzzled by the machinery of free government, that they longed for the return of the despotic authority of their military commandants. If so, there must have been a familiar sound about this brief address which

might have made them think their good old times had come again. A short and simple method of forfeiting realty to the State is illustrated in the proceedings set forth on pages 25 and 26. On October 4, 1779, a notification was given at the door of the church of Kaskaskia, that the half-a-lot above the church, joining Picard on the east and Langlois on the west, unless some persons should appear and support their claim to the said lot within three days, would be condemned to the use of the Commonwealth. On October 13, 1779, accordingly, John Todd, under his hand and seal, at Kaskaskia, proclaimed that after publicly calling any person or persons to show any claim they might have to said lot, and no one appearing to claim the same as against the Commonwealth of Virginia, he declares and adjudges the said lot to belong to the said Commonwealth, and that all persons, whatsoever, be thenceforth debarred and precluded forever from any claim thereto.

The heading of the following entry in this book is, "Copy of a Grant to Colonel Montgomery," but the remainder of that page, and one or two more, have been deliberately torn out. The explanation of this mutilation may be found in a report made in 1810 by the Commissioners appointed by Congress to examine the claims of persons claiming lands in the district of Kaskaskia, from which it appears that many of the ancient evidences of title had been deliberately destroyed in the interest of speculators, claiming under forged deeds or perjured testimony. Some one interested in opposition to this grant may have had access to this book years after the entry, when the land had become valuable, and attempted to defeat the title in this way. The Colonel Montgomery named in it was probably the Captain Montgomery who came to the Illinois with Clark, and rendered good service on that expedition. He is described as a jovial Irishman, whom Clark fell in with at the Falls of the Ohio, on his way down the river, and who readily joined in the perilous adventure, from pure love of fighting. He commanded the garrison at Fort Gage, at Kaskaskia, after its surrender by the British. This is the last entry in the book in Todd's handwriting.

We know that he continued to hold his position as commandant and county lieutenant at the Illinois for some three years more, devoting most of his time to its affairs; and in that period he made the difficult and often dangerous journey between his distant post and the Kentucky settlements, or Virginia, two or more times in every year. In 1779, Virginia ordered two regiments to be raised for service in its western counties, and it is supposed that Todd was appointed colonel of one of them. In the spring of 1780 he was elected a delegate from the county of Kentucky to the Legislature of Virginia, and was married while attending its session of that year.

In the fall he returned to Kentucky, and, having established his bride in the fort at Lexington, resumed his journey to Illinois. It is worthy of remark that the foundation of Transylvania University, the first institution of learning west of the mountains, is attributed to the State aid obtained from the Virginia Legislature by his exertions in its behalf. In November, 1780, the county of Kentucky was divided into the three counties of Fayette, Lincoln, and Jefferson, and in the summer of 1781, Governor Thomas Jefferson appointed Todd, Colonel of Fayette County; Daniel Boone, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Thomas Marshall (father of Chief Justice Marshall), Surveyor. In December, 1781, Todd secured a town lot at Lexington, and in May, 1782, he was made one of the trustees of Lexington by act of Virginia. In the summer of that year he visited Richmond, on the business of the Illinois country, where it is said he had concluded to reside permanently, and stopped at Lexington on his return. While here, an Indian attack upon a frontier station summoned the militia to arms, and he, as senior colonel, took command of the little force of 180 men who went in pursuit of the retreating savages. It included Daniel Boone and many other pioneers of note, sixty of their number being commissioned officers. At the Blue Licks, on August 18, 1782, the enemy was overtaken, but the headlong courage of those who would not observe the prudent counsels of Todd and Boone, precipitated an action which was very disastrous to the whites. One-third of those who went into battle were killed, a number wounded, and several made prisoners. Among the heroes who laid down their lives that day was Colonel John Todd. He was shot through the body while gallantly fighting at the head of his men, and, says an eye-witness, "When last seen he was reeling in his saddle, while the blood gushed in profusion from his wounds."

But, it may be asked, what had become of Richard Winston, who was deputy-commandant in the early part of Todd's administration? We should have been utterly unable to answer this question but for a paragraph written upon the inside of the front cover of this book, which is as follows:

"Kaskaskias in the Illinois, 29th April, 1782. This day 10 o'clock A.M. I was taken out of my house by J. Neal Dodge on an order given by Jno. Dodge in despite of the Civil authority disregarding the laws, and on the malicious alugation of Jno. Williams and Michel Pevante as may appear by their deposition. I was confined by tyrannick military force without making any legal aplication to the Civil Magistrates—30th, the Attorney for the State, La Buinieux, presented a petition to the court against Richard Winston, State Prisoner in their custody the contents of which he (the Attorney for the State) ought to have communicated to me or my attorney, if any I

had." It will be remembered that when Todd first went away from Kaskaskia, leaving Winston in command, he advised him by letter, by all means to keep up a good understanding with Colonel Clark and the officers, telling him if this was not the case he would be unhappy. We can only conclude that the unlucky Winston had at this time neglected this injunction, as his trouble seems to have been with the military, and, in consequence, was very unhappy. At all events he had fallen into disgrace, of course had lost his office, and was imprisoned, doubtless, in the old French commandant's house, which served as the headquarters of the successive governments of the Illinois country, even down to the organization of the State when it became the first State House. Here shut up, perhaps in the Governor's room, he found this Record-Book, and wrote his sorrowful tale within it. Thus it preserves to us, a century after, poor Richard Winston's protest against "tyrannick military force."

The remaining pages of this book are occupied with a brief record, in the French language, of the proceedings of the Court of Kaskaskia, from June 5, 1787, to February 15, 1788. During this period it seems to be pretty much in the hands of one family, as three of the five justices are named Beauvais. Antoine Beauvais is the presiding justice, and Vital Beauvais and St. Gemme Beauvais are two of his four associates. For a long time they apparently do nothing but meet one month and adjourn to the next, as if determined in this way to regain the dignity of which the court was deprived by Col. Todd's peremptory order to their predecessors to hold a session, despite their order of adjournment. The court pursues the even tenor of its way with commendable regularity, meeting once a month, in the morning, and immediately adjourning to the next month, but holding an extraordinary session whenever it had a case to try (and it had two, all told), until January 15, 1788. At this date, it, for the first time, seemingly, has to deal with the subject of jurymen, and solemnly determines that each juror from Prairie du Roche shall have twenty-five francs, and thereupon adjourns; and with a few similar minutes its record ceases, and the book comes to an end.

Its own story is curious enough to entitle it to preservation, if only for its age and the vicissitudes through which it has passed. Made in Virginia more than one hundred years ago, brought the long journey thence to Illinois, at that day exceeding in risk and time a modern trip around the world, in use there in the infancy of the Republic, then cast aside and forgotten for almost a century, and lately rescued, by the merest chance, from destruction, it has now, by the formal vote of the Board of Commissioners of Randolph County, Illinois, the lineal successors of its first county lieu-



tenant, been placed, we hope permanently, in the custody of the Chicago Historical Society. Then when we consider that its opening pages were inscribed by the first Governor of the State of Virginia, who was one of the foremost men of the Revolution; that it is mainly filled with the handiwork of the first county lieutenant of the great Northwest Territory; that it contains the record of one of the first courts of common law in Illinois, and, above all, that it is a summary of the beginning of Republican institutions there, and, in fact, the record of the origin of that State, this common-looking book, with its coarse paper and few pages of faded handwriting, becomes an unique historical memorial, worthy to be treasured by the people of Illinois with reverent care for all time to come.

With it, too, should be treasured the memory of that brave and able man, John Todd, a pioneer of progress, education, and liberty, and the real founder of the Commonwealth of Illinois, who served his countrymen long and well, and died a noble death, fighting, for their homes and firesides, against a savage enemy, and giving his life, as he had given the best of his years and strength, for the cause of civilization and free government in the Western World.

EDWARD G. MASON

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### A PILGRIM MEMORIAL

A substantial granite monument has just been erected in the old cemetery at Little Compton, a little to the southwest of the grave of Col. Benjamin Church. The old stone is set in the west side, bearing the following inscription:

Here lyeth the body  
of Elizabeth the wife  
of William Pabodie  
who dyed May ye 31st  
1717: and in the 94th  
year of her age.

ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

A bud from Plymouth's Mayflower sprung,  
Transplanted here to live and bloom,  
Her memory, constant and young,  
The centuries guard with this tomb.

EAST SIDE.

Erected June, 1882.

NORTH SIDE.

Elizabeth Pabodie,  
daughter of  
the Plymouth Pilgrims,  
John Alden &  
Priscilla Mullin.  
The first white woman  
born in New England.

It will be remembered that John Alden and Priscilla Mullen figure as hero and heroine in Longfellow's poem of "The Courtship of Miles Standish." E. D.

# ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK CITY

## PART SECOND—THE ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PERIOD

The history of local self-government in New England and the southern colonies has been continuous. Plymouth is governed substantially as it was in 1621. The government of Boston, though necessarily very different from that of two hundred and fifty years ago, has been derived from the latter by a series of slight and gradual modifications. With the city of New York the case is very different. Not only have the changes of its charter in recent times been far more frequent and complete, but its history as a whole is divided into two distinct periods. The continuity of the municipal institutions was broken by the English capture in 1664, and the government of New York has retained scarcely a single feature of the government of New Amsterdam.

The first of these two periods is that comprising the years down to 1664, as well as some fifteen months in 1673 and 1674, the period, namely, during which the island of Manhattan was under the control of the Dutch. This period of the municipal history has been treated in a previous paper. The second includes the years from 1664 to 1673, and from 1674 to the present time, the English and American period; the municipal history during this period, at least to the year 1821, forms the subject of the present paper.

The cities and towns of England had, in the Middle Ages, a development which differed widely from that of the municipalities of the Continent. They are neither so important nor so active in State life as those of the Netherlands, although the briefest survey of their development will disclose several points of similarity.

Before the Conquest, most of the towns of England were simply townships in which a larger population had gathered, and whose government differed from the ordinary township-government only in being somewhat more definite. Some of the towns were aggregations of several townships, and had, accordingly, a constitution much like that of the hundred. London and the larger cities included districts of various characters; some were under township government, others under manorial or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or under the control of a guild. The whole was not yet incorporated, and so did not possess a formal unity. But the vicinity of the in-

habitants gave rise to a community of interests. Some towns had already gained the privilege of special courts, and of special compositions in lieu of the royal taxes.

In the Norman period there is a distinct growth of municipal freedom. The charter of Henry I. to London represents the highest degree of such freedom yet conceded. The city is not incorporated ; it remains composite as before, yet forms a whole which is made independent of any shire organization, and receives itself a form like that of a shire, while the county in which it lies is made dependent on it. It is to have its own sheriff and justiciar, and is even to elect them. The constitution of the capital is not yet municipal, but these are the germs of a municipal government. The provincial towns were, of course, less privileged. They remained in the jurisdiction of king, earl, or bishop, and subject to the shire administration, and, therefore, to the exactions of the sheriffs. The first efforts to obtain greater independence were directed toward exemption from the control of the latter officer. This was secured by compounding with the king for the town's taxes by a fixed annual payment or ferm rent, called the *firma burgi*, for which the body of householders were responsible to the king, and with the raising of which the sheriff had, consequently, no connection. Exemption from the sheriffs' interference in judicial matters followed.

At about the time of the acquisition of chartered rights, the merchant guilds, including all the traders, and thus nearly all the householders, were becoming practically the governing bodies of the towns, and their aldermen the most important officers of the latter. Accordingly, in the charters given at this time by the kings or the mesne lords, granting immunity from the fiscal or judicial interference of the sheriffs, and powers of self-government or election of magistrates, and self-assessment, and confirming peculiar administrative usages, the form of government is ordinarily the original township or hundred government, modified by the guild constitution. But the progress of the municipalities in France in the twelfth century, and the establishment of the sworn commune, evidently exerted some influence over the larger towns of England ; the desire of the guilds for mercantile privileges became broadened into the desire of the citizens for political powers ; and in the reign of Richard I., his brother John, as regent, granted to the citizens of London that they should form a *communa*. So London, now almost a corporation, was granted a mayor, and a little later was permitted to elect him, a similar privilege being at the same time granted to many other towns. The sheriffs of London then became only its financial representatives, while the head of the city was the mayor. The present governments of London and of most other English and American cities contain

elements derived from the various systems thus developed in the early English towns. They have borrowed the mayor from the French-English commune, the aldermen from the guilds, the common council from the original township governments.

That truly mediæval variety of custom of which mention has been made in connection with the Dutch town governments, appears in England also. It is not possible to set forth a single definite scheme of town government, and say, This was, in this reign, the form of municipal government in England, for some towns were ages in advance of others in their development. But the status of the more important towns, at the period at which we have now arrived, the reign of John, can be roughly indicated. They held their own courts, and observed their own customs in them. They elected the bailiff, reeve or mayor, and the other officers who acted in these courts. They received the judicial fines, the sheriff of the county having no control over either their fiscal or their judicial arrangements. They had legally recognized merchant-guilds, and sometimes craft-guilds.

Many of the details of the subsequent development of the municipal government of London and other English cities during the Middle Ages do not, to any important extent, illustrate the institutions of New York. For instance, the guilds, though very powerful in the fourteenth century, when, in fact, the merchant-guild had in many cases become identical with the governing body of the town, had, by the latter part of the seventeenth century, fallen to a very subordinate place. Hence, the details of their struggles for power, however important in the history of London, need not detain us. The government of the towns came gradually into the hands of close bodies of magistrates, till, finally, in the fifteenth century, these were incorporated. Before incorporation, the magistracy, in its ordinary form, consisted, first, of an elected mayor; second, of a permanent board of aldermen representing the wards by the union of which the city had been originally formed, as London was, or into which it had been subsequently divided, as was Winchester; third, a representative body of common councilmen, annually elected. Of course, cities which were also counties, like London, York, and Bristol, had sheriffs besides these magistrates. Such cities were called counties corporate.

It was not till the reign of Henry VI. that the first charters of legal incorporation to towns were granted. The five powers necessary to the existence of any corporation, and the general outline of the municipal constitution, are usually set forth in the charters. The charters were ordinarily given, or assumed to be given, to the governing bodies of the towns rather than to the inhabitants. But the possession of powers so great by bodies

of men so small, numerically, as the town-magistracies were, soon led to the total exclusion of the people from power, and to the creation of oligarchies of the closest character. Henceforward, development in the municipal constitutions can scarcely be discerned; that of each town is, in the reign of Charles II., nearly the same, in outline, that it was during the Wars of the Roses.

This outline, of a government carried on by mayor, aldermen, and common council, has already been in general terms set forth. But, before proceeding to describe the particular form of government adopted for the city of New York, and to draw any inferences as to the probable derivation of it, there are several other officers of the city governments whose duties should be described. Among these the most considerable was the recorder. He was the chief legal officer of the city, assisted the mayor, aldermen, and common council with his advice in matters of law, and was, in reality, the presiding judge in the mayor's court. In the counties corporate, among which were many of the larger towns and cities of England, the office of the sheriff was very important. He was the chief officer of the Crown within the city, and was empowered to look after the royal interests, to receive and execute the royal writs, and to represent the city at the Exchequer. The coroner was in some cases the substitute of the sheriff; but, ordinarily, his duties were to make inquiries concerning violent deaths, etc. Other officers of consequence were the clerk of the market, who examined and sealed weights and measures, and held a court to punish offenders in respect of these; the town clerk; the chamberlain or treasurer; the high constable, and petty constables. In many towns there was also a sergeant-at-mace, who attended the higher municipal dignitaries, and acted as marshal. These were the principal municipal officers, and the ones most commonly found in the towns of England in modern times; the many curious offices whose continued existence the great municipal inquisition of 1835 first made known to the public of our day, were found in only a few towns each. It is in the charter of Governor Dongan, granted in 1686, that we first find the municipal government of the English city of New York fully and exactly described. It will, therefore, be advisable to defer a particular examination of its origin, and of the manner in which its character is illustrated by contemporary English institutions, till we come to the consideration of that charter; in the meantime merely reviewing the characteristics of the city government from 1664 to 1683.

The patent which that exemplary monarch, Charles II., conveyed to his dearest brother, James, Duke of York, on March 12, 1664, gave the latter absolute power, within the territories granted, "to make, ordain,

and establish all manner of Orders, Laws, directions, instructions, forms and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy fit and necessary for and Concerning the Government of the territories and Islands aforesaid, so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this Our Realm of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereunto." <sup>1</sup> The duke appointed Col. Richard Nicolls deputy-governor of the province. No better choice could have been made. Nicolls showed wisdom, tact, moderation, and firmness, and nowhere more conspicuously than in his supervision of municipal affairs. The schout, burgomasters, and schepens were allowed to retain their offices after the capture of the city. The next year, on the usual day, February 2d, the magistracy renewed itself, as it had done in Stuyvesant's time, Nicolls confirming the selection made.

But a few months later the governor began a change. Having brought the laws of Long Island and Westchester into conformity with those of England, he, by a proclamation of June 12, 1665, revoked "the Forme and Ceremony of Government of this his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Towne of New Yorke, under the name or names, style or styles, of Schout, Burgomasters, and Schepens," and provided that in future the governing body should consist of "Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffe, according to the Custome of England in other his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Corporacôns." <sup>2</sup> In most respects, the change was a great one. Many details remained Dutch in their character, but the great acquisition of self-government was lost. Nicolls assured the citizens that he had received letters from the Duke "to make the government of this city conformable to the custom of England." It will, however, be evident from the sketch of English municipal history already given, that such conformity by no means required the denial of powers of self-government.

From the petition of the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty for a new charter, in 1683, we gather that, during the previous years of the English administration, the city was governed by a mayor, six aldermen (usually five, till 1679), and a sheriff. These were appointed by the lieutenant-governor; they had the right of making by-laws, and appointing all inferior officers, as constables, etc. Once in fourteen days, or oftener if necessary, they held a court in the City Hall, wherein the mayor or chief magistrate had authority to decide, without appeal, all causes under forty shillings; in more important cases their decisions were subject to appeal. The sheriff served, as in England, all writs, summonses, and attachments, and performed, in addition, the duties of the old English office of water-bailiff. There was a town clerk, but apparently neither recorder, coroner, nor treasurer. The freemen of the city were alone allowed to trade; and only those were freemen whom the magistrates made so. The city remained a legal corporation;

but, where so much power over its concerns remained in the hands of the lieutenant-governor, it is natural to suppose that many of the municipal usages were allowed to remain uncertain. This may also be inferred from a letter of Governor Lovelace, who succeeded Nicolls in 1668, to the mayor and aldermen, accompanying a city seal, a mace, and gowns for the magistracy, presented by James. "If," he says, "you will Consider of Somme methode for the better regulation of yo<sup>r</sup> Corporation and present it to me, What I find Reasonable and practicable, I shall willingly allow of, and what appears above my strength I shall with the best Convenience transmit over to Receive his R. H. assent, from whome I doubt not, but you will haue such satisfaction, as is agreeable to yo<sup>r</sup> Necessities and desires."<sup>3</sup> But no changes of consequence, except the confirmation of the staple right by Lovelace in 1670, were made in this first period of the English rule. In the careful instructions given to Sir Edmund Andros, the first governor sent out after the second Dutch occupation, the duke commands him to continue the courts of justice as they are, and to choose the mayor and other officers himself.

It is a fault not uncommon among the authors of colonial histories, that they write of royal charters as if these were, as Hegel complained that Schelling's idea of the absolute was, "shot, as it were, out of a pistol." The provisions of royal charters had their causes; nor were these simply the notions of some inferior adviser, or the suggestions of some Gentleman Usher of the Back Stairs, with which the king did not concern himself. A seventeenth-century king allowed few business matters to pass by without supervision or modification from him; the personal and other influences which shaped measures are, therefore, sometimes discoverable. It is for the purpose of learning what may be learned as to the origin of the New York charter that we are now to observe the action of Charles and James toward the municipalities of England in the famous *quo warranto* cases.

The city of London was, in the latter part of the reign of King Charles, closely attached to Shaftesbury and the country party, or Whigs, as they were beginning to be called. In the troubles over the Popish Plot, and in the agitations for the Exclusion Bill, it had constantly taken a conspicuous part. It had petitioned against the dissolution of 1679. The sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who returned all metropolitan juries, were able to secure that these should always be composed of Whigs. Thus the city thwarted the desires of the court in many instances. Finally, in the autumn of 1681, a Middlesex grand jury ignored the indictment preferred against Shaftesbury. This excited, in the highest degree, the hostility of the king and his friends against the city. Accordingly, in the elections of the next

year, the Tory lord mayor, Sir John Moore, following the instructions of Secretary Jenkins and the ingenious Crown lawyers, secured, by adroit management, the return of two Tories as sheriffs for the ensuing year. So clear was it that no opponent of the Government could now escape in case of prosecution, that Shaftesbury fled to Holland; and the fate of Essex, Russell, and Sidney showed that he had estimated rightly the consequences of the change.

But the royal brothers had other reasons for hostility to the municipalities, which required an attack of a different sort on their liberties. London had, indeed, packed juries to thwart the king's purposes, and petitioned against the dissolution in rather uncourtly terms. But the town corporations in general were the strongholds and supports of the country party in parliament, since they chose most of the borough members. To remedy this, a device applicable to other cities and towns was found by the unscrupulous lawyers of the king. It was to have the charters declared to be forfeited to the king, on one pretext or another, and granted anew by him with such alterations as would destroy the ability to return Whig members. It was one of the most ingenious and dangerous attacks ever made upon the constitution. A beginning was made with the city of London, and an information of *quo warranto* was laid against it in the Court of King's Bench, and finally the corporation was declared to have forfeited its charter to the King.

Whether the decision was according to law or not, must be left to the experts; our concern is only to note the animus with which the prosecution was entered upon and conducted by the king and his officers, and, fortunately, this may be exhibited without reproducing the wearying details of plea and replication, rejoinder and surrejoinder. It may be seen in the effort to draw a precedent from the surrender of the monasteries, in the removal, at the beginning of the trial, of Chief Justice Pemberton, "the most learned of the judges, and an honest man,"<sup>4</sup> to make room for the less scrupulous Saunders, in the insignificance of the offences on which the prosecution was grounded, and in the use made of the decision, within and without the city, *e.g.*, the duke's successful prosecutions of Pilkington and Ward.

In the country at large the effect of the judgment against the metropolis was immediate. Many of the lesser cities and towns, feeling that they had no chance of succeeding where London had been defeated, surrendered their charters at once, as an exhibition of loyalty, or on the threat of a similar process against them; others were reduced to submission.<sup>5</sup>

Into the charters granted in place of those surrendered, such provisions were, of course, introduced as would enable the king to appoint, directly or



indirectly, the members of the municipal corporations, and so, to govern without a parliament, unopposed, more than a hundred boroughs had been so remodelled.

Iniquitous as the attacks on the municipalities in the reign of Charles had been, they were far surpassed by those organized by James, in order to secure a parliament which would support the king against the Church. "Regulators of corporations" were appointed, who, during the spring of 1688, altered the membership of more than two hundred town corporations. In some instances the whole body of aldermen was dismissed and others appointed; and, on these being found intractable, the process was repeated a second or a third time, so that the whole magistracy of some towns was completely changed thrice within a month. The king finding that even these tactics could not conquer the opposition to his projects, the number of the members in many corporations was reduced, until the places were few enough to be filled by his devoted adherents.

We are now prepared to consider the influence of these agitations upon municipal affairs in New York. It is evident that they have a greater significance in the history of the city than has been heretofore assigned to them. The petition which led to the grant of the Dongan Charter was almost contemporary with the great trial of the case against the corporation of London. We have seen the deep, personal interest which Charles displayed in this and the other *quo warranto* cases. The duke was interested in it, not only on account of his brother, in whose counsels he was now more intimately associated than ever before, but also with a personal interest in the success of his intended prosecution of Pilkington and others. Throughout the six years of tyranny, from 1682 to 1688, no portion of the domestic policy of the Government was so much discussed throughout England, none to so great a degree and for so long a time excited the interest of the royal brothers and their court, as their course toward the cities and towns. If, then, a municipal charter was to be given at this time to a city under the absolute authority of the Duke of York, the conviction amounts almost to certainty that it would strongly excite his interest and engage his personal attention; for every one knows the remarkable fondness of the duke for details, and the official industry which so contrasted with the apparent indolence of his brother. Nor were the concerns of a province which at this time brought the Duke £2,000, and a few years later £5,000, too trivial to engage his attention. Indeed, that he regarded the affairs of the province as worth attending to, may be seen from his choice of governors. All had seen some service and possessed considerable abilities. So far, then, as *à priori* arguments avail, we are warranted in concluding, that a charter

given by James must have had his direct personal supervision, and may be expected to show evidences of this in the character of its provisions. It remains to see whether the history and the details of the charter support this inference.

In the parting instructions given to Colonel Dongan, which were apparently drawn up by the duke himself, he is directed to advise with his council on the advantages of granting any special privileges to the city of New York. The motive of this was, of course, solely the fostering of trade in the emporium of the province.<sup>6</sup>

The new governor had not been more than three months in his province, when the "mayor, aldermen, and commonalty" of the city, on November 9, 1683, presented to him a petition, in which they prayed that the city might be divided into six wards, in each of which the freemen should elect annually an alderman, common councilman, assessor, overseer of the poor, and constable, that the mayor might be chosen by the governor and council from among these six aldermen, and that the city might have three additional officers, a recorder, a coroner, and a treasurer. The governor ordered these arrangements to be put in practice, until the duke's pleasure should be known. The instrument known as the Dongan Charter, however, was not signed and sealed by the governor till two years and a half after this, in 1686. That the charter was probably subjected to the personal revision of James, and that this was probably the reason for the delay, may be shown by a comparison of certain facts.

At scarcely any time had the Duke of York had less of that official business in which he so much delighted than in the two years from 1682 to 1684, from the time when he returned from Scotland to the time when Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, restored to him the control of the Admiralty, from which the Test Act had excluded him. It was during this period that the petition of New York City was presented to Dongan. Action was taken by the governor and council in regard to a supplementary petition on November 30, 1683. We know that Dongan wrote to the duke on December 4th, undoubtedly inclosing a copy of the petitions. This letter was received before March 10, 1683-4, at which time the duke was at Newmarket. The latter was not restored to the Admiralty till May 12. It is, therefore, probable that the proposed government of New York City came before him for consideration during this interval, but that, on being soon after restored to the superintendence of naval affairs, he found no time to decide the matter at once, but allowed it to continue as arranged by Dongan.

On the accession of James, early in the next year, the affairs of New York, now a royal province, were transferred from the supervision of the

duke's commissioners to that of the Committee of the King's Privy Council on Trade and Plantations, and the more important of the papers were transferred to the latter by Sir John Werden, the duke's secretary. Among these the copy of the city's petition has been found, endorsed with a note, ending thus :

“ Q. If S<sup>r</sup> John Werden or some other of y<sup>e</sup> Dukes officers haue not y<sup>e</sup> Coppy of y<sup>e</sup> Grant of Incorporation or at least y<sup>e</sup> Warrant to y<sup>e</sup> Dukes Councill to draw it.

“ But I think it absolutely necessary there should be a surrender of y<sup>e</sup> Old, otherwise they may keep all their Old Priviledges by virtue of that and take y<sup>e</sup> additions by this new one without Subjecting their Officers &c to approbation and Refusall &c of y<sup>e</sup> Gouverno<sup>rs</sup>. ” 7

This minute, which is signed “ A. P.,” that is, Alured Popple, long secretary to the Lords of Trade, is of interest in two ways. The first part proves that the absence of documents showing the duke's interference in the drawing up of the charter does not militate against our hypothesis, for Sir John Werden evidently transferred only a part of the papers. If the second part is not a suggestion from James himself, which is, perhaps, unlikely, it shows how faithfully the mind of his subordinate reflected the royal jealousy of municipal corporations. A similar feeling, undoubtedly, would inspire the action of the attorney-general, Sir Robert Sawyer, toward the charter, for he had conducted the prosecution of the city of London and other municipal corporations. Again, there is evidence that one part of the address which the city sent to King James on his accession, attracted the serious attention of the privy council, at a meeting when His Majesty was present ; it seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that that part of the same address which requested immunities for the city, might have led the detail-loving king to give personal attention to the affairs of the capital of his former proprietary.

The Dongan Charter of April 27, 1686, is sometimes spoken of as the foundation of the liberties of New York. Only in its strictest meaning is the metaphor true. Some have been surprised that a king so hostile to freedom in England should grant so large a measure of it to a city in the royal province. This liberality is altogether fanciful. The liberties granted by his charter do not, by any means, contrast with those of English cities ; they are not even as great as those which the city enjoyed during the last years of Stuyvesant. The new plan contrasts favorably with the government of the years from 1664 to 1683, in which the people had no share, and with that alone.

The charter of 1686 to the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city

of New York is largely occupied with provisions in regard to the estate of the corporation; which, however, concern our subject in this respect only, that they made it independent of the provincial government for its revenue. The city was made co-extensive with the county. It was divided into six wards, North, South, East, West, the Dock Ward, and the Out Ward, which consisted of two parts, the Harlem Division and the Bowery Division. All the waste land was granted to the corporation, which was to pay for it annually, on March 25th, a quit-rent of one beaver-skin or the value thereof. The form of government was to be nearly that which the corporation had desired. There were to be a mayor, a recorder, a town clerk, six aldermen, and six assistants, who constituted the corporation; and besides these, a chamberlain or treasurer, a sheriff, a coroner, a clerk of the market, a high constable, seven sub-constables, and a marshal or sergeant-at-mace. The mayor and sheriff were to be appointed by the governor and council on the day of St. Michael the Archangel (September 29th), of each year, and sworn in on October 14th, probably because that was the king's birthday. The recorder, town clerk, and clerk of the market were to be appointed by the king, or, in default of any such appointment, by the governor. On St. Michael's day, the inhabitants of each ward chose an alderman, an assistant, and a constable, the Out Ward choosing two constables. The mayor appointed the high constable; the mayor, aldermen, and assistants the chamberlain. The mayor, recorder, aldermen, and assistants were to have the power of making by-laws; the same, minus the assistants, to hold every Tuesday a court of common pleas.

An examination of this document shows that it was not marked by any special degree of liberality. Few offices were filled by the people, and though these were important, yet the most important, those of mayor, recorder, and sheriff, were in the gift of the governor.

The form of government prescribed by the charter differed from that desired in the petitions of 1683, and temporarily conceded by the governor, in two respects. It did not allow the city to choose its own clerk, nor provide that the mayor should be chosen from among the elected aldermen. Both these differences are on the side of illiberality, which might have been expected to be the result of its being subjected to criticism at London, whether in part by James, as has been suggested on previous pages, or entirely by his officials.

We may now compare the constitution of New York with those of the cities of England. As in the case of the Dutch city government, the result is to display the conservatism with which the lower institutions of government are retained unchanged from age to age. Thus, the nominal quit-rent

which New York paid annually on March 25th, is simply the *firma burgi*, surviving for centuries. The names of the corporation officers, the strict restraints upon the bestowal of the freedom of the city, the regulations of the markets, and even the day of elections, are all the same. It has been asserted that the English prudently copied whatever in the Dutch system was desirable. The form of municipal government affords little ground for the statement. One feature, however, appears to have been so derived, though it was completely Anglicized, and that is the erection of the city into a county by itself. To the burgomasters and schepens corresponded the English mayor and aldermen; but if it were desired to retain the schout also, as a concession to the Dutch inhabitants, the only analogue that could be found was the English sheriff. The sheriff, however, was in general a county officer, and could be retained in a municipal constitution only by making the city a county corporate, as we have seen that the principal towns of England, Bristol, York, Norwich and others, were. Hence it is that the government of the city resembles more closely that of these city counties than that of other English towns, the example of these evidently influencing the framers of the New York governments. Indeed it has more resemblance to that of Norwich, the second or third city of England, than to that of any other.

For a hundred and thirty-five years the form of government established by the Dongan Charter underwent scarcely any change. But, couched though it was in the tediously comprehensive phrases of the English law, several quite important provisions had been omitted from it. Among these defects the most important was, that no provision had been made for filling offices made vacant during the municipal year. In 1702, Lord Cornbury reports a bill passed by the assembly of the province to remedy this defect. In his time, also, a charter was given, which was important to the corporation, yet, since it referred solely to the dock and ferry rights of the city, did not affect the form of government. A further quit-rent of five shillings, to be paid annually on the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24th), was attached as the price of these concessions.

But meanwhile a graver defect in the Dongan Charter was suggested. Though granted after the accession of King James, it had been sealed with the ducal seal of the province. Accordingly, in 1730, the city fathers drew up a petition to Governor Montgomerie, in which they requested that this defect might be removed and their property rights secured to them on a better basis. They also requested that the mayor might be empowered to appoint from among the aldermen a deputy mayor, to succeed in case of his absence or death; that the ordinances of the common council might re-

main in force for twelve months, instead of three ; that they might have certain judicial powers ; that the number of the wards might be increased to seven ; and that the offices of mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, and town clerk (the last after the death of the present town clerk) might be elective.

The charter finally drawn up in the same year, 1730, granted all these requests except the last ; the governor still appointed these officers. It remedied the defects of the previous charter, and defined and amplified the property rights of the corporation. The seven wards were formed, the seventh being called the Montgomerie Ward, and the numbers of the elective bodies correspondingly increased. The mayor was directed to perform the duties attached to the old English offices of clerk of the market and water-bailiff. A further remnant of old English town government is seen in the provision that those refusing to fill offices to which they had been chosen should pay a fine. In conclusion, a third quit-rent, or *firma burgi*, of thirty shillings yearly, was imposed, to be paid at Michaelmas.

During the period preceding the Revolutionary War, only one addition of consequence was made to the municipal constitution. The Ministry Act of 1693 ordered that each city or county in the province should choose and support a Protestant minister ; the freeholders were to choose annually, on the second Tuesday in January, ten vestrymen and two churchwardens, and this vestry, with the justices of the peace, was to levy taxes, to be collected by the constables, for the support of the minister and the poor. The vestrymen and churchwardens were purely civil officers ; the vestry of New York City was entirely distinct from that of Trinity Church. A further act of the Provincial Assembly, in 1745, provided that, for the city and county of New York, two vestrymen should be chosen from each ward, instead of ten at large. These officers appear in the lists of civil officers of the city, and, after 1770, were chosen on the same day as the rest. An act of 1771 ordered that none should vote for the city officers whose freehold was of less than forty shillings.

The Revolution caused an abrupt break in the municipal history. The meetings of the Mayor's Court, the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the common council ceased after July 4, 1776. On the occupation of the city by the British they were not resumed, but, the city being placed under martial law, military courts of police took their place, though nearly all the city officers had been loyal. Requests by the citizens for the restoration of civil law were unavailing. Lord Howe gave the large revenues of the city to Matthews, the late mayor. Governor Robertson appointed a treasurer to receive them, and appropriated them himself. After the evacuation of the city, the new city government repudiated the debts of the corporation.

When, after this seven years' blank, the forms of municipal government were restored, it was under the constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777. The city's rights and privileges remained as before, and as secured by the Montgomerie Charter, but the State succeeded to the rights formerly exercised by the Crown. The city itself was no nearer to self-government than before. All the officers who before had been appointed by the governor and council, were now named, in accordance with Art. XXIII. of the Constitution, by the famous Council of Appointment, consisting of the governor of the State and four senators, one from each district. During the continuance of this constitution, the time of elections, which, for more than a century, had been, after the old English fashion, "the feast day of St. Michael the Archangel," was changed to another. Another modification of importance was that made by the act of Legislature in 1797, which provided that the mayor and recorder might hold the court of common pleas without the aldermen.

As the powers of the Council of Appointment led to enormous abuses, a convention of the State, in 1821, prepared a new constitution, which was the same year adopted. In this the executive of the State lost all powers of appointing any municipal officers, except the recorder, who was, in fact, a judge. The mayor was to be elected annually by the common council of the city; the sheriff, town clerk, and coroner were to be chosen by the people, the first for a term of three years. Thus, at last, after a hundred and fifty-seven years, the self-government which the English conquerors had taken away was restored to New Amsterdam; yet the debates of the convention show that this was done with some misgivings, so little evident to the members was the right of the citizens to administer their own local affairs.

The discussion of the city government of the last sixty years, during which the self-government whose progress we have traced has been almost completely lost, belongs less to history than to one of the most difficult departments of social science.

### JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON

<sup>1</sup> Brodhead, vol. ii., App. A.

<sup>2</sup> Val. Man., 1851, p. 412.

<sup>3</sup> Doc. Hist., iii., 398.

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn, ii., 196.

<sup>5</sup> North, Examen, p. 625. See also a curious conversation in Reresby's Memoirs, p. 281.

<sup>6</sup> See Col. Doc., iii., 230.

<sup>7</sup> Col. Doc., iii., 339.

## JOHN C. CALHOUN

The publishers of "American Statesmen" manifested a high degree of wisdom in their selection of Dr. Von Holst to write for them the memoir of John C. Calhoun in their valuable series. He was in some sort prepared for the undertaking by his previous studies of our constitutional and political history; he was possessed of the German patience and industry, and he was a foreigner. He was exempt, to a very large degree, from partisan influences, he has written in a philosophic spirit, and has endeavored to do full justice to one of the best and purest men who ever sat in the councils of the nation, the peer, if not the superior of his great rivals, Webster and Clay, in the gifts of statesmanship and intellect, and the acknowledged superior in all that makes purity of life and moral worth. We have, however, some doubt if his judgment stands as the verdict of posterity. He has done the very best that was possible with the materials at his command, and if the great Southern statesman in the first sentence of Dr. Von Holst's work is weighed in the balance and found wanting, it is hardly more than we should expect. The author could hardly escape being somewhat warped by his authorities. No one could see at all fairly, looking through the spectacles of John Quincy Adams. For facts he may be reliable, but in spirit and temper he is untrustworthy. The time has not yet come for a just appreciation of John C. Calhoun. He might, if still living, adopt the words of Emmet, and say, "Let there be no inscription upon my tomb; let no man write my epitaph; no man can write my epitaph." No one, either in the North or South, nor yet abroad, has attempted to review his career and the events in which he was a chief actor, to whom he could with propriety say, with Queen Katharine:

"After my death I wish no other herald,  
No other speaker of my living actions,  
To keep mine honor from corruption,  
But such an honest chronicler."

We have had panegyrics and philippics, the efforts of partisans and friends or of bitter foes. The writers have not claimed to hold the critical scales with judgment, but have been, as it were, paid advocates. Like jaundiced men, they have seen all things yellow, and discerned in Mr. Calhoun either no virtues or no faults. He was, in their view, the chief of sinners or the purest of saints; the Cataline who sought the ruin of his country, or the patriot who



had its truest prosperity at heart. It is, perhaps, but natural that it should be so. John C. Calhoun was, more than any and all other men, the representative of the South, and the strife of a generation, which at last culminated in a fratricidal war more dread than any known to history, has left too many scars and wounds to be so soon forgotten. The stings of resentment are still felt, and the fire smoulders among the embers. The war is over. Victory, absolute and entire, perched upon the banners of the North—it had the heaviest artillery—but there are still too many who do not realize that the peaceful dove has folded its white wings over the land. The issues, supposed to have been buried at Appomattox, they dig up again and again; they revive dead controversies; like ghouls, they go over the battle-fields and stir up the corrupting carcasses of the slain, until the country is nauseated with the stench. They cry the old war cries, deal in taunt and covert sneer, reproduce terms of reproach, “slaveocrats,” “mudsills,” and, disarmed of sword and carbine, which, it may be, they never carried, fight the battles over with Billingsgate and abuse. It is for the interest of parties to keep up the alienation between the two sections. Demagogues see in strife the only hope for themselves, for, if the caldron boils, they know the scum will rise to the top. Authors pander to the baseness and write books, like Pindar’s razors, made to sell, to prove that in the dissensions which began with the formation of the Government, the one section had all the right and the other all the wrong. To win the battle, strike down the leaders is the word; and where is the man who bore so many marks of chieftaincy as the great statesman of South Carolina! John C. Calhoun occupied in the South very much the same position of influence which Mr. Webster held in the North—he was its educator in political science. He had arrived, after profound study and thought, at what he regarded as the true theory of the relation of the general Government to the States—it was the creature, the States only were supreme. That theory he maintained by speech and pen, on the floor of Congress and at the hustings; he had illustrated it with great force of argument and a wealth of political learning; he buttressed it with authorities from the writings of statesmen and from the decisions of courts. He had not only satisfied his own mind, but he instilled what he believed to be the truth deep into the hearts of the people—they thought as one man.

As far back as the great debate on the Foote resolutions, to which we are surprised to find that Dr. Von Holst makes no allusion, Mr. Calhoun was advocating his theory. General Hayne made the argument, but Mr. Calhoun furnished the brief; it was the voice of Jacob, but the hands were the hands of Esau. He had not only carried with him a unanimous South, but in the North, the very home of Webster, there were many who held the

States-rights theory ; and there are still many who, despite the arbitrament of battle, believe it to be the true theory and the one best supported by our constitutional history. Battle, like majorities, is no test of truth and right, but of superior strength and force ; it settles no moral question, and liberty itself, as in Sarmatia, may be compelled by brute power to succumb to a Cossack horde. On the other hand, Mr. Webster held fast to the Union as the supreme power. The States had specified rights reserved, but they were not such as could come in conflict with the general law, or if they did, the States, as inferior, must give way. This position he maintained with a strength of logic and law that was regarded as impregnable ; it was so he won the title of the great Expounder of the Constitution. It was then and there, in the great debate, that the real battle of the recent war was fought ; it is to Webster more than all other influences that we owe the preservation of the Union. He furnished the *pou sto*, and taught the people to know the rights, which God, a generation later, gave them the courage to defend and maintain. He was supported by reason ; he had the approval of his conscience ; his name goes sounding through the corridors of time. But not less honest, not less sincere were Mr. Calhoun and the people of the South. They followed where deep conviction led the way ; they left the consequences with God and time ; to truth all things else must yield. *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas.* For the Union Mr. Calhoun had a deep and abiding love, a love that never changed, but none for its oppressions ; and, if alienation, war, and ruin came, he said, let the responsibility rest where it belonged—not upon those who advocated the rights of sovereign States, but upon those who had transformed their agent into a tyrant and oppressor, to resist whom was obedience to God. Said a Southerner in our hearing, when the war had ended and the ruin was realized, when the accumulations of generations were lost by the stroke of a pen, and they knew not if the land they stood on was their own, “ I see but one thing to be thankful for.” When asked what that could be, the reply came, “ That we had the war. Ruin is better than tame submission to oppression and wrong. We do not enter into a voluntary servitude.” There were on both sides, doubtless, mere demagogues—politicians to whose selfishness strife and woe ministered ; but the great mass of the people both in the North and the South were contending for what they supposed were the great principles that underlie constitutional government, and are necessary to human happiness. On both sides there were faults, and on both there were merits, and posterity, we believe, will divide the censure and the praise. It is a great mistake to suppose that the contest between the North and South for so many years

was either for slavery or freedom. That was but an incident of the struggle. The South contended, so they believed, as did their fathers in the Revolution, for the right to govern themselves against the growing encroachments of the general Government upon the reserved rights of the States, those rights, without the reservation of which, no union could ever have been formed, against a centralized despotism. It was in the course of the struggle between the two theories of government, and in the war that grew out of it, that the question of slavery became involved; but it was never the original question on either side. It is too late to discuss the merits or demerits of slavery, it is a dead issue, but there was always something to be said in its behalf and from many points of view. It was almost coeval with the world itself; it held an acknowledged place in the system of Judaism, which was divine in its origin; Christianity did not denounce it, but rather returned the fugitive slave to his master. In the South, and especially in South Carolina, it was something like a patriarchal institution, and the master and his slaves, as in the case of Abraham, were looked upon as one great family. As a rule, the slaves were well cared for, fed and clothed; they were taught the fundamental verities of Christianity, the country was dotted with chapels where they might worship the God and Father of all, and the Christian minister was required to consider them as an integral part of his cure. It is true, they had, as compared with the whites, reached but a low degree of civilization, but in the less than two hundred and fifty years since they had been brought to this country, heathen barbarians pure and simple, they had made a wonderful progress that need fear no comparison with that of the superior race who had lost their barbarism more than fifteen hundred years ago, and were still far from the perfect goal. Originally slavery had been forced upon the South against its will, it was protected by the guarantee of the constitution, and it is a singular fact that in the North it was never discovered to be "the sum of all villainies" until after it was found to be without profit to the masters and their slaves had been sold to the South. It was then that the war began upon slavery, and the constitution which they had voluntarily entered into was declared, while the money for which they had sold their own slaves jingled in their pockets, to be a "league with hell." But we repeat that slavery is a dead issue, nor do we care to waste time on its history, but compelled to touch upon it, we could do no less than intimate that there were two sides even to that question. Slavery fell with the South, not because the North regarded it as a moral evil, but because only by its fall the Union could be preserved. The proclamation that gave freedom to the slave came of no moral or philanthropic impulse, but was produced by military necessity. So, Mr. Calhoun's defence of slavery and of its rights in the Union was inci-

dent to his defence of the Constitution and the Government. It was inspired not by ambition nor by any sinister end, but by a patriotic impulse—by his love for South Carolina first, as his duty was, and then for the Union. So was it in the matter of the Annexation of Texas, and in his negotiations for the settlement of the Northwestern boundary. There was never a moment in his life when he had not deep at heart the true interest of his country according to his light, when he was not endeavoring to promote it. A representative and Senator in Congress, twice Vice-President, a Secretary of State, he spent a lifetime in the public service at Washington. No stain ever dimmed the lustre of his character; he was of unblemished integrity, of untarnished honor. So was he in all his private relations, a man of Roman virtue united with Christian graces. It is impossible that such a man should have lived the life of a traitor and have plotted the ruin of his country; it is easy to understand how he might be the martyr of truth, even of an unpopular truth. He was not a man to be swayed by popular favor or by majorities; he knew it was the majority that cried “Crucify Him, Crucify Him;” and as Athanasius was the sole champion of orthodoxy, so Mr. Calhoun was ready to fight the battle of the South against a world. “If I know myself, if my head was at stake,” he said once in the Senate, “I would do my duty, be the consequences what they might.” That was John C. Calhoun.

We owe Dr. Von Holst a pleasure for his interesting review of the life of this statesman. He has, and with large success, endeavored to write justly and fairly. We have little desire even to allude to the minor faults of a work of such merit. Like some preachers, the author sometimes seems to forget his text, which is John C. Calhoun, and not slavery, and he does not remember that his readers are not as familiar with his subject as he is himself. For the present generation his volume will need careful editing and many foot-notes, if his historical allusions are to be understood. One passage will give pain to many, and all the more because it was uncalled for, and because the evidence fails to sustain the charge. In the matter of the annexation of Texas Dr. Von Holst accuses Mr. Calhoun of writing to the British minister a wilful lie. We do not believe a word of it; it is abhorrent to the whole nature and character of the man, and is contradicted by the tenor of his life. He was fearless, outspoken and true, and would scorn the slightest tergiversation, let alone a downright untruth, even in diplomacy. The extract from his letter which Dr. Von Holst gives is easily susceptible of an explanation in harmony with Mr. Calhoun's character and with his well-known views upon the subject upon which he wrote. It is sometimes necessary to speak ill of the illustrious dead, but it should be only upon a real necessity, and a life of such stern integrity as that of Mr. Calhoun might

have suggested to Dr. Von Holst that possibly he himself might be mistaken in the interpretation he puts upon his words. There is no occasion to read between the lines, the meaning is upon the surface. The annexation of Texas had long been a subject of thought and act upon the part of Mr. Calhoun and others, but it was the declaration of Great Britain that, when Mr. Calhoun wrote, compelled our Government to decisive action. We have no doubt that Mr. Calhoun, with his many virtues, had faults. He believed in truth and changed his opinions with the coming in of new light, and such a change is undoubtedly looked upon as a political sin of very dark dye. He was a statesman, not a politician, and had no patience with the shifty, tricky ways of partisans. Strong in the strength of his own intellect and firm in his convictions, he was perhaps too little ready for compromise, and the less so when he saw that the most solemn compromises were as easily broken as reeds shaken by the winds. Mr. Calhoun was, without doubt, ambitious, and, like Webster and Clay, would have been glad to have reached the presidency. It was an honorable ambition, as well for his country as for himself. But it was not to be. Aristides was banished because the people were tired of hearing him called the Just, and so the illustrious trio towered too far above the multitude ever to become popular favorites; the presidency was for men of more ignoble stamp, and upon whose impress was seen no mark of the mint. We have no doubt, we repeat, that Mr. Calhoun had faults both as a public and a private man; it is human to err, but we were never in a situation to see or to hear of them. We have sat by his side and heard wisdom drop from his lips, but it never occurred to us to consider whether his clothes were patched or his stockings darned. We leave it to others to disclose his frailties, whatsoever they were, and are content ourselves to revere the statesman, the patriot, and the Christian man. We believe his fame will grow brighter and brighter the farther we are removed from our own day and its controversies, and that few names will hold a higher place in the temple of fame than his, whose life the short-sighted pronounce a failure.

Dr. Von Holst has given us the chief points of his public career; but we recur to him rather as he was in the social circle. It was during the Oregon difficulty that he visited the Alabama Canebrake. The country was full of excitement; "fifty-four forty or fight" was the alliterative party cry. Was there to be a war with England? It was of prime importance that the planters should be able to answer this question. It would affect the price of cotton, and cotton was then king. It was determined to ascertain this point from Mr. Calhoun, who was then the leader of the Administration. He was invited to a dinner, to meet socially some of the gentlemen of the neighborhood, all of whom

were wealthy, many of whom were eminent. They were of opposite politics to Mr. Calhoun, being almost, without exception, Whigs and adherents of Henry Clay; but politics in the South rarely interrupted good fellowship. It was such a dinner as one rarely sits down to more than once in a lifetime. It was sumptuous to a high degree; it seemed as if all climes had made contributions to it. The guests gathered early, and before the arrival of Mr. Calhoun, who was personally a stranger to most of the party, it was arranged that an astute lawyer should be Mercurius or spokesman for the rest. Mr. Calhoun arrived in due time, and was introduced to those who had assembled to do him honor. He was tall and slender, his hair combed back from his forehead, a countenance that showed many marks of intelligence and firmness, and an eye that was full of expression and restlessness. It seemed to move as on a pivot; there was nothing it did not see. His manners were full of dignity and courtesy, and in every way he made a favorable and marked impression upon his political opponents. The conversation was general—upon the prospects of the crop, upon methods of cultivation, upon the markets—until dinner was announced. At intervals between eating and talking there was a free circulation of various wines, and the effect was seen in loosened tongues. Mr. Calhoun, however, was as abstemious as an anchorite, and it was never true of him that wine revealed his secrets. Allusions in plenty were made to the Oregon question, to the prospect of war, to the “fifty-four forty or fight,” but they only brought out general remarks. At last a direct assault was made, and the question was asked Mr. Calhoun, “Do you think we shall have a war?” All waited in still silence for the reply. “Ever since I have been sitting here,” he says, “I have been thinking that England will have to look to her laurels. This mutton is an absolute surprise to me, and I did not think it was possible to raise it even in Kentucky, of such quality, and certainly not in the Alabama Canebrake, where no grass grows. I have eaten the famous Southdown mutton in England, where it is native, and it was hardly equal, certainly not finer than this, it showed the possibilities of the South,” and then he launched out upon a favorite topic, Southern agriculture. From time to time efforts were made to bring the conversation back to Oregon and the war, but it was always a case of *revenons a nos moutons*—the Southdown blocked the way. After a *sederunt* of two hours or more, we rose from the table full of learning about the Canebrake mutton, but knowing absolutely nothing of the probable issue of the absorbing question of the day. Mr. Calhoun had baffled our curiosity with scarce a seeming effort, and himself directed the conversation. He showed himself possessed of the first requisite of the diplomatist, the art of judicious silence, and when near the close of day the guests separated, there

was but one feeling of admiration and respect for South Carolina's great son. He had not the genial manners of Clay, nor could he set a table in a roar like Webster, but he stands out to-day the Bayard of our statesmen, the man without fear and without reproach. The Capitol at Washington never looked down upon a statesman with hands and heart more clean, and whose patriotism was more pure.

GEORGE F. CUSHMAN

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## ORIGIN OF THE CREOLES

In the recent social and statistical history of New Orleans, published under the direction of the Census Bureau, the author, George W. Cable, Esq., explains the origin of the creole population as follows: "The term creole is commonly applied in books to the native of a Spanish colony descended from European ancestors, while often the popular acceptation conveys the idea of an origin partly African. In fact, its meaning varies in different times and regions, and in Louisiana alone has, and has had, its broad and its close, its earlier and its later significance. For instance, it did not here first belong to the descendants of Spanish, but of French settlers. But such a meaning implied a certain excellence of origin, and so came early to include any native of French or Spanish descent by either parent, whose pure non-mixture with the slave race entitled him to social rank. Much later the term was adopted by, not conceded to, the natives of European-African or creole-African blood, and is still so used among themselves. At length the spirit of commerce availed itself of the money-value of so honored a title, and broadened its meaning to take in any creature or thing, of variety or manufacture peculiar to Louisiana, that might become an object of sale, as creole ponies, chickens, cows, shoes, eggs, wagons, baskets, cabbages, etc.

"Yet the word has its limitations. The creoles proper will not share their distinction with the native descendants of those worthy Acadian exiles who, in 1756, and later, found refuge in Louisiana. These remain 'cadjiens' or 'cajuns' in the third person plural, though creoles by courtesy in the second person singular; and while there are French, Spanish, and even, for convenience, 'colored' creoles, there are no English, Scotch, Irish, Western, or 'Yankee' creoles, these all being included under the distinctive term 'Americans.'

"Neither the subsequent Spanish nor the American domination has given the creoles any other than the French tongue as a vernacular, and, in fine, there seem to be no more serviceable definition of the creoles of Louisiana or of New Orleans than to say they are the French-speaking, native, ruling classes."

J.

## THE LA SALLE "MEMOIR"

The world sometimes awakes to pay its neglected tribute of homage to the worth of its heroes and martyrs for civilization and progress. Quite apparent is it that the incense of such respect is now being offered to the memory of one such man who, when living, bore the name of Robert Cavalier De La Salle.

It will in no wise detract from the character and celebrity of M. De La Salle if we succeed, as we shall here attempt to do, in discrediting and disproving *one claim*, which has been urged or allowed by several prominent authors in that behalf. No great man's fame certainly need be bolstered up with the hollow bubble of an untruth.

We are led to offer the following criticism by a statement in the article of M. Gabriel Gravier, which appears in the May number of this magazine. We quote as follows :

"In 1672, he, La Salle, resumed a second time his way to the Mississippi, but instead of descending the Ohio, he went by the great lakes, discovered the Illinois, descended it to the 39th degree, entered into another great river which flowed from the northwest to the southeast and followed it to the 36th degree of latitude, where he stopped for want of sufficient force, but was sure that this river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico."

We should here explain that the only warrant for the extraordinary statement above, that La Salle passed down the Illinois River to the Mississippi a year at least before the voyage of Joliet and Marquette, was a document found, as we are led to understand, among the Government Archives of Paris, yet bearing upon its face very mysterious attributes. That paper purports to give particulars of various talks of La Salle himself, about events in America previous to the year 1678, but which strange paper *is neither dated, nor signed, nor in any manner authenticated*; yet it is given the rank of authority by M. Gravier as well as M. Margry, and so, in great part, without collateral testimony of any sort, is raised to the dignity of positive history. So much, we conclude, they would not deny.

The idea has presented itself in the suggestion that the "Memoir," in its design, was possibly one of deception and fraud, and originally intended in some way to harm De La Salle; we are not inclined to believe this however.

M. Gravier cites from the "Memoir" referred to, some of the natural features of a stream spoken of in the document, to show that it was the Missis-



ssippi that La Salle visited ; he gives his opinion, which he tells us accords with that of M. Pierre Margry, that the "Memoir" or relation which details the story was first written down by one Abbé Renaudot, a savant whom he thinks worthy of respect.

We suggest then, in endeavoring to account for the waywardness of the aforesaid relation (if so be it is an *original paper* instead of a blundering and inaccurate *copy*), that whoever may have written the paper, even though he was a man of candor and the purpose an honest one, it is yet not a clear recital ; apparently mixed up with what La Salle may have imported, concerning the voyage of Joliet to the Mississippi, with other journeyings and undertakings of his own.

Mr. Francis Parkman, in his interesting work, entitled "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," referring to a portion of the above-named "Memoir," says : "The first of these statements—that relating to the Ohio—confused, vague, and in great part incorrect, as it certainly is," etc. What faith, then, can we place in a record which attempts to perpetuate statements "*confused, vague, and in great part incorrect*" ?

While it is, with good reason, allowed by Mr. Parkman that La Salle discovered the Ohio, and while he shows the unsoundness of the claim in the "Memoir," that he visited the Mississippi previous to 1673, he still, rather inadvertently as it seems, falls in with *Illinois River part* of the discovery claimed therein. He says : "With regard to his alleged voyage down the Illinois the case is different. Here he is reported to have made a statement which admits but one interpretation—that of the discovery by him of the Mississippi prior to its discovery by Joliet and Marquette."

That La Salle discovered the Mississippi, Mr. Parkman tells us, "*has not been proven.*" Yet the Illinois River voyage Mr. Parkman seems to admit, and in that connection "but one interpretation, that of the discovery of the Mississippi" prior to 1673, the words appear to credit. Again says Mr. Parkman : "La Salle discovered the Ohio, and in all probability the Illinois also."

We are constrained to deny the "probability" and ask for the proof ; yet the only testimony available seems to be a paper allowed to abound in error. Let us quote again from Mr. Parkman :

"But how was La Salle employed in (1671) the following year ? The same 'Memoir' has its solution to the problem. By this it appears that the indefatigable explorer embarked on Lake Erie, ascended the Detroit to Lake Huron, coasted the unknown shores of Michigan, passed the Straits of Michillimackinac, and, leaving Green Bay behind him, entered what is

described as an incomparably larger bay, but which was evidently the southern portion of Lake Michigan."

When that was reached, then came the "tres beau havre," which Mr. Parkman supposes "may have been the entrance to the River Chicago."

We have little confidence in any of those hitherto interpretations of nameless waters, rivers, and localities indicated in the "Memoir." Therefore we will remark that when La Salle, in November, 1680, addressed a long communication to Count de Frontenac, in which Chicago River has some notice, he did not call it "*tres beau havre*."

If La Salle had discovered, and was familiar from personal observation with the route from Lake Michigan *via* Chicago or other channel to the Mississippi in 1671, would he not have told of it previous to 1678?

Is it reasonable to suppose that the Government of New France would have taken pains to send out an exploring party to search for the Mississippi in 1673, if the same thing had been accomplished two years earlier by La Salle, who was a particular friend of Frontenac, the governor?

Is it at all likely, if La Salle had made the voyage of the lakes and thence to the Mississippi in 1671, that the only revelation of the fact would remain buried for near two centuries in a slatternly narrative, which owned no author and knows no parentage?

It is not, after all, quite supposable, that whatever truth there may be in that much-quoted "Memoir" that its date should appear 1683 or 1684, a part of both of which years La Salle passed in France during his last visit, and that it was then that the information so loosely and inaccurately recorded was imparted to the writer of that "Memoir." Therefore we would hint that we are spared further speculation as to the before-named lake and river voyage, which began when the "indefatigable explorer embarked on Lake Erie," for that was when he went on board the renowned Griffon, in August, 1679. The reader will please compare the two stories and mark their similarity; even the crossing (from the 'St. Joseph) "to a river flowing westward" (the Kankakee) "until it was joined by another flowing from the northwest" (the Desplaines), then continuing down the Illinois to Peoria Lake, where he built the fort named *Crevecœur*. The *name* of that fort involves an explanation which might tell the reader *why* La Salle "stopped for want of sufficient force," as given in the "Memoir."

We will add here what we should have remarked before, that the valuable article of M. Gravier gives us many facts of the early life of De La Salle not known to us before; and the beautiful portrait accompanying the paper (which we trust to be a truthful resemblance) is a joy to look upon.

HENRY H. HURLBUT

## SIR ROBERT CARR IN MAINE

“A friend in the day of adversity, thus hath your Honour been knowne to us.”

LETTER, ROYAL JUSTICES TO CARR, November 29, 1665.

An interesting episode occurred in connection with the visit of the Royal Commissioners to the Province of Maine in 1665, and as the materials for illustrating it are in my possession, I offer them as a contribution to the History of Maine, which we all hope may be properly written in the near future.<sup>1</sup> I am aware that the name of Sir Robert Carr in connection with a Royal Governorship of Maine has been referred to in previous histories of the State, local and general, but so far as I know there has been no attempt to explain the circumstances and causes which I believe led up to the proposed appointment, and which are here grouped together to sustain my theory. It will be necessary to preface the subject with some explanatory statements of the causes which brought about the visit of these legates of the crown. In 1652 Massachusetts pretended that the Province of Maine was situated within the limits granted by her charter,<sup>2</sup> and “taking advantage of the late rebellion,” as the younger Gorges memorializes,<sup>3</sup> they proceeded to usurp the functions of government lawfully inherited by the grandson of the brave old knight who had received them from the hands of his royal master Charles First. The Protectorate turned a deaf ear to the repeated appeals of the inhabitants of the Province of Maine, and as Sir Ferdinando Gorges had perished while battling against Cromwell, his heir “dust not,” as he said, “assert his right to the said Premisses.” The act of “usurpation,” as the people of Maine called it, or “submission,” as the authorities of Massachusetts offensively styled it, was accomplished. It was begun and ended in comparative peace, though not without threats and intimidation on the one part, and helplessness and unwillingness on the other. It was a case of might and right, and rights were trampled upon, abused, and held in duress till the fifth year after the “happy restoration.” Then, after months of persuasion, the “Merrie Monarch” was induced to interpose his authority between the oppressors and the oppressed, and, as is well known, sent over in 1664 four commissioners, of whom Sir Robert Carr, Baronet, was one.<sup>4</sup> Among their duties, public and private, was to make the long-deferred restoration of the Province of Maine to Ferdinando Gorges, the legal proprietor. After transacting other business in the southern colonies of New England, conquering the Dutch at New Amsterdam, where they left the

chief commissioner, Colonel Richard Nicolls, in command, Sir Robert and his colleagues arrived at York, Maine, June 23, 1665, to complete their work. They were joyfully welcomed by the people and honored with military escort by the provincial train-bands. Carr was fresh from his battles with the Dutch in the New Netherlands, and doubtless the fame of his reckless courage had preceded him. Indeed, it has been said of him that he "exhibited the most disgraceful rapacity" after his conquest of the simple burghers.<sup>5</sup> The Royal Commissioners, instead of delivering the provincial government to the heir of the Lord Proprietor, as directed, proceeded to place the administration of affairs in the hands of a new set of officials who should be amenable only to the king.<sup>6</sup> The Massachusetts General Court sent down agents to intercept them in their work, but determined to support this newly created political fabric. Sir Robert Carr issued an order to the Commander of the Militia to appear with his company "in arms on Tuesday morning next, in the field where they usually meet."<sup>7</sup> Thus arrayed, he awaited the arrival of the enemy. This bold action astonished the officials of Massachusetts and delighted the people of Maine. For the first time in the history of their campaign of usurpation had they been thwarted, and, after addressing a letter of protest to the doughty Sir Robert, they retraced their steps homeward, to report that they had been obstructed by an armed force. The dauntless Baronet had presumed to snub the emissaries of the great General Court of Massachusetts, and his fame, hitherto resting on the rumor of victory over the Dutch, was secured by this unheard-of act of audacity. The planters in Maine saw in him the Moses who would lead them out of the wilderness, the man of nerve for their leader. His popularity spread apace, and the new court in session at Wells, July 18th, following, voiced the general sentiment of the loyalists in an address from the bench to the throne, when they beg that the king "would in cleamency permitt and order your Honorable Commissioner Sir Robert Carr Kt: to bee and continew as under your Command our Governor."<sup>8</sup> The people were now thoroughly aroused, and the new officials infused with the spirit of their valiant friend, bristled up to a degree of courage that strengthened their position at home and served as a warning to intruders. The Royal Commissioners soon left for Boston, but the influence of Sir Robert was still pregnant with meaning, for at the first intimation in August next of the intention of Massachusetts to set foot on the soil of Maine, the Royal Justices ordered the train-bands of the different towns "to bee ready in compleat armes at the first Call of the Drum, fitted with all necessary provision (if occasion bee) for military service," and they were "by force of armes" to support the loyal government.

Early in October Sir Robert returned to Maine with one of his colleagues,<sup>9</sup> to reconstruct the government at Sagadahoc, and on his way back to Boston he learned that the Massachusetts officials had got as far as Portsmouth and proposed crossing over into Maine. Once more he stood guard at the frontier and warned them to cross at their peril,<sup>10</sup> and Edward Rishorth, of York, one of the Royal Justices, said: "I render you many thanks for your dayly care of us, and paines amongst us. Whereof I doubt not the continuance till the issue of these vexatious molestations."<sup>11</sup> Then Carr went to Boston and proceeded on his journey to Delaware. Rishworth, writing later to him, October 30th, hears "by some reports from our neighbours who are lately come from Boston, that now the Massachusetts authority do resolve to suspend any further actings towards us untill the spring,"<sup>12</sup> and thus reassured he wishes him a "prosperous journey and safe returne." But Sir Robert never returned, as he was interested in property in the conquered provinces of the Dutch, although he retained a lively interest in the people who loved him so well and did not cease to appeal for his personal presence. The Royal Justices, in a joint letter, November 22, 1665, wrote to Colonel Nicolls, then in New York, with the "humble request that your Honour would be pleased to propose our desires unto Sir Robert Carr whose presence at his owne convenience in the spring would be acceptable,"<sup>13</sup> and a week later, November 29th, they addressed themselves to Carr in a like manner and purpose, in which they say: "The more then ordinary testimony of your friendly affection unto us so largely evidenced and influenced by one of the strongest arguments to attest the reallity thereof, which is by the knowledge of a friend in the day of adversity, thus hath your Honour been knowne to us, in streights for our security, in answeare to whose love upon the obligation of our thankfulness, wee must ever remain your perpetuall debtors."<sup>14</sup> All these smiles of love and devotion had their effect upon the feelings of Sir Robert, and under date of December 5th, following, he addressed a petition to the throne, asking for an appointment as Governor of the Province of Maine.<sup>15</sup> What became of this request is not known, but it is certain that it was never granted. Carr returned to England, and died June 1, 1667, at Bristol, the day after he disembarked, but the political *régime* which he founded and defended held its own for three years. It was not till the valiant knight had been in his grave for a twelvemonth that the Massachusetts authorities attempted to repossess the coveted territory, and then its design was accomplished only by a military force.<sup>16</sup> What the result might have been had Sir Robert held the executive power in Maine at the time of that attack in July, 1668, we can easily surmise. One cannot doubt but that he would have held the frontier against the hos-

tile invasion, and perhaps crossed swords with the leaders. He might have, as he did in 1664 with the Dutch, seized Major-General Leverett, who led the troops, and sent his soldiers to be "sold as slaves in Virginia," and certainly he would have taken especial delight, as it is said he did at the Quaking Society of Plockhoy, in sending a marauding party to Boston to capture all their hymn-books, tipstuffs, and tuning-forks, "to a very naile."

CHARLES E. BANKS

<sup>1</sup> Williamson's History of Maine, written half a century ago.

<sup>2</sup> Mass. Coll. Rec., iv. (i.), 70.

<sup>3</sup> Colonial Papers, xv., 31, dated April 4, 1661.

<sup>4</sup> The Royal Commissioners were Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Bart., Colonel George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick. Sir Robert was of Ithall, Northumberland, according to Drake (Biographical Dictionary), but another authority (Pepys' Diary, iii., 314) makes him a resident of Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Following this latter statement, Palfrey (History of New England, ii., 580) explains his appointment upon the ground that he was a brother-in-law of Sir Henry Bennett, then Secretary of State (Collins' Peerage, Brydges' Edit., iv., 129). If this latter authority is correct, we learn from the gossipy Pepys that Sir Robert's house was a place "where it seems people do drink high, all that come" (ibid., p. 424).

<sup>5</sup> Brodhead, History of New York, 744-5. "Carr now exhibited the most disgraceful rapacity; appropriated farms to himself, his brother, and Captains Hyde and Morley; stripped bare the inhabitants and sent the Dutch soldiers to be 'sold as slaves in Virginia.' To complete the work, a boat was despatched to the city's colony at the Horekill, which was seized and plundered of all its effects, and the marauding party even took 'what belonged to the Quaking Society of Plockhoy, to a very naile.'"

<sup>6</sup> Commission printed in Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Vol. i., Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Williamson, History of Maine, i, 417.

<sup>8</sup> Colonial Papers, xix., 82 (i.), July 18, 1665.

<sup>9</sup> Samuel Maverick.

<sup>10</sup> Colonial Papers, xix., 133 (iii.).

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., xix., 133 (ii.).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., xix., 133 (iv.).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., xix., 134.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., xix., 136.

<sup>15</sup> Colonial Calendar (Sainsbury Ed.), v., 1100 (iv.), comp. N. Y. Col. Rec., iii., 109.

<sup>16</sup> Colonial Papers, xxiii. (ii.), 50, 58, comp. Jocelyn, Two Voyages, 198.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## THE BATTLE OF HARLEM PLAINS

(Continuation of Appendix IV. 375, VIII. 39.)

THE following description of the battle written by Joseph Hodgkins, a lieutenant in the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Colonel Little, was kindly communicated by Augustine Caldwell. The original manuscripts of the correspondence of Lieutenant Hodgkins with his wife Sarah, are now in possession of his grandson Francis H. Wade. A selection from them has appeared in that valuable publication, the "Antiquarian Papers," issued by Messrs. Caldwell and Dowe, at Ipswich, Mass. Lieutenant Hodgkins was present at the battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, Harlem Heights, White Plains, Princeton, and the surrender of Burgoyne. By comparing this letter with what has gone before, the reader will readily discover its interest and value.

W. K.

IN CAMP AT FORT CONSTITUTION,  
New Jersey, Sept. ye 30, 1776

MY DEAR : We have had Experience of gods goodness to us in Preserving us in Battle and Carrying us through many defilties. Since I wrote my last : of which I shall give you a short account, viz.: on Sartaday ye 14 instant we moved to Harlem, and incamped on an Hill about nine miles from York, and about 12 o'clock that night we whare alarmed and marched about one mile, and thence Took Post and staid Till Sun Rise, then we marched home. We had not got Brakfast Before there whas a very heavy Cannonading at the Sitty, and we whar told that the Enemy whas about Landing

Down to Harlem Point, whare we Ex-pected they would Land By there motions. But while our Brigade with two more whas wating there : they Landed at a place called Turtal Bay 3 or 4 miles nearer York, and there whas two Brigades there. But they Being Chiefly milisha it whas said that Two hundred of the Enemy made them all Run, so they Landed without much Resistance and marched towards York and Took Possession of the Sitty about 4 o'clock on Sunday. Now you must think they whare in high spirits and thought all whas there own : so on Monday morning they thought they would atack us with about six thousand men and Drive us all over Kings bridge. But thay whare much mistaken. But however as soon as we heard that thay whare advancing towards us, the General sent out 200 Rangers under command of Coll. Knolton who soon met the enemy and fired on them and sot them on the Retreat, till thay got Prety near us, then the Enemy Halted Back of an Hill, Blode a french Horn which whas for a Reinforcement, and as soon as they got itt, they Formed in to two Coloms : But our Brigade whas Posted in the Edge of a thick Wood and By some climing up a Tree could see the Enemys motion and while they whare aforming, the General sent a Party to atack them which answered the End for which they whare sent ; for our People made the atack and Retreated towards us to the Place whare we whanted them to come, and then the Enemy Rushed Down the Hill with all speed to a Plain spot of ground, then our Brigade marched out of the woods, then a very hot Fire Began on Both sides, and Lasted for upwards of an hour, then the Enemy retreated up the

Hill, and our People followed them and fote them near an hour Longer till they got under Cover of their ships, which whas in North River, then our People Left them.

The Loss on our Side is about 40 Killed and 60 : or 70 wounded. There was none Killed in our Reg<sup>t</sup>. and about 20 wounded. One of our Corp<sup>l</sup>s whas Badly wounded through the knees, but I hope he will due well ; the Loss on the Enemys side is not sarning, but according to the Best accounts that we have had, they had near 500 killed and near as many wounded. They whare seen to carry off several wagon Loads Besides our People Burryed a good many that they left. We whare informed by two Priseners that they had not the Milisha to Deal with at this time. They said that the Surgeon swore that they had no milisha to Day. This was the first Time we had any chance to fite them and I doubt not if we should have another opportunity, but we should give them another Dressing.

At this place whare we incamped whas within two gun shots of the Place whare the Battle whas, for we whare always kept on the advanced Post next to the enemy until now ; and now we are on the Jersey Hills where we have been since the 20 of this month ; and I hope we shall stay here the rest of the Campan, as I have been at the Troble of Building a Log House with a ston Chimney. Had not Lodged on any thing but the ground since we left Long Island.

Capt Wade has been sick and absent from me ever since the 13 Day of this month, and has this moment got hear and is pretty well again.

*Extract of a letter from Nathaniel Wade, Captain in Col. Little's Regiment, to his Mother, Mrs. Ruth Wade, of Ipswich, Mass., dated Fort Constitution, New Jersey, Oct. 1, 1776.*

I am Not able to Give you a Particuler Account of the Action [Harlem Plains] as I was not Present ; tis like you may have a Regular Acct. as there will many write that was Present at the time of the Action. We are now Incamped on the jersey Shore, nearly opposite to where we were when I wrote last : The Enemy are Encamped where we ware at Bloomingdale ; they have Been Very Still Since the Battle ; it is Generally thought there Next attempt will be on this Shore ; as they ware disappointed of possessing themselves of King's Bridge as they expected. We have considerable Number of troops now Sick. But the Rest in Good Spirits ; though they have Been much fatigued.

I had 10 man Killed, & but only one slightly wounded. The young man Allen I made mention of wounded in my last, had his arm taken of and is since dead. Our loss in the late engagement was about one hundred and thirty Killed and wounded, and that of the enemy more than three to one.

[Antiquarian Papers, No. 31.]

*Extract of a letter from Wm. Duer, dated Fish Kills, October 3, 1776, addressed to Tench Tilghman, at Headquarters, Harlem Heights.*

I have received your Letter of the 2<sup>d</sup> Inst. and am happy to find that you have gather'd in the Harlem Harvest. I think with you, from the Enemys not interrupting our foraging Party, that they are not very fond of attacking our Troops.

I am glad you have so nearly completed your Defences in the Front, and hope



you will be expeditious in fortifying your Flanks to the Eastward of Harlem River.

[From the original in possession of Oswald Tilghman.]

*Lines occasioned by a ramble over part of Harlem Heights ; particularly a spot remarkable for an action said to have taken place there, between a party of Americans and a detachment of the British army.*

Hail to the shades where Freedom dwelt !

Where wild flowers deck her martyrs grave ;  
Where Britain's minions keenly felt  
The stern resistance of the brave.

'Twas here in firm array, they stood—  
Here met Oppression's giant power ;  
Here nobly pour'd their sacred blood,  
And victory crown'd their dying hour.

Here Leslie fell—a gallant name  
By ev'ry freeman's wishes blest :  
And Knowlton here (of equal fame)  
In honour's lap has sunk to rest.

Oh ! ever hallowed be the earth  
Where Freedom's soldiers found a tomb !  
Their laurels proudly spring to birth,  
And shadowing cedars spread their gloom.

Hail to the shades where Freedom dwelt !  
Dwells she no more these shades among ?  
Yes—by the sacred blood here spilt,  
We'll still resist the Oppressor's wrong !

What boots the herd of puny slaves,  
Who o'er the Atlantic plow their way,  
Our western world shall find them graves,  
Our Freedom beam a purer ray.

[These verses appeared originally in the *N. Y. Evening Post* and were reprinted in the *N. Y. Weekly Museum* of October 5, 1811.]

#### SIDE-LIGHTS UPON THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1824-25

A LETTER BY P. P. F. DEGRAND

[THE following letter by Mr. DeGrand, written in January, 1824, and addressed to General Dearborn, is communicated by Jeremiah Colburn, Esq., of Boston.

The writer was a strong friend of John Quincy Adams, and at the time was in Washington, "working" for that gentleman, with whom he had intimate connections. It is curious to learn that "Mr. Calhoun's friends advocate the same cause as Mr. Adams'." On the back of the manuscript of this letter is the query: "Was Mr. Adams the 'valued friend'?" ]

"I will give you frankly my opinion, in fav<sup>r</sup> of Gen<sup>l</sup> Andrew Jackson for the Vice-Presidency, & the reasons which have induced me to form that opinion.

"J. C. Calhoun, the other prominent candidate does not appear to me to be the fittest man for the office, nor the office the fittest one for him.

"The Senate is a body of old men, many of them having been Governors of their own State & almost all of them having held other distinguished stations.—Is it fit and proper to place a Gentleman, comparatively young, as Mr. Calhoun is, over their shoulders, to preside over them ?

"There is very little deliberation, in the Senate.—As President of that Body, the Vice-President of the U. S. is precluded from taking any part, even in what little debate takes place.—What field then, does this present, for Mr. Calhoun to display his talents, before the nation ?

"The Vice-President is not a member of the Cabinet & no active duty of any sort ever devolves upon him.—Does it not then seem to be made for a kind of Sine-Cure for some man grown old in his constitution, in the service of his Country, as Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson has ?

"The Vice-Presidency is not considered as a desirable office, neither by

Mr Calhoun, nor by his friends.—It would be too much like laying him over the shelf.—His friends & himself, as do the whole nation, look to him as fit for active duty, either as the head of a department, or as a Foreign Minister.—Even on the Floor of Congress, as a simple Member, Mr Calhoun would be in a situation, far preferable for himself; far more likely to advance his own reputation; far more likely to enable him to be efficiently useful to his Country;—than he would be as Vice-President.

“To subserve the best interest of the Country, it is highly necessary that the next administration should be strong.—A strong administration alone, can pursue, with great efficiency, such plans as it may form, for the Public Good.

“We must be prepared to find in array, against the next administration, the friends both of Crawford & Clay.

“The alliance of the friends of Calhoun can be easily secured, without giving him the Vice-Presidency.—But how can the alliance of Jackson’s Friends be obtained?—Will Jackson accept a command, in time of Peace?—Will he accept one of the Departments?—Will he take a Foreign Embassy?—I think he would not consider either as compatible with his precarious State of health;—nor would he think either likely to add to his present renown.—On the other hand, I am informed, from first rate source, that both Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson and his friends are exceedingly desirous that he should be Vice-President, if he cannot succeed to obtain the Presidency.

“Nor would there be a Sacrifice of principle in thus forming an alliance with Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson’s friends, for the next ad-

ministration; because their Policy, as to Public measures, is precisely the same as the Policy of the friends of John Q. Adams;—on precisely the same grounds, the appointment of Mr Calhoun by Mr Adams to some distinguished station & an alliance with Mr Calhoun’s friends is entirely proper;—because Mr. Calhoun’s friends advocate the same course as Mr Adams’.

“Let us go one step further.—Take Mr Adams out of the way.—Suppose he should die or any other extreme case should deprive him of the office of President, who is the man that, next to him, stands the best chance of success?—*undoubtedly* Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson.

“And suppose Gen<sup>l</sup> Jackson to be the President of U. S., does not the interest of the Country imperatively demand that the administration should be strong and efficient?—Does it not demand the alliance of the Friends of Calhoun, Adams & Jackson?—& will not our Voting for Jackson as Vice-President, naturally produce the result of having the Adams party consider themselves & be considered by Jackson, under his administration, as administration-men?

“Take again into view the most probable case, viz. that Mr Adams is elected President.—He is a Northern man; He is from a non-Slave State.—Of course his administration wants to be sustained by Southern influence, by influence from Slave-holding States.—Jackson answers both purposes by being a native of South Carolina & a Citizen of Tennessee.—Again, Mr Adams is from the Atlantic States.—He naturally has Eastern & Atlantic influence.—By the aid of Jackson, he is to gain Western influence.—The

Western Country is growing very fast in Wealth & Population ; & in point of justice, as well as of Policy, truly deserves a share of the first honors of the Nation.

“The nomination of Pennsylvania, viz Jackson for President,—and Calhoun for vice-President, offers of itself such a strange Phenomena that it is the Duty of every good citizen to discountenance every part of it ; so that its signal defeat may serve as a warning to all future Politicians.

“Every such nomination should be made with a due regard to the feelings of every portion of the Republic.—If it is not, local jealousies will inevitably increase, until they destroy the Union.—The nomination of Pennsylvania is of *two natives of the same State*, viz : South Carolina ;—*two Citizens, of States extreme South*, viz South Carolina & Tennessee ; *two Citizens from Slave holding States*.

“After deeming Jackson the fittest man for the Presidency, does not this nomination proclaim aloud the absurd supposition that they could not find in any of the Middle States, nor in New England, nor in any State, which does not hold Slaves, any one single man, fit to hold the Station of Vice-President ?

“Is not this, of itself, a most preposterous & presumptuous doctrine ?

“In the most splendid days of Virginia ;—when she had to offer to the Nation, such men as Washington,—Jefferson,—Madison,—& Monroe,—did Virginia, even then, move without giving the 2<sup>d</sup> place in the Gov<sup>t</sup> to some Citizen, born in another State ?—to some one, from non-Slave holding States ?—to some one from an entirely different section of the Country ?—In fine, has not the Vice

Presidency, during those periods, been filled by some person either from New England or from New-York ? Has it not been filled by Jn<sup>o</sup> Adams,—Aaron Burr,—George Clinton,—Elbridge Gerry,—Dan<sup>l</sup> D Tompkins ?

“This course of reasoning, thus far, has been furnished by *a valued friend*, whose views are guided to this result on exclusively public ground. — He gave them to me on my stating to him, that his friends here wished to know the views he entertained. — He added, however, that his friends would, of course, on this subject, as on every other, do as to them seemed best, & reject if they saw fit, the conclusion which he himself had formed & now freely & frankly offered for their consideration, on what, to him appeared the very best ground.

“To this course of reasoning I have to offer the addition of the following observations of my own :

“That Jackson's nomination conforms to the sentiments of our Republican friends generally appears to me very clear from the fact that its suggestion, by I. B. Davis, at a large Republican Adams meeting at Fanueil Hall, was rec<sup>d</sup> with bursts of enthusiastic applause ;—that it occurred at the same time and without concert (as I know it did) to W. Palfrey Jr. Editor of Essex Register, Mr Jos. E. Sprague Gen<sup>l</sup> H. A. S. Dearborn, S. B. Davis Editor Boston Patriot, myself and several of our friends ;— & that the nomination was (without any previous correspondence & in fact without any correspondence at all) copied instantaneously in the Patriot, Essex Register, Boston Weekly Report, Portland Statesman, New London Gazette, Manf. Jour-

nal, Providence ; Balto Patriot, Washington National Journal, Lynchburg Virginian, and a great number of other papers in every part of the Union—in most of them with marks of warm approbation.”

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### NOTES

**THE SCOPE OF AMERICAN HISTORY—** According to the view of some persons, a magazine of American history would be a singular compound, if, indeed, the term could be applied to the homogeneous material of which they would have it made up. The exclusive claim is made, in turn, for local, general, and political history, biography, genealogy, and bibliography, together with the department of pure antiquities. On the one hand, it is sometimes fancied that American history means the history of New York, and on the other, of New England ; while the South and West occasionally seem to think that “South ” and “West ” well nigh exhaust the points of the compass. Nevertheless, a magazine of American history can accept no narrow field. Its scope must be national, not sectional. It must seek to encourage, not one, but all departments of historical investigation ; beginning with the dim traditional period of the New World, taking in the pre and post-Columbian eras, the early cartology, the colonial times, the days of the Revolution, the epoch of the formation of the Constitution, the story of the second war with England, the Mexican War, the struggle over the institution of Slavery, and the war for the preservation of the Union ; each subject being illustrated

by every class of material that affords any light. A just method is comprehensive, and the individual may well doubt the value of his particular investigations while pursuing them without regard to the value of the studies of others. Any study of American history worthy of the name must be broad in its sympathies and possess a national interest ; and thus, while recognizing the special claim of particular fields, seek to do some measure of justice to all parts of the country.

**CONCERNING EXPRESSION —** Another thing required is adequate expression. Suppression forms no part of historical investigation. While the veil at times may be drawn over certain events and episodes of the past, nothing should be withheld that is essential to the correct understanding of important subjects. Truth claims a hearing. For instance, in printing *verbatim* such a diary as that of Chief Justice Sewall, its editors do a good work, while the pruning of Washington’s correspondence by Sparks is altogether reprehensible. What we need to know is, not what some critic thinks a man ought or ought not to have said, but what he actually said. Likewise there is the demand for the expression of differing views. Room should always be found for a fair measure of reply, even for the amiable optimist who discovers no end of good in some system in connection with which most persons fail to find anything but evil. The truth is poor indeed that cannot brook some measure of comparison and challenge.

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**WASHINGTON’S BIRTHDAY —** The following is the record contained in the Washington Bible, the property of Mrs.

George Washington Bassett, and now in charge of the Librarian of Congress. Thus it will be seen that the note [viii. 223] is incorrect where it recites that Washington was "born ye 11th day of February, 1732," whereas it was "173 $\frac{1}{2}$ ."

"Augustine Washington and Mary Ball was married the 6th of March, 1730-31.

"George Washington, son to Augustine and Mary his wife, was Born ye 11th Day of February 173 $\frac{1}{2}$  about 10 in the morning and was Baptized the 5th of April following, Mr. Beverley Whiting & Capt. Christopher Brooks Godfathers and Mrs. Mildred Gregory, Godmother.

"Betty Washington was Born the 20th June 1733 about 6 in ye morning. Departed this life the 31st of March 1797 at 4 o'clock [\* \* \* undecipherable].

"Samuel Washington was Born ye 16 of Nov'r, 1734, about 3 in ye morning.

"Jane Washington Daughter of Augustine and Jane Washington Departed this Life Jan'y 1734-5.

"John Augustine Washington was Born ye 13th of Jan'y about 2 in ye morning 1735-6.

"Charles Washington was Borne ye 1 Day of May about 3 in ye morning, 1738.

"Mildred Washington was Born ye 21st of June, 1739, about 9 at night.

"Mildred Washington Departed this Life Oct'r ye 23d, 1740, being thursday, about 12 o'Clock at noon; aged 1 year and four months.

"Augustine Washington Departed this Life ye 12th Day of April, 1743; aged 49 years."

THE ELEVEN THOUSAND VIRGINS — The world is pretty well acquainted with the tradition of the "Eleven Thousand Virgins," by a blunder evolved out of eleven. Nevertheless, we must believe that there were eleven thousand, and, in this belief, at Cologne they show the visitor the supposed relics of that number of human beings. The fame of the eleven thousand virgins of Cologne has been recognized in cartology, and various portions of the world have been honored by association with the martyred maidens; to all of which we make no objection. On the early maps of the Gulf of St. Lawrence a certain island was known as "the Island of the Virgins," and is recognized on some maps at the present time. On the so-called "Cabot Map" of 1542, where Newfoundland is shown as a *group* of islands, one of them is marked

" *Onsmel*  
*y o gines,*"

which is similar to the legend on the same map at the Straits of Magellan, where we read, "C: de onzemil virgines." The legend upon the St. Lawrence section of the map *is* a little hard to read, but still quite readable; yet in the reproduction of a section of this map, in the little book by Mr. Nicholls on Sebastian Cabot (London, 1864), "Onsmel y o ginis" appears as "Mt Semel gines"! Such is the fate of names, and such the prevailing unacquaintance with paleography, combined with the tendency to blunder, so that nothing can insure absolute reproduction, except the photo-engraving process; especially where these inscriptions and legends have passed through several languages.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN—In the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, October 12, 1782, the return of the general election of the county of Berks was received and read, by which it appears that Abraham Lincoln was duly elected a representative to the General Assembly (see "Pa. Col. Records," vol. xiii., 393). And on November 7th, following, Abraham Lincoln, as a representative, signed the declaration of the election of John Dickinson, President, and James Ewing, Vice-President, of the Supreme Executive Council (see *ib.*, 414, 415). This proves conclusively that Abraham Lincoln resided in Pennsylvania long after he is represented to have left the State by I. L. Nall, in his account of President Lincoln's family. C.

THE ORIGINAL "THIRTEEN"—Among some manuscript memoranda, kept by Major Theodore Woodbridge, of the Connecticut line, we find the following incident noted:

"Sunday Aug<sup>t</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> [1780]

"At Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington's Table a branch with 13 apples very curiously set together on it was sent in by Major Leavenworth—the Gen<sup>l</sup> ordered their bearer a bottle of Rum for his recompense—The General handed it to the Marquis—while he was viewing it two dropped off. The General observed to the Marquis 'he had ruined two of our States.' As they were handed round they came to Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene, at which time all but 4 had come off. 'All gone (says Gen<sup>l</sup> Greene), but the 4 N. England States—here is one smaller than the others—that is Rhode Island'—One among them (which was a withered one, exclusive of the 4) is dried

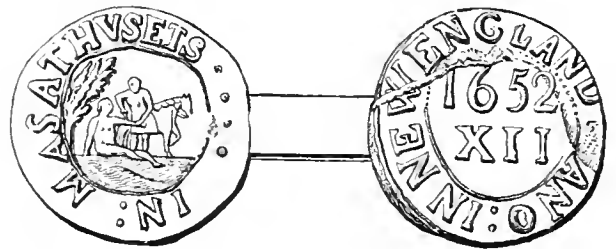
up before it was grown (says the Marquis) which is Vermont."

A CASE IN CASUISTRY—In volume iii. of Sewall's Diary, it is recorded, under date of May 13, 1716: "I had an inkling that two merchants (La Blond and Gerrish) came from Ipswich. I said, How shall I avoid fining them?" It appears that though they travelled on Sunday, they attended meeting in the afternoon, and the Judge was inclined to avoid the issue with the Sabbath breakers. "Being in a strait, I prayed God to direct \* \* Profanation of the Sabbath was very great; and the transgressors were fleeing from Town to Town, and County to County, could rarely be Censured. On the other hand they were young. Mr. La Blond's Mother, my Neighbor, Mr. Gerrish had a smell of Relation; both of them of another Province; and I feared lest my Cousin's Custom might be lessn'd by it, because I had Information by her Husband, whose wife, my Cousin, was a Gerrish, and Cousin to this Rich<sup>d</sup>. Gerrish, or Child of Capt. Rich<sup>d</sup> Gerrish of the Bank [Portsmouth] Mr. La Blond appeared brisk as if he ail'd Nothing. I came to this Resolution, that if they would make such a submission as this I would let them pass, viz.: We do acknowledge our Transgressions of the Law in Travailing upon the Lord's Day, May 13, 1716, and do promise not to offend in the like Kind hereafter, as witness our Hands—Richard Gerrish, Peter La Blond. This offer they rejected with some disdain, and Mr. La Blond paid me a 30s. and 10s. Bill of Credit for both their fines." Evidently, the sinners got the better of the good judge.

THE BUSHNELL COINS—GOOD SAMARITAN SHILLING—BRASHER DOUBLOON—LORD BALTIMORE PENNY—The Bushnell collection of American Coins and Medals, lately knocked down at auction in New York, is described as “the finest ever sold.” This is what the catalogue says, which we understand about gives the truth in this case. Experts eagerly sought its specimens and paid high prices, the Good Samaritan Shilling, for instance, bringing \$650, the Brasher Doubloon, \$505, and the Lord Baltimore Penny, \$550.

The Good Samaritan himself was confessedly worth his weight in gold; but his namesake, the shilling, appears to be worth many times its weight, which is, doubtless, due to the fact that the shilling is unique, while, it is assumed (and to be hoped) that the Good Samaritan is not. This particular coin is held in value as being of colonial make, two hundred and thirty years ago—a Massachusetts specimen—of which but one impression was ever struck, the die being very much cracked on the reverse, rendering further impressions impossible. Mr. Bushnell regarded it as a pattern piece, struck and submitted when the issue of a coinage was first contemplated in the colony, others suspecting it to have been a fancy piece not intended for circulation. As the subjoined cut shows, the coin has a very good representation of the Good Samaritan attending a man by the roadside, his horse and a tree in the background, surrounded by the letters MASATHVSETS. . . . IN. On the reverse is the date 1652 XII within a circle of dots and IN NEW ENGLAND. ANO: A Good Samaritan Shilling was

sold in the English Lord Pembroke collection, formed about two hundred years ago, differing from this in some respects, and having the words FAC-SIMILE stamped upon it, and it is supposed that Mr. Bushnell's was the original after which the latter was copied. Mr. Bushnell, unfortunately, did not say from whom he purchased his specimen in England so that its antecedents cannot be traced. At any rate, it is an interesting coin—interesting as much in the sentiment of its device as in the rarity of its issue—especially, as it seems that a similar coin, without date, was sold in the Madai collection (German), at Hamburg, in 1788. That specimen had the words from Luke x.: “A certain man went



down from Jerusalem to Jericho.” In the same collection there was another Scriptural coin entitled “Lazarus and the Rich Man,” all of which suggests the query whether these German specimens, provided they were of ancient date, and well known, gave the hint to the early Massachusetts engraver, or whether his Good Samaritan was original with himself. *Per contra*, could the German possibly have borrowed the idea from Massachusetts?

The “Brasher Doubloon” is so-called after Ephraim Brasher, a goldsmith of New York, who struck this coin in 1787, before any Federal coinage was adopted. He may have intended it as a specimen

for New York State currency. It is described as of gold, "Very fine," and "excessively rare."

Like the Good Samaritan Shilling, the third coin mentioned, or Lord Baltimore Penny, is unique; hence its value in the eyes of numismatists. This also is supposed to have been a pattern coin, not in circulation. The three thousand specimens in the Bushnell collection brought something over \$11,000, which speaks well for the interest taken in purely American numismata.

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LONGFELLOW—Mr. H. W. Bryant, in the *Portland Advertiser*, writes as follows:

"Mr. Longfellow's taste in the printing and illustration of books was superlative. The early copies of "Outre-Mer," printed under his personal supervision at Brunswick, are very handsome. He loved to see 'a rivulet of text running through a meadow of margin.'

"At his request I made search for the date of the storm which inspired his 'Wreck of the Hesperus,' and found that it occurred on Sunday, 15th December, 1839. It was a local storm which spent its force in Massachusetts Bay. The fishermen at anchor in Gloucester Harbor suffered most; some fifty lives were lost. The schooner *Hesperus* sailed from Gardiner, Me. When Professor Longfellow was here last summer, he intimated that he possessed an invaluable relic in a lock of Washington's hair, which he would some day present to our society. I am authorized by his son, Mr. Ernest W. Longfellow, to state that this precious relic will be presented to us on some future occasion. Longfellow's first printed poem

is believed to be a ballad on the subject of Lovewell's Fight. This we have searched for, but as yet in vain. I believe that it contains these lines, but it is possible they may be from some other author, as there have been a number of ballads on the same theme:

'I'll kill you, Chamberlain, said he,  
And scalp you when you're dead.'

It was probably printed between the years 1823 and 1825, and perhaps in some weekly paper that had a short life."

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## QUERIES

A RARE OLD BIBLE—The following are the title pages of a very old Bible now in my possession. Can any of the readers of the *MAGAZINE* give me information as to its value?

"The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New. Newly translated out of y<sup>e</sup> original Tongues, and with the former translations diligently compared & revised. By his majesty's special command. Appointed to be read in Churches. London. *Printed by John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1671. Cum Privilegio.*"

"The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, newly translated out of the original Greek; and with the former translations diligently compared and Revised. Dievet Mondross. In the Savoy. *Printed by the assigns of John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1669.*"

"The Psalms of David in Meeter newly translated, and diligently compared with



the original text, and former translations, more plain, smooth, and agreeable to the text, than any heretofore. Allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk, of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in Congregations and Families. *Edinburgh. Printed by Andrew Anderson, and are to be sold at his House, on the north side of the Crosse, Anno Dom. 1671.*"

K.

*Charleston, S. C.*

COLONIAL INVENTORS—What are some of our earliest Colonial inventions? As far back as 1714, Joseph Morgan, of Freehold, New Jersey, applies, through the Board of Trade and Plantations, for a patent upon certain improvements in modes of navigation, which appears to have been the introduction of oars, after the manner of "ye ancients," for propelling men-of-war during a calm. Labor-saving machinery, consisting of wheels, cranks, booms, etc., is the main feature. In his application, Morgan says: "I have also Several ways to row Small Boats but I think they are needless in Europe. One I shewed in New York, June 17<sup>th</sup> 1714, where one man rowed with 2, 4, 5, or six oars, & could with ye same labour have rowed with twenty. . . . In this work it being as easy to weald oars for ye greatest ship on ye Ocean as for ye Smallest Boat: and one man's strength equalizing so many, ye benefit must be exceeding great for Ships y<sup>t</sup> lye becalmed or wind bound." Morgan had the prime requisites of an inventive genius—poverty and "a Great Family of small children." His letter in full appears in Vol. iv., *New Jersey Archives*, p. 190, just issued. J. T.

RALL'S SURRENDER—A correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, writing from Berlin, states that the archives at Marburg contain proceedings of a court-martial on the capture of Rall's Hessians at Trenton, Dec. 25, 1776. The Landgrave of Hesse is represented as having been quite shocked at the disaster and could never forget or forgive it; not one of Rall's officers were promoted by him during the war. The proceedings embody the testimony of about fifty witnesses, the trial not taking place until 1783. Query: Are these facts mentioned by any writers on the Revolutionary War, American, English, French, or German? J.

THE DOLLAR MARK—I find it said that the dollar mark (\$) may be explained in four ways. The first recites that it is a combination of the sign of U. S., the initials for the United States; another, that it is a modification of the figure S, the dollar being formerly called a "piece of eight," and designated by the character 8-8. The third theory is that it is a combination of H. S., the mark of the Roman unit, while a fourth is that it is a combination of P. and S. from the Spanish *peso duro*, which signifies "hard dollar." In Spanish accounts, *peso* is contracted by writing the S over the P and placing it after the sum. Now which, if either, is correct? MORTON

ROBBINS' REEF—What is the origin of the name of this reef in New York harbor, near Staten Island? I think it comes from the Holland Dutch word *Robins*, which is the Dutch name (possessive plural) for *Seals*. It is supposed

that these animals were found there by the first comers. In De Laet's Geography, of about 1640, mention is made of four islands in the bay opposite Nutten's, now Governor's Island, though the names are not given. They must have been Ellis', Bedloe's, Oyster Island, and Robbins' Reef. Is there any good map of New York harbor, earlier than 1700?

NARROWS

EARLY NEW ENGLAND TOMBSTONES—These have a family likeness, generally being of blue slate. The seventeenth century memorials in the graveyards of Boston and vicinity are noticeable in this respect. It has therefore occurred to the writer that the question of their origin might be worthy of examination. Where was the stone obtained for those around Boston, and who were the stone-cutters? Were these stones imported? What relation do those works bear to the tombstones in Trinity churchyard, New York. D.

## REPLIES

WESLEY AS A BISHOP—I have been waiting for some reader of THE MAGAZINE to throw more light upon this subject than is afforded by the articles [viii. 367-439] already printed; allow me, therefore, to refer to the best article that I have ever seen on this subject, that by the Rev. George A. Phœbus, in the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1878, where he argues the whole question. Also the article on "The Methodist Episcopal Puzzle," in *The Churchman*, New York, September 6, 1879. The writer has in his possession a copy of a letter by the Rev. Samuel Peters, of Blue Law fame, in

which he speaks of "the venerable and learned John Wesley, an intendant of the Greek Church." The same authority, if Peters can be taken as authority, says that Samuel Seabury, afterward consecrated by the non-jurors, was at one time under the impression that Wesley was a bishop. Toplady, the poet, accused Wesley of having come under the act of *Præmunire* by receiving episcopal consecration. The fact that Wesley said to Coke, "How dare you allow yourself to be called a bishop?" has been quoted to prove that Wesley himself was not a bishop, as he also declared that he would never allow any one to call him a bishop. If Wesley received consecration from the Greek Bishop Erasmus, he broke his oath to the Crown, as Toplady charged. Wesley, however, called himself "superintendent," which is the same as bishop, or overseer. At that period episcopacy was in bad repute in America, and was associated with the exercise of political power. For this reason the Rev. William White, the father of the American Church, proposed to lay aside the word "bishop" and substitute "superintendent." Will this subject ever be discussed in a historical spirit? MORTON

BATTLE OF THE KEGS [VIII. 143, 296-7]—David Bushnell has left an account of this affair himself in a letter, dated Oct. 1787, published in the "Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," Vol. iv., p. 303. In this he says: "I fixed several kegs under water charged with powder, to explode upon touching anything as they floated along with the tide. I set them afloat in the Delaware, above the English shipping at Philadel-

phia, in December, 1777. I was unacquainted with the river, and obliged to depend upon a gentleman very imperfectly acquainted with that part of it as I afterwards found. We went as near the shipping as we durst venture ; I believe the darkness of the night greatly deceived him, as it did me. We set them adrift to fall with the ebb upon the shipping. Had we been within sixty rods, I believe they must have fallen in with them immediately, as I designed ; but as I afterwards found, they were set adrift much too far distant, and did not arrive until, after being detained some time by frost, they advanced in the day time, in a dispersed situation and under great disadvantages. One of them blew up a boat, with several persons in it who imprudently handled it too freely, and thus gave the British that alarm which brought on the *Battle of the Kegs.*"

TORPEDO

LAND OF NOD—On this point [VIII. 510] see Sewall's "History of Woburn," p. 540, where we are informed that the Land of Nod consisted of three thousand acres of land given by Woburn in exchange for land received from Charlestown, according to the final agreement between the two towns, concluded July 29, 1650. It lay at the Northern extremity of the four miles square adjoining Andover, and within the limits of what is now Wilmington. Judge Sewall gained his interest through John Hull. Charlestown, in 1704, contested Sewall's right, but without success. Frothingham's "History of Charlestown" (p. 111) explains the name as arising "by a comparison of its forlorn condition, so far remote from church ordinances, with the Nod to which

Cain wandered, when he went from the presence of the Lord. Genesis iv."

CHARLESTOWN

LAND OF NOD [VIII. 510]—See Sewall's "History of Woburn," page 540, for a description of this land, with the probable origin of the name. There was a district in Groton, Mass., called Nod, probably with a similar origin. S. A. G.

Boston.

THE FIRST WOOD-ENGRAVER [VIII. 511]—Alexander Anderson, M.D., is generally acknowledged to be the first engraver on wood in America, being a follower of Bewick, who led the way in England. Anderson used wood for the first time June 25, 1793, the subject being a tobacco stamp. He died in Jersey City, January 17, 1870, in his 95th year. At the request of the New York Historical Society, Dr. Lossing prepared a memorial notice of Anderson, who was a member of the Society. The memorial, published in 1872, contains thirty specimens of Anderson's work. STYLUS

COUNTLESS ISLANDS—With reference to Cooper's exaggeration respecting the "countless islands" seen by him at the head of Lake George [VIII. 574], may I quote the language of Colonel Knox, who, in speaking of the transportation of artillery from that region to the Hudson, by means of ox teams, says : "It appeared to me almost a miracle, that people with such heavy loads should be able to get up and down such hills as are here," adding, from the tops of which, "we might almost have seen all the kingdoms of the earth."

BIONCLE

## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At the meeting held June 9, 1882, a paper was read by Thomas Henry Edsall, Esq., of the New York Bar, entitled: "Something about Fish, Fisheries, and Fishermen in New York in the XVII. Century." On the authority of Robert Juet's account of Hudson's entry into this harbor, 1609, it was prefaced, that the first thing in New York waters to attract the explorer's attention was *something about fish*. The paper then treated of the great variety and quantity and the fine quality of our fishes in the seventeenth century, according to the united testimony of all early writers. The efforts of the Dutch West India Company to establish fisheries in New Netherland were detailed, and reasons were assigned for their failure. Next was reviewed the English attempts in the same direction after they had wrested this province from the Dutch in 1664; the sudden awakening of the Duke of York, in 1674, to the importance of establishing fisheries here; his instructions to his governor, Andros, and the action of the latter and his council on this subject. Some unpublished colonial manuscripts were read, one of which—"The Charter of a Fishing Company in 1675"—was said to be the *first known grant* of a franchise to a commercial corporation in New York. The shares of this joint-stock company were to be each "fifteen beavers or the vallue." The correspondence of the duke and his secretary with Andros, in 1675 and 1676, about the fisheries, in which the latter was urged to promote them, was considered and the causes of their non-establishment ex-

plained. The grant of a license for a fishery on Long Island by Andros, in 1677, to Messrs. Richard Woodhull, Samuel Edsall, Walter Webly, and Andrew Gibb was presented, with biographical sketches of the licensees and some account of their families. They were all Englishmen—Woodhull, an immigrant of 1644, the lineal descendant of one of the great barons of William the Conqueror, was a leading citizen and magistrate of Brookhaven, L. I.; Edsall, an immigrant of 1648, and an early settler and burgher among the Dutch under Stuyvesant, was of the council and magistracy of East Jersey; Webly, who had probably come here by way of Barbadoes, was a nephew of Col. Lewis Morris; and Gibb, who resided on Long Island, was a merchant, and afterward became clerk of Queens and Suffolk Counties. After some new genealogical details of the families of Woodhull and Edsall, the paper concluded with an account of the Long Island fishery, introducing several unpublished colonial manuscripts from the State Archives at Albany.

The paper was one of great interest and of unique value, traversing fresh ground; though an additional reason for the failure of the New York fisheries might have been found in the fact that the proper fishing grounds lay to the East and North, where the fisheries could be prosecuted on a large scale.

At the conclusion of the reading several gentlemen spoke, and Mr. Edward F. DeLancey called attention to the fact that Governor Andros was from the Channel Island, so long engaged in the fisheries, and therefore peculiarly qualified for the part which he performed.

**THE PILGRIM SOCIETY**—At a recent meeting of this Society, after some discussion, the following vote was passed upon the day to be observed as the Anniversary of the Landing: “While we recognize the historical fact that the passengers on the shallop of the Mayflower landed on Plymouth Rock on the 11th of December, 1620, and that the twenty-first of the new style corresponds to the day of the landing; yet, in view of the fact that the twenty-second has been hallowed by an observance during a period of over one hundred years, and consecrated by the words of Winslow, Webster, Everett, Adams, Seward, and other eminent orators of our land, it is hereby resolved that hereafter the 22d of December be observed by the Pilgrim Society as the Anniversary of the Landing.”

It does not appear from this resolution that the Society has departed from the belief that the true landing was made on the 11th, O. S.; though it is somewhat funny to talk about the anniversary being “consecrated by eminent orators.” The current opinion has been that the orators were “consecrated” by the day.

W. H. Whitman, Esq., presented to the Society, in behalf of Miss Sarah Thomas, a volume of sermons formerly owned by John Alden, with the autograph of the Pilgrim in it, and annotations in his own hand, a very interesting and valuable relic. The thanks of the Society were voted Miss Thomas for her valuable gift.



**THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY**—This Society was incorporated in December, 1881, succeeding the Antiquarian Club, whose existence is merged in the new

corporation. The Society is designed to promote the study of the history of Boston and to encourage the preservation of its antiquities. To this end the Society has obtained from the city government the lease of the two halls in the Old State House, which will form a historical museum. The ancient council chamber and the legislative hall have been restored to their original condition, and henceforth will be held sacred to the purposes of the Bostonian Society, which will regulate the admission of the public to view the collections. The President of the Society is Mr. Curtis Guild, formerly a member of the city government, and a gentleman of acknowledged taste, culture, and general ability, and to whom the public is largely indebted for the restoration and preservation of this ancient and historic building. The building was reopened July 11th, and formally delivered by the committee of the City Council to the custody of the city. On this occasion an interesting and valuable address was delivered by Mr. William H. Whittemore, and remarks were made by Mayor Green.

Outwardly the building has not materially changed. The first floor and basement are devoted to business purposes. The two halls are situated on the second floor, and are reached by a spiral staircase which leads to an ante-room in the centre communicating directly with the two halls. The ante-room is cut at the four corners, furnishing four committee or withdrawing rooms. A number of portraits and historical pictures now adorn the walls, which, ere long, will be crowded with memorials of the past. Here may be seen the old vane, an Indian with glass eyes, supposed to be the work of

Shem Drowne. This vane once gyrated on the Old Province House ; while, to illustrate the fact that public opinion is nothing but a weathercock, blown about by every wind of political doctrine, we have here preserved the battered arms of George III., also taken from the famous Province House, and now carefully treasured as an heirloom of that past, during which New England was connected with the Crown. Those Sons of Belial, known at a certain period as the "Sons of Liberty," and who fought inversely in proportion as they cursed, persecuted, and swore, destroyed many valuable historical monuments, which to-day we should be glad to possess. It will be the welcome duty of the Bostonian Society to look up all the relics of the olden time, and so far as possible, bring them together in their Memorial Halls. The following are the officers of the Society : *President*—Curtis Guild. *Directors*—Abbott Lawrence, Robert R. Bishop, William S. Appleton, Thomas Minns, John T. Hassam, Samuel H. Russell. *Clerk*—Samuel M. Quincy.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of the Society, for the election of officers and members, occurred July 14th, at Brunswick, the Hon. James W. Bradbury in the chair, twenty-seven members being present. Mr. H. W. Bryant, the Librarian, read his annual report, from which it appears that during the year six hundred and eleven bound volumes and six hundred and twenty-two pamphlets have been added to the library. There have also been several acquisitions to the cabinet. There was a suggestion in the report that annual

assessments should be made to help our receipts. The Librarian reported that an edition of one thousand copies was printed of the last volume of the Society's collections, that copies had been distributed to the press and others, and about two hundred copies had been sold, leaving five hundred on hand.

The following corresponding members were elected : E. B. Washburn, Chicago ; Horatio Bridge, Washington ; John Wentworth, Chicago ; J. N. McClintock, Concord, N. H. ; F. C. Pierce, Rockford, Ill. ; Henry Philips, Philadelphia ; Anson Titus, Weymouth, Mass. ; J. F. Pratt, Chelsea, Mass. ; Dexter A. Hawkins, New York ; Dr. B. F. DeCosta, New York ; the Rev. Sidney Colvin, Cambridge, England ; E. M. Barton, Worcester, Mass. ; Samuel Longfellow, Germantown, Penn. ; and G. W. Hammond, Boston.

The Treasurer, Mr. Lewis Pierce, then read his annual report, from which it appears the funds of the Society amount to \$13,224.29, nearly all of which is invested, a new bond having been purchased during the year. The receipts from all sources were reported at \$795.65. The expenditures (including costs of publication of volume eight, \$750) were reported at \$1,113. But to meet the unusual expenditures there are for sale five hundred copies of the volume, and there is an unsettled account with Messrs. Hoyt, Fogg & Denham, who act as agents for the sale of the work.

It was voted to hold a field day some time later in the season, and to accept the proposition of R. H. Gardiner, for an excursion in a steam yacht along the coast, and Messrs. R. H. Gardiner,

H. S. Burrage, and C. J. Gilman were chosen a committee to arrange for the same. The following officers were elected: *President*—James W. Bradbury. *Vice-President*—W. G. Barrows. *Corresponding Secretary*—Wm. Goold. *Treasurer*—Lewis Pierce. *Secretary and Librarian*—H. W. Bryant. Israel Washburn, R. K. Sewall, W. B. Lapham, E. H. Elwell, S. J. Young, Wm. Goold, and Joseph Williamson were elected as the Standing Committee. Sidney Perham and Henry Deering were appointed Auditors.

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### LITERARY NOTICES

THADDEUS STEVENS, COMMONER. BY E. B. CALLENDER. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 12mo, pp. 210.

Biography of late has taken a fresh hold upon the public, and the collection of "The Lives of Eminent Statesmen," now going through the press, seems to form a ground of encouragement to present the life of an eminent "Commoner." The distinction is well drawn, for Thaddeus Stevens, however meritorious may have been his services, can never be classed with American statesmen; while there are many admirers of Stevens who will hardly feel obliged to the author of this volume for putting his hero where we find him posed in the preface, even though we are assured that the Stevens movement meant something more than "the spoils system." This qualification is superfluous, since it is clear to most minds that the position of the old Pennsylvania war-horse is to be found at the antipodes of the spoils system, and that he belonged to the party of moral ideas. In his day Thaddeus Stevens fought both windmills and men, but he sometimes knew when the fight was over. Our author does not make a fortunate beginning for the "great Commoner," but he entertains an exalted idea of the worth of his subject, and intimates that the time has not come for a complete biography; yet the remark may be ventured that a more glowing eulogy of Stevens will not soon appear. The author writes *con amore*, and is hardly conscious of any great discrepancy in his hero.

Certain aspects of the life of Stevens certainly appear grand, and Sumner said that his statue ought to have a place in the Capitol. However that may be, his statue may not get there. Like many other anti-slavery men, and like many advo-

cates of equal rights, he exhibited qualities of the most commanding order, but, like them, he was essentially narrow, and thus, though a brave fighter and an excellent agitator, he was a poor leader and no statesman. Our author enters upon the task of demonstrating something quite different from this, and he goes about it in a chivalrous fashion that quite does one good in a critical age, when we are condemned to listen to so much faint praise; but no stopping out of high lights, and no painstaking kalsomining can ever alter the facts of the case. In the face of a host of disadvantages, Thaddeus Stevens, or "Old Thad," as they called him, rose from a humble sphere to one of eminence. His ancestry was lowly, we are told. We are also told that it "had to be" lowly to produce "so great a character as his," a remark equally encouraging to the unfortunate wight born to many advantages, and to the countless millions who never can rise. Nevertheless, the club-footed boy rose and made his mark. He rose, however, not by the force of genius. At times it appeared as though he had nothing upon which to rise; accepting cases as a lawyer which the poorest advocate despised; making his way wildly with effort and labor, instead of ascending with the calmness and self-poise which comes of conscious strength. Circumstances at last favored him, and, without possessing any genius, except that of perseverance, he pushed to the front, distinguishing himself by his extreme and unalterable opinions on the subject of slavery, which, from his place in Congress, he opposed in unmeasured terms, and sometimes exciting the admiration of the very men whom he denounced. His biographer is quite correct in his statement of the means by which Stevens advanced. He "toiled terribly." Indeed his vehemence was inexhaustible, and it was employed alike upon small things and things great; upon issues which were true and issues that were false. He possessed no real eloquence, but his tongue was a cat-o'-nine-tails, soaked sometimes in the brine of truth and sometimes in the vitriol of ignorance and prejudice.

One great mistake of his life was that made in connection with the Masonic Brotherhood, which he fought with a blind fury, arguing that standing secrecy always implies guilt and shame, and heaping up charges of murder and treason against the members of that ancient and respectable guild; and thus, while in some respects he followed in the footsteps of Don Quixote, he rivalled the actors in the New England witchcraft mania. This episode his biographer seeks to explain away, but in vain, though he tries to find in the result a success. Herein Stevens was a failure, like the "Hero Statesman" acting in the Department of Finance. Stevens taught that masonry and slavery were twin evils. This he believed, but other politicians favored the craze for the advantage they hoped it would bring them. The



notion of the biographer of Stevens, that the anti-Masonic movement shaded off naturally into the anti-slavery crusade, is quite as crude as the notion that Stevens was a prominent agent in the destruction of slavery. The plain fact is, that the anti-slavery agitation only made matters worse for the black man, causing the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Bill; while, if the war had ended with a Union victory at the first battle of Bull Run, slavery would have gained fresh strength, and the bloody contest would have been cited with overwhelming effect against all those who, by attacking slavery, rendered themselves liable to the charge of provoking the South into some fresh imprudence. The destruction of slavery was a war measure, and nothing more—like Sherman's march to the sea.

The distinguishing merit of Thaddeus Stevens is to be found in his supreme devotion, not to the right—for fifty times out of a hundred he was wrong—but in his devotion to what he *believed* to be right; while the merit of his eulogist, who goes wide of his mark, is to be sought in the same honesty of purpose.

HISTORY OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE CONQUEST OF CANADA IN 1776, FROM THE DEATH OF MONTGOMERY TO THE RETREAT OF THE BRITISH ARMY UNDER SIR GUY CARLETON. By CHARLES HENRY JONES. Philadelphia: PORTER & COATES, 1882, 8vo, pp. 234.

This great episode in the revolutionary struggle forms an admirable subject for a monograph, and until the present time it has never been improved. The author was moved to undertake the task by a special interest in the operations of the Pennsylvania troops, two thousand of whom were engaged in the campaign, and hence the subject is contemplated from the Pennsylvania view-point. This campaign proves that, while the outbreak of the war of the revolution was largely the result of impulse, its continuance was conducted in accordance with plans carefully thought out, and that the leaders entertained some comprehensive views. Hence the invasion of Canada, by means of which it was hoped to keep the conduct of the Northern campaign at a distance, and force the co-operation of sympathizers in that part of the king's dominion. Success in this direction would have changed the character of the war, and enabled Washington to have thrown the whole strength of the colonies against the British forces in other parts of the continent. Accordingly, the Northern campaign was opened with great animation, and with a tolerable measure of success; yet the tide turned, and the American forces were routed and driven in confusion southward by the Sorell and Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga, sadly decimated by bullet and dis-

ease, the army being infected with that terrible scourge, the small-pox, the treatment of which was not then understood. The escape of the army was almost miraculous, being pursued by a strong force, which presented itself before Ticonderoga, though eventually returning to Canada without striking a decisive blow, except against the shipping on the lake, and leaving the Americans to recuperate and prepare for the Burgoyne invasion of the following year. At the end of the first hundred pages the author brings the army back to Ticonderoga, and the rest of the volume is devoted to a narrative of events at that place, where great preparations were made to meet the enemy by land and water, but when the cold weather approached, silence reigned on the lake. The record is one of terrible misery and privation throughout, yet the army managed to hold together. This is the more remarkable, from the fact that it was divided against itself, the New England troops being pitted against those from Pennsylvania, forming hostile camps, which were almost as much embittered against one another as against the common foe. Mr. Jones writes some hard things against New England men, to whom the most opprobrious epithets were at that time applied, the mildest of which were "cheats, knaves, and cowards." At one time the sectional feeling went so far as to bring on actual collisions between Wayne's Pennsylvania regiment and Whitcomb's regiment from Massachusetts. Whitcomb allowed one of his sons, a soldier in his regiment, to set up his cobbler's bench at the regimental headquarters, while he detailed another son to act as his servant. This so incensed the Pennsylvanians, that on Christmas Day they assaulted Colonel Whitcomb's tent, and threw out the shoemaker's bench, reviling the colonel himself, upon whose men some thirty or forty rounds were afterward fired, driving them from their quarters and wounding several; all of which was pocketed by Whitcomb, though Washington was obliged to call the attention of Schuyler to this state of affairs. Indeed, the campaign formed a melancholy piece of business. The details are fully set forth, bringing the Pennsylvanians very fully to the front, though without prejudice to the demands of the general narrative.

In the preparation of this very interesting work, which is handsomely printed, the author appears to have consulted a variety of original manuscripts, of which a fuller use could have been made, and to which reference might have been given for the benefit of those inclined to make more extended researches. As it remains, the notes are confined to brief biographical sketches of prominent men mentioned in the narrative. The volume contains, among others, a steel portrait of General Schuyler, while the edition is so limited that of necessity it will soon take its place among the rare *Americana*.







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## WILLIAM PENN AND THE BI-CENTENARY OF THE FOUNDING OF PENNSYLVANIA \*

**W**ILLIAM PENN was born in the parish of St. Catherine, near the Tower, London, October 14, 1644. He was the son of Vice-Admiral Sir William Penn, a distinguished commander in the British navy, and Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, of Rotterdam. Possessing an ample estate, Sir William, at an early period, entered his son upon a course of liberal education, and, while residing in Ireland, sent him, at the age of fifteen, to Christ Church College, Oxford. There he made rapid advancement, being equally noted for progress in his studies and the zeal with which he entered upon athletic exercises; among his associates being John Locke, the author of the "Essay upon the Human Understanding." About this time he became interested in the Quakers, whereupon his father, after treating him with much severity, sent him to travel upon the Continent, whence he returned in 1664, full of theological learning, polished in his manners, and, as described by Pepys, "a most modish person, grown quite a fine gentleman." At the suggestion of his father, he next entered Lincoln's Inn as a student of law, and, in the spring of 1665, when the admiral went to sea with the Duke of York, he tried naval life for a short time. Soon, however, he returned to his legal studies, while, during the ravages of the plague, his serious impressions were revived. Discovering this, his father sent him to Ireland, to the vice-regal court of the Lord Lieutenant, where, evincing much energy during a mutiny, the Duke of Ormond wished to make him a captain of foot, an offer which he was not altogether unwilling to accept, as he now felt the kindlings of martial glory. At this period was painted what is said to be a portrait of Penn, taken from life, the well-known portrait representing him in armor. Nevertheless, he soon became engrossed in the management of his father's Irish estates, and thus, while in Cork, met Thomas Lee, the Quaker preacher, whom he had known at Oxford. At the meeting of Friends which Penn attended, Lee commenced his discourse by saying, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome

by the world." The die was now cast, for Penn says, that "it was at this time that the Lord visited me with a certain sound and testimony of his Eternal Word." He was, therefore, at once drawn into close fellowship with the Friends, to whom he gave his full confidence, telling "of my persecution at Oxford, and how the Lord sustained me in the midst of that hellish darkness and debauchery; of my being banished the college; the bitter usage I underwent when I returned to my father—whipping, beating, and turning out of doors." At eighteen his principles secured the compliment of being thrust into Cork Jail, when he wrote a letter to the Earl of Orrery, saying, "Religion, which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner," and laying down the germs of those principles of toleration which he afterward taught. The earl replied by giving an order for his immediate release, when his father, hearing of what had happened, called him home, and began anew the task of reclaiming him from Quaker opinion, offering every inducement that wealth and station could supply, though in vain, the young disciple of Lee refusing, it is said, so much as to take off his hat in the presence of the Duke of York, being resolved to reserve that degree of deference for God alone, though he continued to wear his sword and gay apparel. Accordingly, at the age of twenty-three, he was once more expelled from his father's house. Subsequently, at the instance of his wife, the admiral allowed him to return, but he gave him no countenance or support in his peculiar opinions. At the age of twenty-four he began to preach, and soon got himself put into the Tower, as he says, "for a book I writ called the 'Sandy Foundation Shaken.'" The "Sandy Foundation" which he undervalued was composed of the principles of "one Thomas Vincent, a dissenting minister," and not those of the Tower, which he could hardly shake, and, accordingly, was obliged to lie there nine months for his free use of printer's ink. The irrepressible young preacher, with the best of intentions, next found his way to Newgate, and went thence to the dock of the Old Bailey, where he was fined and recommitted in default. At this time, however, his father's life was drawing to a close, and, being conscious of the fact, he secretly sent the money required to pay the prisoner's fine, called him to his bedside, and parted with him in peace, his son inheriting his estate, worth £1,500 per annum. Next Penn underwent six months in Newgate for speaking in an unlawful assembly; after which he visited Holland and Germany. Returning from the Continent in 1672, being in his twenty-eighth year, he married Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, of Darling, in Sussex. This young lady was not only beautiful in person and possessed of an ample estate, but was esteemed, we are told, of extraordinary merit and great sweetness of temper.

Penn, writing to his children, spoke of it as "a match of Providence's making," saying that "she loved him with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors." The happy pair, who were entirely one in their principles, went to live at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire. Still he continued active in disseminating the principles of the Friends. In 1673 the Declaration of Indulgence, sent forth by Charles in 1672, was revoked, whereupon he was subjected to fresh persecution, though he succeeded in keeping out of jail. In 1675 he became interested in American colonization, and reached the second great turning-point in his life; acting as arbitrator between Fenwick and Byllinge, in the settlement and sale of West New Jersey, both being members of the Society of Friends, Lord Berkeley having sold one-half of the province of New Jersey to Fenwick, who held it in trust for Byllinge and his assigns. The matter was finally adjusted, when Fenwick embarked with his family and some friends, and took possession of land assigned to him on the Delaware, landing at a "pleasant rich spot," to which they gave the name of "Salem." Their ship, the Griffith, was the first English vessel that reached West New Jersey, whither eight hundred emigrants, mostly Friends, came in 1677-78.

The colony of Maryland, however, had been founded in 1634, while prior to this time, in 1623, the Dutch had commenced a settlement at Fort Nassau, where Timber Creek enters the Delaware. In 1631 they also settled near Cape Henlopen. In 1638 a colony of Swedes, under Governor Minuit, built a fort at Christeen, and in 1643 the Swedish Government sent three ships of war to enforce their claims to the western shore of Delaware River and Bay. In 1655 the Swedes capitulated to the Dutch, who held possession until the capture of New Netherlands, in 1664, when the English succeeded in authority. This territory was included in the grant made by Charles II. to his brother, the Duke of York, who, in 1664, assigned the tract lying east of the Delaware River to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, from the former of whom Fenwick and Byllinge obtained their grant. But as these matters do not call for discussion here, it may be said simply, that the colony of West Jersey prospered under the management of Penn and his associates. Indeed whereas, under the former control, every colonist was obliged to provide himself with "a good musket, Powder and Balls," the Friends were safe with no other defence than that provided by the practice of mercy, justice, and truth. In the meanwhile Penn visited the Continent, and upon his return appeared before a committee of Parliament, arguing that his religious associates in England should be exempt from oaths. He also took an interest in politics, siding with the Whigs, who, with the Tories, took their name at this period.

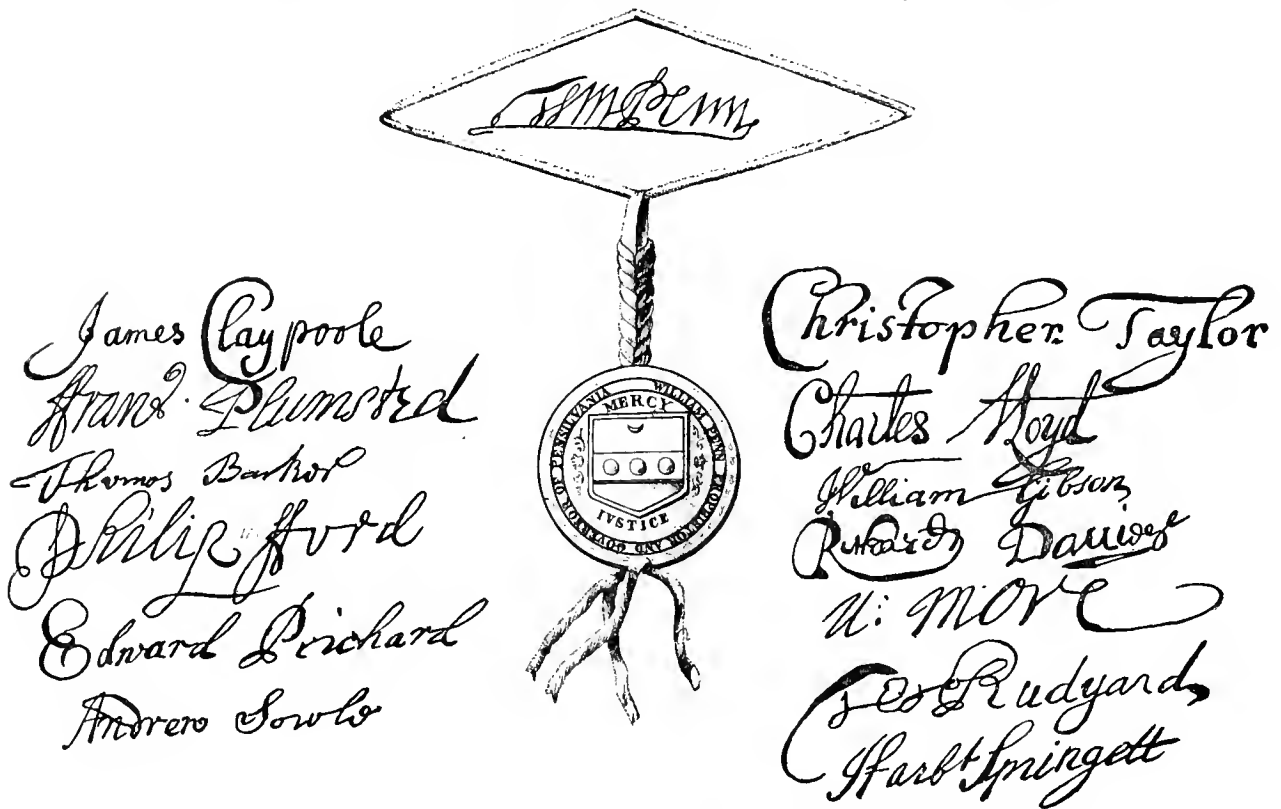
In 1680, having now for many years been interested in New Jersey colonization, gaining thereby much valuable experience and information, Penn applied to Charles II. to grant him a tract of country lying north of Maryland, being bounded on the east by the Delaware, on the west limited as Maryland, and northward "to extend as far as plantable." He asked for this grant in lieu of the sum of £16,000 due to his father from the British Government. The scheme was objected to by Sir John Wenden, agent of the Duke of York, on the ground that the territory west of the Delaware belonged to the Government of New York, especially the New Castle Colony. It was known as Delaware County, and was occupied promiscuously by Swedes, Finlanders, Dutch, and English. The agent of Lord Baltimore wished that the grant, if made, might be restricted to lands north of Maryland. The Duke of York, however, favored Penn, and, March 4, 1681, the patent was signed. This venerable document, written on parchment, having the lines underscored with red ink, is now preserved in the Department of State, at Harrisburg, being handsomely decorated with heraldic devices. Penn was highly elated, and in a letter to Robert Turner said, respecting the name of his province, that "Pennsylvania" was "*a name the king would give it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being, as this, a pretty hilly country, but Penn being Welch for a head, as Pennmanmoire in Wales, and Penrith in Cumberland, and Penn in Buckinghamshire, the highest land in England, [he] called this Pennsylvania, which is the high or head woodlands; for I proposed, when the secretary, a Welchman, refused to have it called New Wales, *Sylvania*, and they added Penn to it; and though I much opposed it, and went to the king to have it struck out, altered, he said it was past, and would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under-secretary to vary the name; for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as respect in the king, as it truly was, for my father, whom he often mentions with praise.*" Still, it is popularly supposed that the name was in honor of the son. The preamble of the charter declares that Penn's application arose out of a commendable desire to enlarge the British empire, and promote such useful commodities as may be a benefit to the king and his dominions, and also to reduce savage nations, by quiet and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion. The charter consists of twenty-three articles, and Penn was made absolute proprietor under the king, holding in "free and common socage, by fealty only." He was to pay the king two beaver skins annually, and these were to be duly delivered at Windsor Castle. He was also to pay the king one-fifth of the gold and silver that might be found. With the consent of the freemen, Penn was empowered

to make all necessary laws, appoint magistrates and judges, and exercise the power of pardon, except for the crimes of murder and treason, though in this respect he had the power to reprieve. The king was to levy no taxes without the consent of Parliament or the people. Penn was made a captain-general, with full powers on land and sea ; while, on the application of twenty inhabitants to the Bishop of London, a "preacher" should be permitted to reside in the province. By a "preacher" was meant a clergyman of the Church of England. In the face of this provision, we are told by Gordon, about "the spirit of freedom which breathes through this charter," and we are assured that it was drafted by Penn himself, though Janney concedes that "the clause allowing ministers of the Church of England to reside in the province did not emanate from Penn."

Next the king made known by proclamation what had been done, and Penn wrote to the people of the province, assuring them of his good will, the proclamation and letter being taken out by his cousin, William Markham, commissioned to act as his deputy. August 1st, Markham bought of the sachems an ancient royalty, and commenced the building of Pensbury, which entered upon the race more than a year before Philadelphia. Penn also published "A Description of Pennsylvania," compiled from the best authorities at his command.

Before the year closed he sent out a ship, carrying, among other passengers, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, who were authorized to lay out a town and treat with the Indians ; while another arrived out in April, 1682. The population of the province at that time numbered about two thousand, exclusive of the Indians, while there were six houses erected for public worship ; three of them by the Swedes, one at Christina, one at Wicoco (now Southwark), and one at Tenecum, and three by the Friends, one at Chester, another at Shackamaxon (now Kensington), and another at the Falls of the Delaware. Thus the foundations of society were already laid, the work of Penn being to build, in a sense, on the foundations of others. In drawing up a scheme of government he had the advice of Locke, his fellow-student at Oxford, but he did not always act upon it, being influenced, in the main, by Henry Sidney, and not by Algernon, as popularly supposed. Instead of restricting political rights, liberties, and powers, and seeking to cut off future action on the part of the people, he provided amply for their co-operation, and finally established those principles of administration that remain essentially unchanged to-day. Sidney thus proved his guide and mentor. His frame of government consisted of twenty-four articles, and was followed by a code of laws. It was signed in England by the governor and freemen, May 6, 1682.

His plan, we are told, recognized "the great principle of religious liberty," already proclaimed in Rhode Island and Maryland, but that "it was reserved for Penn only to give it a clearer expression and wider field of action. The privilege allowed to every man of worshipping God according to the dictates of his own conscience, is not placed on the ground of humane toleration, but established as an inherent right," except, of course, for "preachers," not one of whom, according to the charter, must be maintained in Pennsylvania, even by nineteen conscientious men. There must be twenty, making formal application to the "Bishop of London." Penn



THE SEAL AND SIGNATURES.

drew up his plan the same year that the first Episcopal church was organized in Boston, where freedom of selection prevailed for less than the canonical twenty; while at the founding of Boston by the Colonists of 1630, the principles of liberty were perfectly understood, and men like William Blackstone and Samuel Maverick were made freemen. Nevertheless, the people of Boston soon receded from this, and restricted the freeman's rights to the members of the "church." It should be noted, however, that the curious provision of the charter was practically a dead letter, and that nobody cared much whether any "preacher" resided in the colony or not. In 1693 the Royal Charter was annulled, theoretically establishing the Church of England, and, in 1695, Christ Church, whose early records have been lost,



comes into view peacefully, as might be supposed, taking her place as one of the accepted institutions of Philadelphia. It is admitted, however, that there was one great defect in the constitution of Pennsylvania, though one "beyond the power of Penn to avoid or remedy. He held the province as a fief from the Crown; he was a feudal sovereign, acting as the executive of a democracy, and these two elements were found incompatible." But we must not anticipate.

Having made all his arrangements to visit his province, he drew up a beautiful letter to his wife and children, and embarked at Deal in the ship *Welcome*, August 30, 1682. Penn had made every provision for the comfort of the people during the voyage, yet the small-pox soon broke out, and in mid-ocean nearly every person on board was more or less sick. Thirty of the one hundred passengers died, and the voyage was ever after remembered with a shudder. Arriving in the Delaware before New Castle, October 27th, the following day he produced his deeds from the Duke of York, and received possession of the town and county adjoining by "the delivery of turf, and twig and water, and soyle of the river Delaware." The people of the different nationalities enthusiastically assembled from all quarters and listened with delight to the man who had come with feudal powers, yet promising a free government and all its attendant advantages. He next went to Upland, where he lodged at the Wade Mansion, and changed the name of the place to Chester. He then proceeded to lay out the metropolis which existed in his mind before he left England, the present Philadelphia. We are told that he purchased the land of "three Swedes," by whom it was then occupied. He desired to form here a stately "greene country town." According, however, to Watson's paper in the "Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society" (iii., pt. ii., p. 128), the land was purchased of the Indians, and not until July 30, 1685, Penn at that time having returned to England. Chalmers, in his "Political Annals" (ed. 1780, p. 644), says that Penn's policy of buying the land of the natives was urged by "the good Bishop of London."

We are told that the first house was finished by George Guest, the owner using it as a tavern under the name of the "Blue Anchor." Some of the early inhabitants lived at first in caves excavated in the banks of the Delaware, places that afterward became the resort of evil doers. Within a few months no less than eighty houses were finished, and the number at the end of the year was about one hundred, besides a fine quay three hundred feet long. Two years later there were six hundred houses. Before the superfluous trees were cut down, the printing press was set up, and in December, 1683, Enoch Flower opened a school in a rude cabin, on the following

terms: "To learn to read, four shillings a quarter; to write, six shillings; boarding a scholar—to wit, diet, lodging, washing, and schooling, ten pounds the whole year." Keith, afterward an Episcopal clergyman, became the principal teacher of Philadelphia. William Bradford the printer likewise abandoned Quakerism and became an Episcopalian. Also a "witch" was tried, Penn presiding as judge, the accused finally escaping; this forming, it is said, the first and last "witchcraft" case in Pennsylvania.

Soon, however, it became apparent that the charter drawn up for Pennsylvania by Penn would not, in some particulars, suffice, and March 30, 1683, a new one was framed by a general committee and signed by the governor. It reduced the council from thirty-six to eighteen, retaining the initiation of bills for the governor and council, but the essential principles remained the same, the real power being vested in the people. While in Maryland Lord Baltimore appointed all officers, high and low, Penn had not the power to make a constable. "I purpose," said Penn, "to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country."

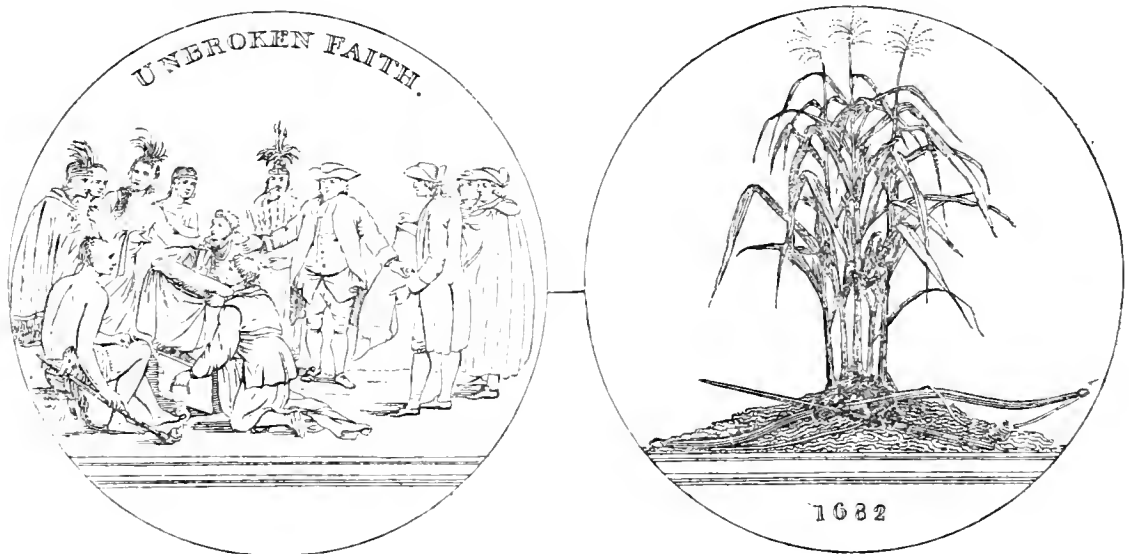
It was about this time that the so-called "Great Treaty" was made with the Indians, which, if made, is correctly described, out of Voltaire's Dictionary, though with tedious iteration, as one "never sworn to and never broken."

We are all familiar with the picture of this glowing "event," which transpired nobody knows when or where. We are told of the beauty of the woodland scene which formed the setting, the noble elm under which the parties assembled, and which stood at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, until thrown down by a storm in 1810. It is described now with minuteness and now with convenient vagueness. As for Penn's dress, it consisted of "An outer coat reaching to the knees," and, if we can believe it, "with buttons;" also a vest of "other" materials, with "trousers extremely full, slashed at the sides and tied with strings of ribbon; a profusion of shirt-sleeves and ruffles, and a hat of the cavalier shape (wanting only the feather), from beneath the brim of which escaped the curls of his rich auburn hair;" notwithstanding ruffles and ribbons were under the ban by the dictum of the Friends.

We read of Markham in the brilliant uniform of a cavalier; of the old Swedes, in the toggery worn in the camp of Gustavus Adolphus, brought over, no doubt, with reference to some such occasion; of the Indians in their gorgeous paint and feathers; of the Quakers in their "sober suits," which at that day were not of drab; of the sailors in their "peculiar habits," together, as was quite proper, with "several members of the government," and the interpreter, "Captain Cocle," not "Captain Cuttle," who, however,

might a deal better have been invited, as he would have made a "note of it." Still, after all, there should be no doubt, since, conveniently, an old lady, "who was probably an eye-witness of the ceremony," had her spectacled organs of sight fixed on Penn, and described him as "the handsomest, best looking, lively gentleman" she had ever seen in all her born days. By the aid of "Captain Cocle," Penn addressed the red men in their own language, making a speech too long to be reported here. The scene was very impressive. This we know from the picture by West, with its anachronisms, repeated on the subjoined medal struck in honor of the "event."

"It is a scene," we are assured, "celebrated in Europe by painters, poets, and historians," but what is more, it is "ever dear to the young and



WILLIAM PENN MEDAL.

hopeful, and serving on every occasion to point a moral and adorn a tale." From year to year, we are informed by the "venerable historian," Heckwelder—the same Heckwelder who told us how the whites acquired Manhattan Island with a bull's hide—the sachems assembled their children in the woods, "in a shady spot as like as they could find to that in which Penn, their great Onas," conferred with them, "when they would spread out his words or speeches on a blanket or a clean piece of bark, and repeat the whole again and again to their great satisfaction;" reminding us of the story of Elder Faunce, who is described as annually taking his appreciative grandchildren down to the shore of Plymouth, seating them upon the cold "rock," and, as the bitter blast of December blew by, telling them the story of the "Landing," and shedding many "grateful tears," the whole forming an exercise in which the young folk greatly delighted.

Nevertheless William Penn made a treaty. In fact, he made several ; and whether or not he made the particular one celebrated in song and story, is really of very little consequence, compared with his great work in founding a province. We are assured that the treaty under the great elm was not a treaty made for land, as all such acquisitions are recorded. It was a treaty of "friendship ;" but his whole policy formed a treaty of that kind which needs no pictorial emphasis. His action in respect to the Indians was the republication of the Bethlehem proclamation of peace and good will. This noble man, whose principles were the principles of peace, but whose entire life from youth to old age was a constant war with prince and prelate, courtier and king, churchman, Roman Catholic and co-religionist, never had any conflict whatsoever with the children of the forest, who found in him at once a brother, a father, and an unfailing friend. Whoever desires to consider the probabilities, may consult the article in the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania" (iii., part ii., p. 141) by Du Ponceau and Fisher, and the address of Mr. Shippen (vi., p. 215), on the occasion of the presentation to that Society of a belt of wampum, said to have been given to Penn when the treaty was made.

At a time when all was going well in the province, Penn's wife lay sick in England, while his enemies there were busy. Accordingly he felt that he must at once return, if he regarded the welfare and stability of his government. Therefore, summoning the Indian tribes to meet at Pensbury, he renewed the pledge of good faith separately with each tribe, gave them much wholesome advice, and left them sorrowing for his departure. While in the country he made treaties with no less than nineteen tribes.

In England he struggled for the greater portion of twelve years. At times he was accused of bad designs. He was also a "Papist." He was brought to trial and barely escaped imprisonment. At times, to avoid the storm, he remained in retirement. In April of the year 1693, William and Mary having succeeded King James, the former took away Penn's authority over Pennsylvania, and attached the government of the province to that of New York, under Fletcher. Yet Penn finally emerged from the cloud, and, August 20, 1696, William ordered Sunderland "to strike the name of Pennsylvania out of the list of condemned provinces." But these struggles do not fall within the scope of the present article, and, therefore, we hasten on to say, that in the meanwhile the storm-centre had shifted to Pennsylvania, where the outcry was swelling against Colonel Markham, Penn's representative. Accordingly, September 9, 1696, he embarked for America with his new wife, Hannah Callowhill, his first wife, the loved "Guli," having died several years before. Upon his arrival at Philadelphia, now grown to a

flourishing town, he was received with great enthusiasm, making his permanent residence at Pennsbury. Concerning the difficulties that he had to contend with in his province, we may simply say that they were largely such as grew out of maladministration in his absence, though the question of raising money for the fortifications, so unpalatable to the Quakers, and the condition of the blacks and the Indians weighed upon his mind. In No-

Whitehall 2 - 10 - 1702

I do hereby declare & Promise  
That I will take no advantage  
of the Queens Royall approbation  
of Col<sup>l</sup> Andrew Hamilton to be  
my Lieut Govern<sup>r</sup> of Pennsylvania  
& Countys annexed, in reference  
to the Queens Proclamations to the  
Governm<sup>t</sup>. of the sayd lower Countys  
after expiration thereof;

W<sup>m</sup> Penn

my Devere  
Wm of  
Sr & P<sup>r</sup>sent

PENN'S DECLARATION.

vember, 1700, a new constitution was adopted, and on April 23, 1701, a genuine treaty was made with the representatives of the Five Nations at Philadelphia. In August the money for the fortifications asked for by the king was refused. Soon news came that a plan was afoot in Parliament for the reduction of all proprietary governments; and the members of Penn's family, being no longer pleased with the novel life of America, were anxious to return. He formed his resolution, and sailed October 28, 1702. One

of his later official acts was to create Philadelphia a city, by a charter signed October 25, 1701. Andrew Hamilton was made his deputy, and Edward Shippen became mayor. His representative in 1702 was Andrew Hamilton, who is referred to in the accompanying *fac-simile*, somewhat reduced. Anne was now Queen, but under her reign misfortune pursued him, and in 1712 he mortgaged his province for £12,000. His health was now broken, yet he survived until July 30, 1718, when he expired at his home in Rushcombe, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, being buried in front of the meeting-house, at Jordan's, in Buckinghamshire, where a green mound, indicated by the engraving at the end of this article, marks his grave.

The character of William Penn, as popularly conceived, is, in the main, just, though most persons are inclined to identify him too closely in appearance and manners and mode of life with the modern members of the Society of Friends. Yet, whatever may have been his principles, Penn was, to a great extent—at least for a large part of his life—a courtier and man of the world, the latter phrase being used in its best sense. Indeed, he entertained broad and grand ideas apart from the principles of religious liberty and the needs of his province. His Philadelphia was to be no pent-up Utica, while a boundless continent engaged his thought, as we know from his proposition, made in 1697, to bring all the colonies under one central control, thus forecasting the American confederation. But, turning from this thought, we may notice next that William Penn maintained a style of living in keeping with his position as the governor of a great province. As already stated, he had provided, through Markham, for a fine residence in the American wilderness, furnished with all suitable appointments. To this end the Indian royalty, afterward known as Pennsbury, was bought of the natives. It was situated on the Delaware, above Philadelphia. The estate originally comprised three thousand four hundred and thirty-one acres, the river running around it. Here he built his mansion on what was almost practically an island. The house, with a frontage of sixty feet, faced the Delaware, costing £7,000. The description runs as follows :

“ It was two stories in height and of brick. Its appearance was, it is said, stately, and it was entered by a handsome porch and steps. On the first floor was a large hall, probably the whole length of the house, used on public occasions for the meeting of the council and the entertainment of strangers and the Indians ; a little hall, and at least three parlors, all wainscoted, and communicated by folding doors. On the roof was a large reservoir for water, to the leakage of which is attributed, in part, the ruin of the mansion. The outhouses, which were uniform and facing in a line with the house, were, *first*, a kitchen and larder ; *second*, a wash-house ;

*third*, a house for brewing and baking ; and *fourth*, a stable for twelve horses ; all these one story and a half high."

"The mansion was seated on a moderate eminence. A broad walk through an avenue of poplars led to the river, descending from the upper terrace to the lower grounds by a flight of steps. The house was surrounded by gardens and bowers, and the more distant woods were opened in vistas looking down the river and upward to the falls. The proprietor sent out from England walnuts, hawthorns, hazels, fruit-trees, and a great variety of the rarest seeds and roots ; while in this country (as we learn from his cash-book) he procured from Maryland several panniers of trees and shrubs, indigenous to that province, and he directed by his letters that the most beautiful wild flowers should be transplanted into his gardens. On the whole, his directions indicate a love of nature and an elegance of taste, which are very remarkable." It appears that the carved doors and window-frames and all the interior decorations of his mansion were carried with him on the *Welcome*. The furniture is also described as very elegant, and the papers obtained of John Penn, the founder's grandson, give us an idea of the contents of the house in 1701. We read that "In the great hall was a long table, two forms, six chairs, a supply of pewter plates and dishes, with six vessels called cisterns, for holding water or beer. In the little hall, six leather chairs and five maps. In the best parlor, two tables, one couch, two large and four small chairs, four cushions of satin and three of green plush. In the second parlor, one great leather chair, probably used by the governor, one clock, and a pair of brasses. The four chambers on the second floor were well supplied with beds, bedding, chairs, tables, etc. In three of them were suits of curtains, the first of satin, the second of camblet, and the third of striped linen. The garret chambers were furnished with four beds, and in one of the chambers were deposited three side-saddles and two pillions. In the closet were two blankets and two damask curtains for windows." Besides these things there was also a set of "Tunbridge ware," the well-known wood mosaic work, for the manufacture of which Tunbridge has so long been celebrated ; together with "blue and white china, some plate and a large supply of damask tablecloths and napkins." Mahogany was not then known, and the spider-tables and high-backed chairs were of solid oak or of the darker walnut.

Owing to the leakage from the cistern at the top of the house it was greatly damaged, and about the period of the Revolution it was taken down. After it fell into decay, Watson says, that one apartment was known as "the Spirit Room, or Haunted Chamber." Watson infers that Penn had a cottage built for him by Markham in Philadelphia, in what came to be

known as Lætetia Court ; but at his second visit, in 1700, he certainly used what is known as the Slate-Roof House, on Second Street, as his city residence. In this house was born John Penn, the only member of the family born in America. Writing from his ship when just sailing for England, September 3, 1701, to James Logan, he says, "Thou may continue in the house I lived in until the year is up." Logan, in fact, lived there until 1704. The house stood until very recent times and witnessed many interesting changes.

Among the recreations of the governor and his family was the occasional attendance at "a fair or an Indian *Cantico*," of both which his cash-book, kept by James Logan, give evidences such as this: "by my mistress at the fair, £2 os. 8d. By expenses given to Hannah Carpenter for a fairing, 8 shillings. By ditto to two children for comfits per order, 1s. 6d. By the Governor going to Cantico, £1 18s. 4d."

Penn is often thought of as a very staid, solemn personage, incapable of bending or taking off his hat, yet the contrary is the truth. He was of a most lively disposition, and from his youth fond of athletic sports. Hence, when he came into the American forests, from taste as well as policy, he entered into the games of the red man with zest, and would run and jump with them in their matches ; which he could not have done, if he had been the original of the stout individual seen in the Treaty Picture by West. Of such a person, essaying the rôle of an athlete, the Indian queens would have been obliged to say, as the Queen of Denmark said of her son Hamlet, "he's fat and scant of breath," though he generally appears upon the stage an attenuated individual with slim legs.

The governor was fond of horses, and like the members of his household, was often in the saddle, but his family travelled sometimes in a coach. He had a calash with which he usually visited the neighboring meetings, and a sedan-chair for town use. Nevertheless, his favorite mode of travel between Pennsbury and Philadelphia was by his barge, evidently a large and stately piece of naval architecture, as would become the son of a great admiral. Of this barge he was exceedingly fond, and in one of his letters, written when absent in England, he speaks of "my barge," which "above all dead things," he hopes nobody uses "on any account, and that she is kept in a dry-dock, or at least covered from the weather."

Philadelphia is now a great and noble city, whose inhabitants are known the world over for their intelligence, culture, and wealth ; and if to-day there is a smaller proportion of those distinctly known as Friends than Penn himself would have wished, the city, as indeed the entire commonwealth, so distinguished for those humane principles which he advocated, may still



be regarded as his monument. Thus the visitor, when seeking for his memorial, may be told as the pilgrim is told in St. Paul's, London, when searching for the monument of the builder—CIRCUMSPICE, Look around you! It may nevertheless be interesting to glance at the small beginning on the bank of the Delaware in 1682. The oldest known formal description of the country written in the Province is found in the letter of one Thomas Paskel, or Paschell, addressed to a friend in England, J. J. Chippenham, dated February 10, 1683; while Penn's description, written in the Province, bears the date of August 16th following. Earlier documents were produced, and are now in existence, but they do not appear to have been committed to print. At least the writer has no knowledge of their publication. The letter of Paskel, therefore, of which I find no English version, is of unique interest. It is found in a rare volume entitled *Recueil de Diverses Pièces Concernant la Pensylvanie*, and was printed at the Hague by Abraham Troyel in 1684. The writer was formerly a resident of Bristol, England, but did not come out on the same ship with Penn, and it might appear from the language of the translator as though he had preceded Penn. He appears to have been a man of some substance, as he brought servants and laborers with him, among whom was a carpenter who died on the voyage, though he rejoices on account of the excellent health of his family. In this respect, they were better off than in England, whither he had no desire to return. After the customary salutations, he says that "William Penn and those of his company have arrived at a good port, and have been received with great approbation, as also at New York, whither he has been, and where he bore himself in a generous manner. There is here a city called Philadelphia, where there is a market, and another at Chester, formerly called Upland, and William Penn is laboring to establish corporations in these cities." He says also: "There are here Swedes and Finns who have dwelt here forty years, having an easy life, on account of the abundance of commodities; but their habits were very mean before the arrival of the English, of whom they have learned manners, and they begin to show a little pride. This is an industrious people, and they employ in their buildings very little iron, and they will build you a house without any other tool than a hatchet; with this instrument they fell a tree and take it in pieces in less time than two other men using a saw; and with this apparatus and some wedges of wood they split the trees and make planks, and such other things as they wish, with much art. They speak for the most part English, Swedish, Finnish, and Holland, and they plant a little tobacco, a little Indian corn; their wives are good managers, and make the most part of the linen they wear; they spin and make cloth." Continuing he says: "This river

the Delaware is beautiful and agreeable, and has many kinds of fish in great abundance. The country which is along the River Delaware is in the neighborhood of one hundred and sixty miles from the sea, and is cultivated for the most part, principally on the Pennsylvania shore, as also along the little rivers, by the Swedes, Finns, and Hollanders, among whom are the English who also come to serve, buying habitations among them. Thus some take place on the great rivers and some on the little, and others go a little farther, seven or eight miles away into the wood." "Thomas Colburn has gone to dwell in the woods three miles away, or one hour by road. He is in a good situation and has already gained fourteen acres of wheat, and by his trade thirty or forty livres sterling during the little time that he has been here. I have hired a house for my family during the winter, and I have built a little house for my servants ; I dwell on the borders of the River Schuylkill, sufficiently near the city of Philadelphia, and I have cleared up six acres. I am able to say in truth, that since I left Bristol I have never had any desire to return. Some English have gone to settle in the uplands, and they have sown this year from forty to fifty bushels of wheat, with which they have enclosed fourteen or sixteen acres ; they have besides many cattle. The men here for the most part eat rye bread, not because they do not have wheat, but because they have more rye. For here there are two kinds of wheat, the winter wheat and that sown in the autumn, and the wheat of summer which is sown in March, and they gather one or the other in the month of June, after which they again clear up the land and sow the buckwheat, which they gather in September. I have eaten here as good bread and likewise as good beer as in England ; one has also good butter and also good cheese, which is for the most part in the English quarters."

Thus he goes on, describing the productions of the country, the fish, the birds, animals, among which he finds "lions," and, finally, he comes to the red man, who is gentle and peaceable, except when stirred up to revenge. "They live in a more civil way since the English came among them," and also, "many among them begin to speak English," while Paskel heard it said by them that "the Swede is not a good man, the German is not a good man, the English *is* a good man."

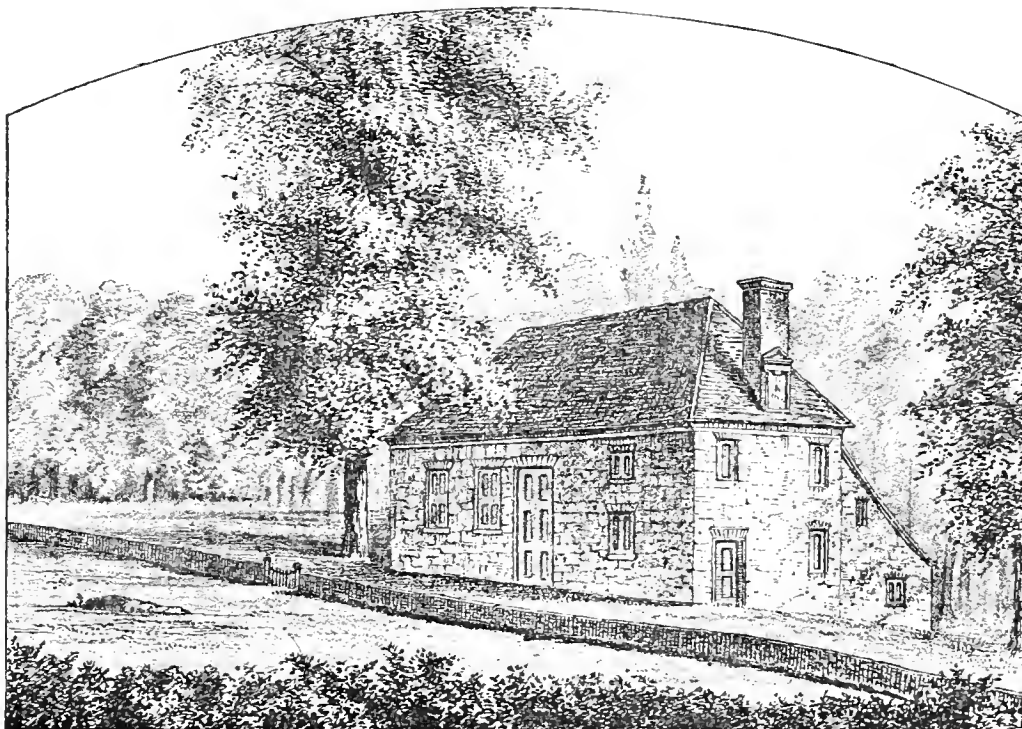
Thus, in Pennsylvania, under the guidance of Penn, the Englishman obtained a reputation similar to that won by the French in Acadia. He concludes by saying : "I truly have many more things to write you, but the shortness of the time does not permit me. Adieu. THOMAS PASKEL."

Such is the picture which this interesting writer gives. Others might be added of a later date, but this may suffice. Paskel, at the time he wrote, lived in his "own hired house," but he at once became a landowner. With

his letter to the Free Traders, published in 1683, Penn gives a plan of the city, and on one corner of the sheet a hill is delineated with three peaks and four trees, entitled "Faire Mount." The land is laid out in lots; that numbered seventy-two, situated near the centre, was purchased by Paskel. The entire municipality was soon occupied, and all things bore evidence of the wisdom and farsightedness of the Founder.

It has been observed already that the popular estimate of the character of William Penn is just; and nothing has been said of the charges brought against him by such writers as Burnet and Macaulay. To defend the Founder of Pennsylvania now against these oft-refuted aspersions would be disrespectful to his memory. Penn's life, as known and read of all men, is a sufficient answer to his enemies. He mingled much in public affairs, he associated from time to time with politicians, and, possibly, he did not altogether escape from the pitch which he may have handled, yet there are spots, astronomers tell us, even upon the sun. William Penn is to be judged by his virtues, not by any ill-founded charge of vice; and, therefore, his name must stand among the few great names that shed unfading lustre upon the history of the New World. DANIEL WILLIAMS

NOTE.—An interesting bibliography of Penn and Pennsylvania, by Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, may be found in the *Bulletin* of the Philadelphia Library Company, for July, 1882. The New York Historical Society, besides a perfect copy of Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders, has an incomplete copy which shows some variations.



BURIAL-PLACE AND MEETING-HOUSE

## THOMAS WYNNE, CHIRURGEON

Among the companions of Penn on the "Welcome," which may justly be entitled the "Mayflower of Pennsylvania," was the gentleman whose name heads this article; and as we celebrate this month the bi-centennial of the landing of the gentle founder of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the good old town of New Castle, Delaware, we take this opportunity of presenting a memoir of the first physician ever located in the city of Philadelphia, and the Speaker of the first General Assembly of the Province.

Thomas Wynne was born in the town of Caerwys, Flintshire, North Wales, about the year 1630. His father, Peter Wynne, of Leewood and the Tower, had a town residence at Caerwys. This Peter was the fifth son of Sir John Wynne of Gwydir, created a baronet in 1611, who married Sydney, daughter of Sir William Gerard, Chancellor of Ireland. The name of this lady was perpetuated in the American branches. There was a Sydney Wynne and a Sydney Dickenson, one the daughter and the other the granddaughter of the Doctor. Where Thomas Wynne received his education we do not know; but about 1650 he was sent to London, and entered the Royal College of Surgeons. After his term there expired he was licensed as a surgeon and physician, and practised on the Surrey side of the Thames. Among his patients were the family of John Smith, of Battersea, county Surrey, whose sister Mary had married Samuel Bultall, or Bulteel, of Plymouth, merchant, a younger son of James Bulteel, of Fleet, county Devon, by his wife Mary, daughter and sole heir of Courtney Crocker, of Lyneham, county Devon. *Burke's* states that there were eleven John Crockers, of Lyneham, in uninterrupted succession. Dr. Wynne married Mary, daughter of this Samuel Bultall, whom he met at her uncle Smith's. The date of his marriage was about 1656-57, certainly not later, for his eldest daughter was married and had two children before 1682. At what date Dr. Wynne became a convert to Quakerism we know not, but it is certain that he was on intimate terms with William Penn, who persuaded him to accompany him to Pennsylvania. They embarked on board the "Welcome," 300 tons burthen, Robert Greenway, master, at Deal, in Sussex, on Wednesday, the 30th day of August, 1682. After an eventful voyage of two months, during which time the small-pox broke out on board their vessel, by reason of which one-third of the one hundred who left England died, they entered the Capes of Delaware on Tuesday, October 24th, and landed

at New Castle, Friday, October 27, 1682. Dr. Wynne proceeded to Philadelphia, where he immediately located, and became the first physician of the infant city. In January, 1683, the good people of Philadelphia elected him a representative to the first regular Assembly convened by the Province—that presided over by Nicholas Moore, at Chester, from December 4 to 7, 1682, being more in the nature of a convention to frame a charter of government for the Province. On the 29th of January he was appointed a member of the Commission, consisting of one Councilman and one Assemblyman from each of the six counties then existing, to frame a new charter for the Province, many defects appearing in the first one. On the 11th of April, 1683, he was appointed one of the commissioners to proceed to Burlington and arrange various matters in dispute between the Provinces of Pennsylvania and West Jersey. In 1686 Dr. Wynne purchased from Penn 5,000 acres of land in Sussex County, Delaware, to which place he removed with his family. He represented Sussex in the Assemblies of 1687–88–89. January 2, 1689, Penn commissioned him a Justice of the Peace for Sussex County, and on the 2d of November, in the same year, a Lay Justice of the Provincial Court, but the Council rejected him. Penn again commissioned him in 1690, but he served only one year, for in 1691 he returned to Philadelphia, where he died, 16th, 1st month, 1692, in the 62d year of his age. His will bears date 15th, 1st month, 1691, and in it he styles himself “Thomas Wynne Practitioner of Physick.” He appoints Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor, and Dr. Griffith Owen overseers or executors of his will. His wife Mary survived him, as she appears before the Council as a petitioner in 1694, as seen by the following extract from the Minutes of Council: “Charles Pickering, in behalf of the widow Wynne, having preferred a petition to the Lt Govr and Council setting forth that her husband Thos. Wynne late of Sussex Countie deceased, had been summoned to the Court of New Castle to answer the complaint of Adam Short and others. But falling sick, died 3 or 4 hours before judgment passed ag’t him att the said Court, and that the original process ag’t her husband was by a wrong name and therefore requested that the execution be stopt, and that the petitioner have a fair triall. After debate upon this matter, and production of the copie of the records of the Court of New Castle under the Clarks hand wherein the petitioners husband was written Thomas Guin (but his true surname was Wynne). Resolved, that the whole tryall be referred to the next provinciall Court to be held for Sussex Countie and that in the meantime execusion be suspended.”


Dr. Wynne was the author of several tracts in defence of the principles held by the “Friends.” Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, was originally

named after him. His remains were interred in the old Quaker burying-ground, corner Fourth and Arch Streets. Dr. Wynne had issue :

1. MARY, born at Battersea, Surrey, about 1658 ; married, in 1676, Dr. Edward Jones, a native of Bala, Merionethshire, who sailed from Liverpool in the "Lion," in April, 1682, landing at Philadelphia June 13, 1682. Dr. Jones settled at Merion, in Philadelphia County, and was a member of the Assembly of 1708-09-10. Mrs. Jones died 7th month, 1726. Dr. Jones died in February, 1737, in the 92d year of his age. His son Jonathan died in 1770, aged 91. Jonathan's son James died in 1801, aged 92, and James' grandson, Samuel W. Jones, died 7th, 9th month, 1873, aged 92, and his granddaughter Sarah still survives, aged 94. Of a branch settled in Montgomery County it is said six reached the age of 92. Dr. Jones' eldest daughter, Mary, born in Bala in 1677, married, 26th, 10th month, 1699, John Cadwalader, of Philadelphia. From this marriage are descended the families of Cadwalader, Dickinson, Morris, McCall, Ringgold, Meredith, Read, Rowle, Mitchell, Graham, Stevens, Maxwell, Potts, and Schley, of this country, and the families of Erskine, Callender, Browne, Bentinck, Whitshed, Lawton, and Campbell, in Great Britain.
2. REBECCA married John Dickinson the younger, of Talbot County, Maryland, whose father, John Dickinson the Elder, was the youngest of the three sons of Charles Dickinson, of London, and came with his elder brothers, Walter and John, to Virginia in 1654. Walter was the grandfather of Judge Samuel Dickinson, of Dover, Delaware, who married, November 4, 1781, Dr. Wynne's great-granddaughter, Mary Cadwalader, and had issue by her the celebrated John Dickinson, Governor of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and his equally distinguished brother, General Philemon Dickinson, of New Jersey, a memoir of whom appeared in THE MAGAZINE, December, 1881.
3. JONATHAN, who was grandfather of—
  1. JOSHUA, Major Pennsylvania Militia, 1775-81.
  2. THOMAS, Lieutenant Third Regiment of the Line, 1776-81.
4. TABITHA, died unmarried.
5. SYDNEY, " " "
6. HANNAH, married Daniel Humphreys, of Haverford, and had, with others—

4. JOSHUA, great-grandfather of
  - I. Andrew Atkinson Humphreys, Major-General U. S. A., Chief of Ordnance, Staff of General of the Army.
6. CHARLES, Member of Pennsylvania Assembly and the Continental Congress, 1774-76. Refusing, like his kinsman, John Dickinson, to sign the Declaration, he retired from public life, beloved by all for his stainless private character and great benevolence.

WHARTON DICKINSON




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#### THE LANDING AT NEW CASTLE

In 1824 a society was formed for the "commemoration of the landing of William Penn." Its first meeting was held on November 4th in the house in which he once lived in Letitia Court. An address was delivered by Peter S. Duponceau, and the eighteen members of the society dined together. In selecting the day to be celebrated, the society was guided by the passage in Penn's letter to the Lords of Plantation, dated August, 1683, in which he states that he arrived on "the 24th of Oct. last." Adding ten days to this date to correct the error in computing time by the Julian calendar, which was in vogue when Penn landed, November 4th was decided to be the anniversary. The next year, however, the society celebrated the 24th of October, and continued to meet on that day until 1836, the last year that we are able to trace the existence of the organization.

Subsequent investigations have shown that Penn did not arrive before New Castle until October 27th (see "New Castle Court Records," Hazard's "Annals of Pa.," p. 596), and did not land until the following day. It is probable, therefore, that Penn dated his arrival from the time he came in sight of land or passed the Capes of Delaware. The first evidences we have of his being within the bounds of the present State of Pennsylvania, are letters dated Upland, October 29th, and this day, allowing ten days for the change of time, bringing it to November 8th, is the one that it is customary to celebrate as the anniversary of his landing.—Mr. F. D. STONE, in the *Bulletin* of Philadelphia Library Company.

## WILLIAM PENN'S LIKENESS

The Penn Bi-Centenary, with its revival of a bright piece of colonial history, still leaves us in doubt as to Penn's appearance. Of all our early founders one would wish to have his likeness among the most carefully preserved, and we are not without a vague confidence that it may yet turn up—the veritable, authenticated face of the just and kindly Quaker Proprietary. There are portraits, busts, and statues of Penn which have a history, but nearly all are traceable to the *quasi* original mentioned by Benjamin Franklin in a letter to Lord Kames of January 3, 1760, wherein he writes that he had heard that “when old Lord Cobham was adorning his gardens



at Stow with busts of famous men, he made inquiry of the family for the picture of William Penn, in order to get a bust formed from it, but could find none; that Sylvanus Bevan, an old Quaker apothecary, remarkable for the notice he takes of countenances, and a knack he has of cutting in ivory strong likenesses of persons he has once seen, hearing of Lord Cobham's desire, set himself to recollect Penn's face, with which he had been well acquainted, and cut a little bust of him in ivory, which he sent to Lord Cobham, without any letter or notice that it was Penn's. But my

lord, who had personally known Penn, on seeing it immediately cried out, ‘Whence comes this? It is William Penn himself!’ And from this little bust, they say, the large one in the gardens was formed.” The fate of the “little bust” is unknown, but it is probable, as suggested in Sparks' note to Franklin's letter, that Bevan afterward executed several ivory busts or medallions, and that others have since been carved in imitation of his model. One of these medallions was reproduced in lithograph for Smith and Watson's “Historical Curiosities,” and is presented here as a specimen of Bevan's work.

The interesting statue of Penn, wearing a broad-brimmed hat, with a



scroll in his hand, which has stood upon the grounds of the Pennsylvania Hospital at Philadelphia since the last century, originally adorned the estate of Lord Le Despenser at High Wycombe, in England, until its purchase and presentation to the hospital by John Penn, son of the Proprietary. The head is a copy of one of Bevan's busts; so also was the bust carved in wood belonging to the Loganian Library in Philadelphia which was destroyed by fire in 1831, and an engraving of which appears in Proud's "History of Pennsylvania." Benjamin West, who never saw Penn, introduces him into his painting representing the signing of the treaty with the Indians, and that portrait is probably the one most familiar to the general reader, an outline cut of which is subjoined. West also seems to have followed Bevan, though the resemblance between his head of Penn and that of the Loganian bust, for instance, is quite remote. But at best, as Sparks observes, all Bevan's heads must be regarded as "imperfect resemblances;" his delineation was likewise "drawn from the appearance of William Penn in the last years of his life, when old age, sedentary habits, and a decayed intellect left little in his countenance but its good nature."

These restrictions affect only the portraiture of Penn as the founder of Pennsylvania, for fortunately there exists an authenticated likeness of him at the age of twenty-two, when he appears as a youth with flowing locks and a face at once "handsome, intelligent, expressive of benevolence, and somewhat pensive." He is represented here in armor, and though the artist is unknown we may conjecture him to have been no other than Sir Peter Lely, who painted the portrait of his father, the Admiral. A duplicate of the original was presented by Grenville Penn to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1833. We must notice at the same time what is known as the "National Museum Portrait" of Penn in Philadelphia, purporting to be from an original painted at the age of fifty-two, the history of which was given by Mr. Frank M. Etting in *Scribner's Monthly* for May, 1876. This



portrait was discovered in 1874 in the collection of Mr. Allan, residing in an ancient mansion in Durham County, England, and a duplicate of it obtained for the Museum in Philadelphia. Some doubts, however, linger as to its authenticity, as its artist and antecedents are not given; and yet one may see in the shape of the head, the expression and style of hair, something of the young Penn of twenty-two.

The portrait of Penn selected as the frontispiece for the present number of THE MAGAZINE has an historical basis, and, moreover, suggests a line of investigation. It is reproduced, somewhat enlarged, from a fine steel engraving published in Germany several years ago and credited to a painting by Kneller—doubtless Sir Godfrey Kneller, the English court painter in Penn's time. That a portrait by this artist exists would not be in the least surprising, and inquiries set on foot may yet lead to its discovery. Both Penn and Kneller were intimate with King James II., as Kneller was with several other sovereigns, and could not but have known each other well. Under these circumstances the surprise would be that Kneller did not paint Penn's portrait, either for Penn himself, for James, or for the artist, and as Kneller's paintings have been widely scattered, that of Penn may have gone in an unexpected direction. Its discovery in Germany, should it be found there, could be explained by the fact that Kneller was a native of Lubeck, where his relatives or admirers must have come into possession of specimens of his work during and after his lifetime. The engraving we present has all the characteristics of life and sweetness attributed to Penn's face, and is not unlike an English engraving after one of Bevan's busts, so that in any event—whether from a Kneller or not—we believe we have here as satisfactory a likeness of Pennsylvania's eminent founder as can now, among conflicting claims, be secured.

NOTE.—The cut on the preceding page, after West's portrait, is from a French print—which explains the G, for Guillaume Penn. An elaborate engraving, after a Bevan bust, illustrates the article on Penn in the now obsolete *Encyclopædia Londinensis*. The National Museum portrait appears in Dr. Egle's History of Pennsylvania (Harrisburg, 1876).

## BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION<sup>1</sup>

Every thoughtful reader who takes up Mr. Bancroft's work must be struck by the second of the opening paragraphs: "Scarcely one who wished me good speed when I essayed to trace the history of America remains to greet me with a welcome as I near the goal." Nearly half a century has passed away since he undertook his great task, and some of the changes that have taken place in the meantime may be described in his own words, where he says: "While so much is changed in the living objects of personal respect and affection, infinitely greater are the transformations in the condition of the world. Power has come to dwell with every people, from the Arctic Sea to the Mediterranean, from Portugal to the borders of Russia. From end to end of the United States the slave has become a free-man, and the various forms of bondage have disappeared from European Christendom. Abounding harvests of scientific discovery have been garnered by numberless inquisitive minds, and the wildest forces of nature have become the docile helpmates of man." The change, however, of the most importance to Mr. Bancroft, as the historian of the Constitution, is that which has taken place in the status of the black man, and it is well that his long-meditated work of writing the history of the formation of the Constitution was delayed until the accomplishment of this great event; for though, as our author informs us, more than two thousand years ago it was proclaimed by Plato that the nature of justice could be more easily discerned in a State than in a man, the American Constitution, as adopted by the fathers, did not represent justice, but compromised inalienable rights. Yet, if at an earlier period Mr. Bancroft had achieved the work which existed in his mind, he must have written in an apologetic spirit the story of an instrument incapable of exciting unmixed admiration. Such a performance would naturally have proved one upon which he could not have looked to-day with much satisfaction. As it remains, the treatment of the dead fly in the apothecary's ointment has given little trouble. He has had both the advantage and the satisfaction of treating the subject at a time when the spirit of the Declaration of Independence has been infused throughout the provisions of the Constitution, instead of discussing the instrument in the faint hope of such a consummation. Writing "after the event," he has been able not only to pass lightly over the worst aspect of the Constitution, but to bring to his

crowning task the ripe wisdom of a mind unshaken by time, though deeply freighted with the experience and varied information that comes with the lapse of years.

If, however, Mr. Bancroft has enjoyed the advantage of living long, he suffers some of the inconvenience arising out of the fact that, with reference to the occurrence of the events of which he writes, he was born early. "So," he says, "I received it from the lips of Madison." This indicates that he was closely connected with the actors of the Constitutional period. Consequently he exhibits some of the partialities inevitable under the circumstances. If he had commenced life later, much valuable material might have been lost, yet there would have been a different judgment of certain men, while he might have avoided the influence of Jeffersonian Republicanism. With reference to the accumulation and preservation of material, something of a special character could here be said, since Mr. Bancroft has labored from the beginning to make the most careful and exhaustive manuscript collections possible under the circumstances. The appendices of his two volumes before us give full proof of his painstaking diligence, and show what one can do in this respect in connection with a single topic.

The cheerfulness which animates this work of Mr. Bancroft's old age is also noteworthy. Hope inspires every page. This, indeed, might well be the case, when we consider the remarkable changes the author has witnessed and the grave dangers which constitutional representative government in this country has survived. The past is a guaranty for the future; yet in his Theism Mr. Bancroft finds his great inspiration. He says: "However great may be the number of those who persuade themselves that there is in man nothing superior to himself, history interposes with evidence that tyranny and wrong lead inevitably to decay; that freedom and right, however hard may be the struggle, always prove resistless. Through this assurance ancient nations learn to renew their youth; the rising generation is incited to take a generous part in the grand drama of time; and old age, staying itself upon sweet Hope as its companion and cherisher, not bating a jot of courage, nor seeing cause to argue against the hand or the will of a higher power, stands waiting, in the tranquil conviction that the path of humanity is still fresh with the dews of morning—that the Redeemer of the nations liveth."

This extract gives the key-note to his work, planting himself, as he does, by the side of Washington and his principal co-laborers, who took their position at the antipodes of that hopeless agnosticism which leaves the human family to grope its way in the dark, with no guidance outside of itself for the present, and with no promise for the days to come. The venerable au-

thor has conceived his work in the conviction that human society is like a leaf which, for "its greenness and beauty and health, needs the help of an effluence from beyond this planet," recognizing everywhere the hand of an overruling Providence, and shaping his philosophy in accordance with theistic principles. This aspect of the work is the more pronounced, from the fact that a class of writers incline to treat all such questions as if nothing existed outside of man.

We shall not be expected to give any full abstract or analysis of this work, the first book of which, comprising seven chapters, treats of matters prior to the Federal Convention that met in 1783, going over the movements toward union, the struggle to devise a source of revenue, the relations of Great Britain and Continental Europe to America, the various plans proposed for a strong government, and the efforts of Washington to accomplish the disbanding of the army on terms acceptable both to the soldiery and the people. The second book, in eight chapters, is styled, "On the Way to the Federal Convention, 1783-1787," showing how Washington's circular of June 8, 1783, was received by the people, how Virginia and the West gradually moved toward union, how Congress endeavored to arrange commerce, how obstacles to union were gradually removed. We are also shown the helplessness of Congress in the midst of all, and the manifold fears entertained by the people respecting the dangers of centralization in the government. The subject of the Federal Convention is finally reached with the opening of the second volume, eleven chapters of which, composing the third book, treat of the work done, and the fourth book shows the people of the different States deliberating over the great scheme laid down by their representatives preparatory to its adoption. The last book is devoted to "The Federal Government, June, 1787," in which Mr. Bancroft discusses the nature and workings of the Constitution, the delay of New York and other States in postponing its ratification; while the final chapter treats of the immediate results of the acceptance of the Constitution by the people.

Some points are discussed fully, and others appear to be passed over lightly. The latter seems to be the case with regard to that great defect of the Constitution which left the people to deal finally with a question of slavery. One perhaps can readily understand why so little is said on this point, as slavery is forever dead, and the question of human bondage in America is one that resurrectionists and ghouls will dig up in vain. Yet, as already indicated, if Mr. Bancroft had reached the subject prior to the rebellion, he must inevitably have labored over his theme with double toil and trouble. In view of this fact, therefore, we were not prepared to find

him disposing of the matter quite so easily, even "after the event." Treating of the individuality characterizing the people and the freedom of conscience which prevailed, he mildly says, "with this perfect individuality extending to conscience, freedom should have belonged to labor," and that, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, notwithstanding the support that slavery received in various parts of the world, "in America freedom of labor was the moral principle of the majority of the people;" and, again, that this freedom of labor was "moving toward immediate establishment in a majority of the States." Still, perhaps, we can charitably say this now that freedom of labor is established beyond question, and we may persuade ourselves, that the framers of the Constitution, in failing to abolish human bondage outright, did not make much of a mistake after all. We can afford to be liberal, even though their failure ultimately opened the way for Calhoun and his co-laborers to play fast and loose with the Constitution, declaring Congress incompetent to deal with slavery in the slave States, though it had the power to project the system into the free States, and, in fact, make slavery the organic law of the land; thus affording the occasion, not the *cause*, for the outbreak of the most disastrous civil war on record.

Beyond question, the man who had the most to do in securing the constitution was Washington. Mr. Bancroft will hardly be accused of exaggeration where he says, "But for him the country would not have achieved its independence; but for him it could not have formed its union; and now but for him it could not have set the federal government in successful motion." Still the Constitution, while the best, perhaps, that was attainable, did not satisfy Washington, who had his apprehensions concerning what Grayson called "the Southern genius of America." Next to Washington, in the estimate of Mr. Bancroft, comes Madison, which has been thought unjust, Hamilton having been claimed as the man who gave force and momentum to the movement, and whose brilliant intellect and fiery energy drove it forward from one point to another, and that to him more than any one else, after Washington, the Constitution owes its existence. This may be true in a sense, and the sense in which it may be true is amply indicated by Mr. Bancroft, where he shows the part which Hamilton performed. Beyond question, the Constitution is under obligation to him, but in something like the sense in which a ship may be indebted to the violent storm which happens to drive her to the destined port. June 18, 1787, from his place in the convention, Alexander Hamilton read and commented on *his* proposed Constitution, according to which, "the assembly, which was to be the corner-stone of the edifice, was to consist of persons elected directly by the people for three years. It was to be checked

by a senate, elected by electors chosen by the people, and holding office during good behavior ;” while “the supreme executive, whose term of office was to be good behavior, was to be elected by electors, chosen by electors chosen by the people.” Such is the way the matter is put by Mr. Bancroft (II., 44), while Hamilton’s own explanation is: “It may be said this constitutes an elective monarchy ; but by making the executive subject to impeachment, the term monarchy cannot apply.” Still, according to his own confession, his plan contemplated a permanent president. He said distinctly that “the general government must not only have a strong soul, but strong organs by which that soul is to operate. I despair that a republican form of government can remove the difficulties ; I would hold it, however, unwise to change it. The best form of government,” said this young West Indian, “is not attainable by us, but the model to which we should approach as near as possible, is the British Constitution, praised by Necker as ‘the only government which unites public strength with individual security.’ Its House of Lords is a most noble institution. It forms a permanent barrier against every pernicious innovation, whether attempted on the part of the crown or the commons ;” adding, “It seems to be admitted that no good executive can be established upon republican principles. The English model is the only good one.”

Mr. Bancroft remarks on this, that Hamilton spoke, “not to refer a proposition to the committee, but only to present his own ideas, and to indicate the amendments which he might offer to the Virginia plan,” favored by Madison ; for he “saw evils operating in the States which must soon cure the people of their fondness for democracies, and unshackle them from their prejudices.” Hamilton, we are told, “was praised by everybody, but supported by none.” Mr. Bancroft concludes this matter by saying of Hamilton, “It was not the good words for the monarchy of Great Britain that estranged his hearers. Hamilton did not go far beyond the language of Randolph, or Dickinson, or Gerry, or Charles Pinckney. The attachment to monarchy in the United States had not been consumed by volcanic fires, it had disappeared because there was nothing left in them to keep it alive, and the notion imperceptibly and without bitterness outgrew its old habits of thought. Gratitude for the revolution of 1688 still threw a halo around the House of Lords. But Hamilton, finding a home in the United States only after his mind was near maturity, did not cherish toward the States the feeling of those who were born and bred on the soil and received into their affections the thought and experience of the preceding generation.”

June 19th, Hamilton said, “I acknowledge I do not think favorably of republican government ; but I address my remarks to those who do, in

order to prevail on them to tone their government as high as possible," saying also, "those who mean to form a solid republic ought to proceed to the confines of another government." The position of Hamilton, in no small measure, was that of an outsider, while Madison, who was not disinclined to the plan of a presidential tenure during good behavior, with proper guarantees, worked in the main in practical and what proved the accepted lines of legislation, thus becoming the weightier man. Still we must not overlook the work done by Hamilton in the *Federalist* in securing the adoption of the Constitution by the people.

Many of the ideas set forth in the convention that framed the Constitution appear sufficiently curious in our day, and show the jargon of opinion out of which that instrument sprang into being. The story of the convention, as told by Mr. Bancroft in the first volume, is a piece of mosaic work, put together with the most painstaking care, the multitudinous bits being drawn from original and widely separated sources. Those, for instance, who fancy that New England always spoke with her present voice, ought to hear Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, saying at the beginning of the convention, "The people should have as little to do as may be about the government; they want information, and are constantly liable to be misled;" while Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, declared, "The people do not want virtue; but they are the dupes of pretended patriots." Madison was in favor of refining popular appointments by successive "filtrations." Everywhere, indeed, there was a deep distrust of the people, while the people distrusted the "patriots," and shrank from committing themselves to a strong continental government. Only by a supreme effort was it possible to bring the people at large to the reluctant endorsement of a system of national government over which to-day they are ready to shout themselves hoarse, and for the maintenance of which they have made, and are still ready to make, the greatest sacrifices. Nor is it surprising that the people held back from this new-fangled composition called a constitution, when they heard such a friend of liberty as John Dickinson declaring, "A limited monarchy is one of the best governments in the world," for what, they argued, must the system be that came from men who talked in this strain. It is evident that the American people barely escaped a system that was essentially monarchical, except in name. In fact, the study of Mr. Bancroft's book will tend very essentially to disabuse the popular mind of the false notions which are now entertained respecting the men and measures of the Revolution. The American Constitution, described by Gladstone as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," did not come, Minerva-like, fully arrayed from the cranium of any American Jove.



It can hardly be said with exactness that it was struck off at any given time. It was a growth. Under the head of "Movements Toward Union," Mr. Bancroft sketches the progress of events from 1643 to 1781. The colonies which became one federal republic were founded by rival powers, and the diversity of interests suggested the necessity of union. In 1643, the New England colonies joined in a short-lived confederacy for mutual protection, especially with regard to the encroachments of the Dutch. In 1684, an alliance extending from New England to North Carolina was formed against the Five Nations. In 1694, John Lock, as a member of the Board of Trade, suggested a captain-general for all the forces in North America. In 1697, William Penn suggested an annual congress, to be composed of two delegates from each province. Again, in 1721, a captain-general was urged with reference to union against the French. In 1754, a plan foreshadowing the present constitution of the Dominion of Canada was suggested by Franklin and scorned by the British Government. In 1754, James Otis, of Boston, "would have had all kingdoms and all outlying possessions of the crown wrought into the flesh and blood and membership of one organization," but this plan, involving one imperial parliament for the whole, found no favor. In 1765, at the instance of Otis, the General Court of Massachusetts called for a congress, which met at New York, nine out of thirteen colonies being represented; when Parliament, aiming at the consolidation of their administration, provoked a denial of its power. In 1773, the taxes imposed by Parliament deeply stirred the colonies, "and the sound of tea-chests falling into Boston Harbor startled the natives with the news of a united and resistant America," though it must be remembered that falling tea-chests had startled the country long before they were heard at Boston. In 1774, twelve colonies sent delegates to a continental congress, who petitioned the King. In 1775, the second continental congress assembled, and in January, 1776, Tom Paine called for a continental conference to frame a continental charter; though in November previous, Joseph Hawley, of Massachusetts, advised annual parliaments composed of two houses. In August, 1776, Edward Rutledge avowed his readiness "to propose that the States should appoint a special congress, to be composed of new members for this purpose." In August, 1780, a convention of New England States, dissatisfied with the condition of things, declared in favor of a supreme head and a Congress, unlike that directing military operations, one that should deal with all "those common and national affairs, which do not nor can come within the jurisdiction of particular States." New York approved the measure. In September, Hamilton, who "in swiftness of thought outran all that was possible," took up Paine's proposition, and advised a convention to

frame a "vigorous" confederation. In the meanwhile Paine revamped his old plan ; while General Greene said, "Call a convention of the States, and establish a congress upon a constitutional footing." November 11th, New England and New York sent delegates to Hartford. Led by Hobart and Benson, a system of finance was recommended, taxes to be laid upon the States, according to the number of their inhabitants, black and white ; while a circular letter was sent out, declaring that a general government capable of exercising coercion was imperatively needed. Pennsylvania and New Jersey took up the cry and endorsed the movement, being followed by New York and Maryland, when the leaders became jubilant over the prospect of union. Washington, though busy with the army, was heartily in favor of the plan, believing it absolutely essential, both as regards war and peace ; though the confederation revealed its inherent weakness from the day that it was accomplished, the people being afraid of the work of their own hands, all progress being accomplished with a struggle. Finally it remained for Washington to propose a new Constitution. Thus Bancroft says, "There were other precursors of the Federal Government ; but the men who framed it followed the lead of no theoretical writer of their own or preceding times. They harbored no desire of revolution, no craving after untried experiments. They wrought from the elements which were at hand, and shaped them to meet the new exigencies which had arisen. The least possible reference was made by them to abstract doctrines ; they moulded their designs by a creative power of their own, but nothing was introduced that did not already exist, or was not a development of a well-known principle. The materials for building the American Constitution were the gift of the ages."

Still, under the circumstances, it is remarkable that we ever obtained any Constitution at all, and much more that this Constitution, with all its defects, should possess merits that justify the language of Mr. Gladstone, where he styles it "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time." Compared, too, with the British Constitution, which may be changed in a day, the American Constitution as originally devised was very conservative, even though it admitted every vagabond in the land to a voice in public affairs, as changes could not be made even by a majority of the people, but required a sanction of a majority of the States.

It should be noted, however, that the people were indebted for the Constitution not only to themselves but to the British Government. It required every possible argument to draw them into united action. Thus the jealous and unfriendly action of that power, especially in connection with navigation and commerce, had its uses, and in no small degree confirmed the wavering purposes of our people, who found at last that a strong

government only would enable them, as against England, to utilize the independence and peace which they had won. The action of the British Government in this connection is very fully set forth by Mr. Bancroft, though the course of France, who fought with us, but was not of us, is passed over with this gingerly written paragraph: "Even Vergennes, while he believed that the attachment of America to the alliance would be safest if the confederation could keep itself alive, held it best for France that the United States should fail to attain the political consistency of which he saw that they were susceptible, and he remained a tranquil spectator of their efforts for a better Constitution." Lafayette, on the other hand, who in this case is hardly to be confounded with France, "not only watched over the interests of America in Europe, but to the President of Congress, and to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs he sent messages imploring American patriots to strengthen the Federal Union." Lafayette was our sincere friend, but France, after making her point against England, was ready to adopt the policy of masterly inactivity, however sore may have been the needs of America.

In pursuing his studies for this great work, the author has drawn upon all sources of information, and thus he has considerable to say about the different bodies of religionists in this country as they stood connected with the formation of constitutional government. They are treated under the head of "Obstacles to the Union Removed or Quieted." The statement of the religious question is made with the author's accustomed care, and he shows clearly how the different States disembarrassed the national debates by regulating for themselves all matters relating to public worship, either abolishing the connections between church and state, or adjusting these relations to the satisfaction of the people, so as to avoid all conflict with the national legislature. Virginia led the way in declaring against compulsory contributions for the support of public worship, while Washington was opposed to discussing the question of assessment, and when it was once brought forward, desired that the project might die an easy death. Still one can, perhaps, hardly understand the scope of Mr. Bancroft's remark, when he says, speaking of Washington, "Of the Protestant Episcopal Church, he belonged decidedly to the party of moderation, and 'had no desire to open a correspondence with the newly ordained bishop' of Connecticut." If this means that Washington was moderate in the sense of being indifferent to Episcopacy, it must be called to mind that Washington was a Virginia churchman, one of a class of men regarded lax in some respects but sticklers in others, regarding the consecration of Seabury of Connecticut by the Scotch non-jurors as unsatisfactory, and selecting a

clergyman of their own State as one of the three who were to proceed to England, and, under circumstances stated by Mr. Bancroft himself, procure the triple succession of the episcopate. The course of Seabury had endangered the unity of the church, and at a time when so large a portion of Episcopalians looked upon him with distrust, it would have appeared singular if Washington had gone out of his way to pay his respects to one who likewise had made himself so unpopular as a tory.

Further, though Mr. Bancroft says that the Anglican establishment was feared, "because its head was an external temporal power engaged in the suppression of colonial liberties," and in a single paragraph dismisses the Roman Catholic question without the least recognition of the noble devotion of men of that persuasion to the American cause, even, in fact, as though the only point of contact between this country and the Roman Communion was found in connection with the unseating of the Jesuits, he nevertheless indulges in a long and glowing eulogy of the Methodists, seemingly forgetful of the fact that one more powerful than any Jesuit stood the acknowledged dictator of that body, being a pronounced tory and an inveterate foe of American Independence, which he sought to oppose with voice and pen. In treating the subject of the introduction of Methodist superintendents Mr. Bancroft clearly is not at home, any more than the bulk of Methodists and Episcopalians when they reach this question, since both parties shy when they come in sight of the real issue; for if Mr. Wesley held, as we are told, that bishops and presbyters had the same right to ordain, then on the accepted theory Dr. Coke was already the peer of Wesley, and the consecration of the former by the latter was a farce. Yet American Methodism holds that Coke received from Wesley what Methodist presbyters to-day do not possess, the ordaining power being kept in the hands of the so-called bishops, who were at the first called superintendents, on account of the unpopularity of the name; for this entire question of Episcopacy, whether in Catholic or pseudo form, was a living thing, a vital element in American politics, and of such commanding importance that in this connection Mr. Bancroft could not well have passed it by.

Again, it is said of Washington that "the Presbyterians held him up to the world as the example of purity," which is perfectly true, though the Roman Catholics did the same thing in their address. This is a point of no great consequence, yet the most minute matters relating to Washington possess interest; while so deep is the reverence for Washington's character, that Mr. Bancroft will hardly be misunderstood where he quotes a writer who says, "the breath of slander never breathed upon him in his life, nor upon his ashes." Accordingly Washington makes a grand and imposing figure.

The period of the confederation which the two volumes under notice cover, has, of course, been written about to a considerable extent, but until now this period has had no adequate exhibition. The information conveyed is very full and rich. In less practical hands there would have been an embarrassment of riches, yet under the skilful manipulation of our veteran historian and literateur the material is employed to the entire convenience of the reader, who is amply edified and instructed, since, while the pages are packed with quotations always directly to the point, the documents are remanded to the appendices, where they can be studied at pleasure. These documents indeed form a rich storehouse.

In none of his previous works has Mr. Bancroft shown more candor. The reader is made fully acquainted with all the facts known to him, and he does not leave one to surmise upon what his opinion in any given case may be founded. He writes everywhere with the vigor and freshness that mark his early volumes, and he fills up a period too often considered uninteresting and dull with figures that breathe and move and enchain our interest to the end. Many of these figures are those of remarkable men, and seldom does a character appear commonplace. We say that the figures are those of men, for we have been struck by the absence of women. This may not appear so very noticeable to some, yet in what other country upon the globe could any similar work have been accomplished without the intervention of women, which, under the circumstances, means without intrigue? for while management and persuasion were used, and at times what amounted to a kind of coercion was employed with a reluctant people and their representatives, everything was done with entire frankness, and in accordance with the rules or debate. There was no concealment of principles even though there was much distrust.

With gratitude and admiration we lay down these ample volumes, of whose rich contents we have given too inadequate an idea. This crowning work of Mr. Bancroft's life forms a splendid addition not only to the literature of our nation, but of the world. The improvements that we would wish to see made in this noble treatise are few; and if on some of the pages we may detect a leniency which we should prefer to have transmuted into trenchant and accusative phrase, we are sure that it is the result of that mellowing of the mind which comes with the increased calmness and reflection of age, persuading us that charity is nobler than criticism.

<sup>1</sup> History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America. By George Bancroft. Two volumes, pps. xvii. 520, xiv. 510. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

## PRINCETON AND TICONDEROGA—1777

### REPLY TO THE REVIEW ON "THE ST. CLAIR PAPERS"

I avail myself of the opportunity presented to comment briefly on two or three salient points of Mr. Johnston's interesting review of the first volume of "The St. Clair Papers."

I. As to the return of the American army to Trenton, its extrication from the *cul-de-sac* on the Assunpink and success at Princeton. I shall consider also in this connection the very ingenious argument of General Stryker, which, following Mr. Johnston's paper, may be considered supplementary thereto.

To the explicit declarations of St. Clair and Wilkinson, and the circumstantial account accompanying the statement of the latter, both Mr. Johnston and General Stryker oppose a theory founded upon the military reputation of the Commander-in-Chief, and correspondence relative to his general plan for driving the enemy from New Jersey. So great and overshadowing is the character of Washington, and so deeply is he enshrined in the hearts of all patriotic Americans, we instinctively labor to multiply his honors, and repel whatever may seem to lessen them. This hero worship, though object of hero worship were never so honorable and noble, may be carried too far. It is carried too far when others are deprived of the credit that justly belongs to them. Nor is this necessary to the glory of Washington. His superiority the world concedes; the greatness of his reputation must endure forever. In the language of Hamilton, to attribute to others "a portion of the praise which is due as well to the formation as to the execution of the plans that effected these important ends, can be no derogation from that wisdom and magnanimity which knew how to select and embrace counsels worthy of being pursued."

"Fame enough it would be," says Mr. Johnston, "for any man, soldier or not, to be known as the author of that resolute move on the night of January 2, 1777, when British pride was humbled and the vanishing prospects of the Revolution were suddenly and lastingly revived." To that fame I believe St. Clair entitled, and I shall endeavor to make clear the evidence which justified that opinion.

Washington's general plan, formed before his return to Trenton, can have no weight in the discussion of the manœuvre which thwarted Cornwallis in

his purpose and culminated in the victory of Princeton. The question is, who first suggested the movement?

Mr. Johnston says: "We shall not dispute the statement that the move did suggest itself to him [St. Clair], or that he first advocated it, but not in any way does it prove that Washington had not already contemplated it, and probably for many hours. What was not revolving in his mind when, in the afternoon of the 2d, he found he must cross the Assunpink? What more after that?"

General Stryker says: "General Washington knew from his scouts the numbers of the British army advancing on him. He knew all day of January 2d what his position would be at night, if, by any good generalship, he could keep the foe from crushing him during the daylight hours. Can it then be for one moment supposed that he postponed his plans until the assembling of the council, and until General St. Clair rose to suggest a scheme which, by twelve o'clock, midnight, was in full process of being carried out?"

Further on we are told that "General Washington, having settled in his own mind the best mode of escape from the apparent *cul-de-sac* in which Cornwallis had placed him, called his officers around a council board in General St. Clair's quarters. It is possible General Washington may have asked General St. Clair, whose guest he then was, to open the discussion and to have indicated privately to him beforehand the line of march he proposed. Or it is possible Washington may have desired to see what better plan could be suggested by his general officers, and then have heard named the same plan and nothing else than what he had himself been preparing to execute. Was it like Washington to have left so vital a question undecided, unprepared for until so late an hour? His character and his conduct during the war forbid such a conclusion."

This theory is very plausible, but after all it is without any substantial basis. And the ingenious manner in which General Stryker supports it is not convincing. That Colonel Reed, General Washington's adjutant-general, and Captain John Mott, of Sullivan's column, were familiar with the country, and had rode over the Quaker Road; and that three citizens had left their homesteads that day for the purpose of waiting on General Washington to act as guides, are interesting facts—interesting as giving us a clearer view of the situation—but they do not aid us in determining the question at issue. It will be seen from what follows, that it is unreasonable to suppose that Washington anticipated the events of the evening in time to send for men residing half the distance to Princeton from Trenton, to act as guides; and there certainly was no need for their services if Colonel Reed and Cap-

tain Mott, natives of Trenton, and Colonel Isaac Smith, and General Dickinson, residents of that place, holding commands under Washington, all familiar with the Quaker Road running by Stony Brook to Princeton, were prepared to map out the country to their chief. Furthermore, if Washington during the day had formed the plan of turning the left of the enemy, and already procured guides for the purpose of directing his troops along the Quaker Road, why go through the empty form of a council? All the authorities agree that at the council the perilous situation of the army was dwelt on by Washington, and plans of escape were discussed. "Each course," says Greene, "had its advocates, when a voice was heard saying, 'Better than either of these, let us take the new road through the woods and get in the enemy's rear by a march upon Princeton, and, if possible, on Brunswick even.' From whom did this bold suggestion come? St. Clair claimed it as his; and why should the positive assertion of an honorable man be called in question?" St. Clair's language is: "I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night, gaining a march upon him, and proceeding with all possible expedition to Brunswick. General Mercer immediately fell in with it, and very forcibly pointed out its practicability and the advantages that would necessarily result from it, and General Washington highly approved it, nor was there one dissenting voice in the council." General Wilkinson says, "It was this officer [St. Clair] who in council suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy."

But permit me for greater convenience to summarize the evidence in support of the claim made in the "St. Clair Papers:"

*First.*—We have the explicit assertion of General St. Clair, supported by the testimony of his aide, Major Wilkinson.

*Second.*—The fact communicated to me by Doctor Irvine, that Thomas Leiper of the City Troop—Washington's Cavalry at Trenton and Princeton, composed of young men "of the first families of Philadelphia"—told his father, Callender Irvine, that the fact that St. Clair did suggest the movement was well known in camp.

*Third.*—St. Clair was charged with the execution of the flank movement—a selection (usual in such cases) on account of his having made the suggestion originally. To me this is very strong corroborative evidence.

*Fourth.*—Washington's official report of January 5th, addressed to the President of Congress, does not sustain the statement that Washington knew from his scouts the strength of the enemy, and formed the strategic plan during the day. After describing the movements of both armies, he says: "We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situa-



tion we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their field-pieces, which did us but little damage. Having *by this time discovered that the enemy were greatly superior in number, and that their design was to surround us*, I ordered all our baggage to be removed silently to Burlington soon after dark; and at twelve o'clock, after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above, marched by a roundabout road to Princeton, where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have stores."

It would seem from statements made by Colonel Reed, General Washington's adjutant-general, that it was clearly the purpose of the Commander-in-Chief on the 2d to risk an engagement with the enemy, and to secure a better position, the army took possession of the advantageous ground on the east side of the Assunpink. "The danger of the left flank being turned by the enemy, now in great force, and the superior advantages of the ground on the east side of the bridge, with the creek in front, induced General Washington to fix upon that as the ground *where he would meet the enemy if they advanced.*" At noon the British were three miles from Trenton, and at that time the militia and principal part of the army had crossed the bridge. The resistance made by Hand's riflemen and the artillery at the crossings compelled the enemy to spend the afternoon in forcing their way over that three miles. When drawn up in full force on the opposite side their superiority was apparent. Much more was plainly understood. The successful guarding of the ford at Phillips' mill by St. Clair had prevented the quick accomplishment of Cornwallis' designs. If the enemy had forced a passage, we are assured by Colonel Reed, that the consequences would probably have been fatal. Having escaped this danger, and having discovered the purpose of the enemy when their lines were fully displayed, the American commander sought a way out of his false position. This brings us to the council and the bold resolution to march to Princeton. At midnight, a few minutes before that memorable march was begun, we find Colonel Reed despatching an order to General Putnam:

"The enemy advanced upon us to-day. We came to the east side of the river or creek, which runs through Trenton, when it was resolved to make a forced march and attack the enemy in Princeton. In order to do this with the greatest security our baggage is sent off to Burlington. His Excellency begs you will march immediately forward with all the force you can collect at Crosswicks where you will find a very advantageous post, your advanced party at Allentown. You will also send a good guard for our baggage wherever it may be."

General Stryker emphasizes the fact that in his official report Washington

does not mention St. Clair as having made the suggestion of the flank movement. I cannot consider this as having any significance. The omission was not singular. Washington's despatches were generally meagre, and personal mention the exception. In his official despatch of January 5th, no general officer is mentioned. He does not refer to the important suggestions made to him by Colonel Reed during the day, nor the council held at St. Clair's quarters in the evening, and yet the fact that such council was held is as well established as any other event in history.

II. As to the moral cowardice attributed to General Schuyler in the Ticonderoga matter, Mr. Johnston says: "But in extolling his hero, the biographer goes out of his way, as if for effective contrast, to put General Schuyler in an unfavorable light—the charges being that in the Ticonderoga matter he shirked responsibility, pandered to public opinion, and, moreover, was guilty of certain misrepresentations."

In discussing the evacuation of Ticonderoga it became necessary to refer to certain extraordinary statements and denials made by General Schuyler, and the truth of history demanded that they should be explained. There was no other motive, as the praise frequently bestowed on General Schuyler's patriotic labors in the work clearly proved. If the proofs I adduced of Schuyler's fear of public opinion and disingenuousness are not satisfactory in themselves, they will certainly be found to be so when re-read in connection with the letters which Mr. Johnston himself has supplied. I invite attention to the following extracts, and particularly to the clauses italicised :

"HEAD QRS. FORT EDWARD, July 10, 1777

"TO COLO. WM. WILLIAMS,

" . . . . The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is unhappily too true. . . . . I am sorry to learn from Colonel Williams of White Creek and other Gentlemen that it is imputed to me, as having given an order for the purpose. *If such order was ever given I should not dare to deny it, as the means of Detection must be very easy, if principle was no restraint to asserting a falsehood.* General Learned has seen the Originals of my Last Letters to General St. Clair, for they were returned sealed by Colonel Long having never reached Ticonderoga. They held up Ideas widely, nay directly repugnant, to the Orders I am so unjustly charged with giving; you will please therefore to give my own words in contradiction to such report should it have taken place with you."

"FORT EDWARD, July 12, 1777

"TO JACOB CUYLER,

"*Dear Sir,* . . . . I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the Country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. *It is an utter falsehood.* Not an expression in any of my letters can with the severest construction be brought to countenance such a suggestion. It is impossible to impose on the public on such an occasion, as the order must be produced if any was ever given; but the truth is it was resolved on in a Council of General Officers on the Day before it was evacuated, *on what principles I know not.*"

The tone of these letters is the same as pervades those to Washington and Gouverneur Morris, quoted by me (Vol. I., p. 78), and shows a fear of public opinion. It is true that Schuyler did not give an explicit order for the evacuation of the posts, but he knew that the small force under St. Clair could not defend the long lines against a superior enemy, and in view of that fact had signed a paper on the 20th of June, at Ticonderoga, providing for the abandonment of the posts in a certain contingency, and the retreat of the army. Now, how can Mr. Johnston or any other intelligent writer justify, on moral grounds, such declarations as these :

“What could induce the general officers to a step that has ruined our affairs in this quarter, God only knows.” “I am informed that a report prevails equally injurious to me and to the country that I had ordered Ticonderoga to be evacuated. It is an utter falsehood . . . the truth is, it was resolved on in a council of general officers on the day before it was evacuated, on what principles I know not.”

Lossing, the biographer of Schuyler, in order to secure to him the popular applause accorded subsequently for the wise evacuation of the forts, asserts that Schuyler did give such an order. Thus is that officer's reputation left suspended between a direct and an indirect falsehood. The council held at Ticonderoga, June 20th, settled the military principles on which the forts should be defended and finally abandoned. This Schuyler knew. He also knew that in all reason those principles governed the action of the commander, and yet in the face of a momentary storm he had not the courage to tell the truth and the whole truth.

Here let that matter rest.

As to the available men at Ticonderoga, I invite Mr. Johnston's attention to the statement signed by General Schuyler June 20th, which places the number as under two thousand five hundred, and the official returns of James Wilkinson, Adjutant-General, June 28, which show that the rank and file, present fit for duty numbered 2,089.

III. Relative to the seeming injustice to General St. Clair's companions at the battle of Three Rivers, I confess in all candor that Mr. Johnston's criticism is warranted. It was anticipated in the preparation of the second edition, which was issued about two months ago. The original design was to give in foot-notes the different accounts of the movements on the St. Lawrence, but the necessity of condensation in order not to make the volume too bulky, constrained me to omit them. It was due to Mr. Bancroft as well as to the writer, that the original purpose should be carried out as far as practicable in subsequent editions.

Much might be said of the relations between Washington and St. Clair,

and of the relative merits of the latter and other officers of the Revolution, but I am content to leave the matter to the judgment of those who shall carefully read the correspondence of these two volumes.

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH

CHICAGO, August 14th.

[By way of brief rejoinder to Mr. Smith's comprehensive defence of his positions, we invite attention first to the fact that the "Memoir" of General St. Clair, which his biographer accepts without reserve as the authority for his claims, is to be regarded less as an impartial historical record than the plea or justification of an aggrieved individual who wished to set himself right before others. It was written late in life, when he was smarting under the recollection of political injuries and the ingratitude of Congress. Not that it is not a document of high value—that we acknowledge—but in the determination of nice points, especially where the claims of contemporaries are concerned, we encounter a natural exaggeration which may work prejudice. St. Clair certainly estimated his services unduly. The reader is made to believe that but for his timely suggestions on various critical occasions, an army or two would have gone to the bad, a State overrun or a battle lost. In our previous review it was pointed out that his suggestions in some instances were not original with himself alone, that others conceived of similar plans; and we hold that in the case of Princeton, his words "I had the good fortune to suggest the idea of turning the left of the enemy in the night" are to be weighed with all his other expressions of like character and interpreted in connection with the actual situation. Are we to understand that this move had not occurred to Washington or any one else? It is little probable that St. Clair would have proposed it had he not known that the enemy had few, if any, troops at Princeton. But this was a fact which Washington alone could communicate, and if so, the suggestion to take advantage of it could not have failed to occur to him as well. Why, then, call a council? it is asked. Washington called councils frequently, in accordance with the wishes of Congress, and several times, it would seem, simply as a formality to confirm his own opinion. His council on Long Island in the previous August was called after he had decided to retreat and after preparations were quietly set on foot for the purpose. To his generals there he put the question whether "it was not eligible to retreat," which was agreed to unanimously. Now may not he have stated the possibility of a move to Princeton in such terms that St. Clair at once seized the idea, as he says Mercer did immediately after him, and was the first to advocate it? We say that under the circumstances conjectures like this are legitimate in explanation of St. Clair's claim. Otherwise Washington is open to the charge of having shown stupidity in his plans and suddenly changed his wonted concern for the safety of his army into a strange desperation. If ever a general was called upon to exert himself to the utmost and devise the best possible movements for his cause, it was Washington on the afternoon of January 2, 1777. To assume that he did not see that loophole through Princeton before he called his council of officers is unwarrantable.

The camp rumor Mr. Smith refers to, comes too indirectly to be regarded as testimony. Why was not Gordon corrected after the publication of his history making Washington the originator of the move, if it was so well known in the army that St. Clair proposed it? It is, likewise, not obvious what that officer means by the statement that he was at once ordered to execute the flank movement. We are left to inquire what his superiors in rank—Greene, Sullivan, and Mercer—were permitted to do. Sullivan says, under a pressure similar to that which St. Clair lay under, that it was he who was “selected to attack Princeton.” So claims conflict.

From General Stryker we hope to hear again upon these points.

As to *General Schuyler*, his conduct in the Ticonderoga matter, to which Mr. Smith takes exception, appears not to have disturbed St. Clair, whom it personally concerned. What Schuyler may have approved in council on June 20th has little to do with the existing situation fifteen days later. The council proceeded upon the assumption that if the enemy appeared at all, which was as yet uncertain, they would appear in force; hence precautionary measures were incumbent and adopted. Between June 20th and July 5th the uncertainty continued, and the interval was employed by Schuyler in collecting reinforcements and provisions for St. Clair, who had not once informed his superior that assistance would be unavailing since he must retreat. During the last four days, indeed, his letters were reassuring. June 30th he wrote: “My people are in the best disposition possible, and I have no doubt about giving a good account of the enemy should they think proper to attack us.” The next day he thought them not strong, and the day following he was still of opinion that they had “no great force” with them, while on July 3d he wrote for the New Hampshire Militia to march at once to his post. Add to all this that St. Clair had not yet abandoned the Ticonderoga side, as voted in council that he should in case of pressing danger, and we find good grounds for Schuyler’s momentary surprise when he heard of the evacuation. His own aid, Major Lansing, states that the immediate emergency was not obvious at headquarters, and this clearly was all that Schuyler had reference to when he stated that he was ignorant of the “principles” on which the post was evacuated. But the matter is set at rest by St. Clair himself, who wrote to John Jay as follows: “I proposed to General Schuyler, on my arrival at Fort Edward, to have sent a note to the printer to assure the people he had no part in abandoning what they considered their strongholds. *He thought it was not so proper at that time, but it is no more than what I owe to truth and to him to declare that he was totally unacquainted with the matter.*”

If this was not the truth, then St. Clair stultified himself to avoid a rupture with Schuyler.

As to the figures in question, I beg leave to refer Mr. Smith to the same return of June 28th quoted by himself, which, on the addition of all its columns with the artillery and the 900 militia, foots up a total according strictly with Schuyler’s report of 5,000 as the strength of the garrison when it abandoned the post.—H. P. J.]

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

## A HARTFORD CONVENTION IN 1780

*Communicated by the Hon. George Bancroft*

[There was no more trying year in the Revolution than 1780. The unexpected continuance of the war had produced a certain degree of lethargy in all quarters. Recruits for the army were alarmingly slow in coming in; repeated calls and exertions met with no response, and supplies were not to be had. The trouble was mainly with the public credit and the lack of a strong and accepted central authority. Patriotic men everywhere recognized the difficulties and sought remedies. What one of their efforts was appears from the document printed below. Mr. Bancroft refers to it in the first volume of his recently published History of the Constitution as one of the "movements" leading to the Convention of 1789—a movement of no secondary importance, though little known of. It will be seen from the circular letter transmitted to the governors of the States represented in Convention and that to General Washington, both of which are of special interest, that we have here some quite early emphatic and authoritative utterances in favor of "a more perfect union." An original copy of the document is to be found in the archives of the Continental Congress preserved in the Department of State at Washington.]

## PROCEEDINGS.

At a Convention of the Commissioners from the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut and New York, holden at Hartford in the State of Con-

necticut on the second Wednesday of November, being the eighth day of said month A. Dom. 1780.

Commissioners from all the States above mentioned not appearing the convention adjourned from Day to Day until Saturday the eleventh day of November, when the following gentlemen appeared and produced their respective credentials, viz.

*From New Hampshire.*

JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN Esq.

*From Massachusetts.*

The Honorable THOMAS CUSHING Esq.

The Honorable AZOR ORNE Esq.

GEORGE PARTRIDGE Esq.

*From Rhode Island.*

The Honorable WILLIAM BRADFORD Esq.

*From Connecticut.*

The Honorable ELEPHALET DYER Esq.

The Honorable WILLIAM WILLIAMS Esq.

*From New York.*

The Honorable JOHN SLOSS HOBART Esq.

EGBERT BENSON Esq.

The Honorable WILLIAM BRADFORD Esq. chosen *President*.

HEZ WYLLYS Esq. *Secretary*.

*State of New Hampshire*

In the House of Representatives

October 28<sup>th</sup> 1780.

Voted that Mr John Taylor Gilman be and hereby is appointed and authorized a Commissioner in behalf of this State to meet the Commissioners from several other States at Hartford in Connecticut on the second Wednesday in Novemb<sup>r</sup>, next for the purpose of advising and consulting upon measures for furnishing the neces-

sary supplies of men and provisions for the army.

Sent up for Concurrence

JOHN LANGDON Speaker.

In council the same day read and concurred.

E. THOMSON Secrty.

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

{ L. S. } By His Excellency JOHN HANCOCK Esqr, Governor and Commander in Chief of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

To the Honbl. THOMAS CUSHING, AZOR ORNE and GEORGE PARTRIDGE Esqrs. *Greeting.*

*Whereas*, You being named and appointed by the General Assembly of this Commonwealth Commissioners from this state forthwith to repair to Hartford in the State of Connecticut, and in behalf of this State to confer with such Commissioners as the states of Connecticut Rhode Island and providence Plantations and New Hampshire or any other of the United States have or might appoint to consult and advise on all such Business, and affairs as shall be brought under consideration upon the subject matters of several Resolutions and recommendations of the committees from several states convened at Boston the third day of August 1780, reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Wisdom prudence, skill and Fidelity, I do hereby authorize and Impower you to repair to Hartford in the State of Connecticut, and in behalf of this State to Confer with such commissioners as the States of Connecticut Rhode Island and providence plantations and New Hampshire or any other of the United States of America have appointed upon the subject matter aforesaid and upon all

other matters that may conduce for the more speedy and effectual filling up the army and supplying them with provisions etc.

Given at the Council Chamber in Boston the fourth Day of Novbr, in the year of Our Lord 1780, and in the fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, The seal of the said State being hereunto affixed.

JOHN HANCOCK

By His Excellnys command,

JOHN AVERY Secrty.

*State of Rhode Island & Providence Plantations.*

In General Assembly October Session 1780.

It is voted and resolved that the Honble William Bradford Esq. be and he is hereby appointed a Commissioner in behalf of this State to meet at Hartford in the State of Connecticut on the second Wednesday in Novbr, next such commissioners as may be appointed by the other States to advise and consult upon measures for filling up their Quotas of the men and provisions for the army, and that his Excellency the Governor be requested to inform His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts Bay of this Resolve.

A true Copy

Witness HENRY WARD Secty.

{ L. S. } At a General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of October 1780.

The Honorable Elephalet Dyer the Honorable William Williams and the Honble.

Andrew Adams are appointed a Committee to meet with such Committees or Commissioners as are or may be appointed by the States of New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island and New York or any of them to meet in Convention at Hartford in this State on the second Wednesday in November next to consult and advise on means and measures necessary proper and expedient to be adopted by said states for raising, filling up and compleating their several Quotas of the Continental Army for furnishing and supplying them and of such matters of common defence and safety as may properly come under their consideration according to instructions which may be given them by this Assembly, and of their result and doings to make report as soon as may be to said Assembly.

Test. GEORGE WYLLYS Secrty.

*State of New York*

In Senate Sept. 23<sup>d</sup> 1780.

*Resolved*, That three Commissioners be appointed on the part of this State to meet Commissioners from other States in a convention proposed to be held at Hartford on the second Wednesday in Novbr, next with powers to the said Commissioners or any two of them to represent this State in the said Convention to deliberate and vote upon all matters which shall be proposed, and to propose and agree to in the said Convention all such measures as shall appear calculated to give a vigour to the governing powers equal to the present Crisis. Provided that nothing to which they may agree shall be binding upon this State unless the same shall be approved and confirmed by the Legislate.

*Resolved*, That the said Commissioners do with all convenient speed Report their proceedings to the person administering the government of this State for the time being in order that the same may be laid before the Legislature.

In Assembly Sept. 23<sup>d</sup> 1780.

*Resolved*, That this House do concur in the foregoing Resolutions.

September 26<sup>th</sup> 1780.

*Resolved*, That pursuant to the Concurrent Resolutions of both Houses on the twenty-third instant, The Honble Philip Schuyler and John Sloss Hobart Esquires and Egbert Benson Esq. be Commissioners on the part of this State to meet Commissioners from other States in a Convention proposed to be held at Hartford on the second Wednesday of November next.

In Senate, Sept. 26<sup>th</sup> 1780.

*Resolved*, That this Senate do concur in the foregoing Resolution.

By order of the Senate,

PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT,

President of the Senate

By order of the House of Assembly,

EVART BANKER, Speaker.

The convention met from Day to Day and after having discussed several matters which were deemed proper subjects of Deliberation came to the following Resolves:

No. 1. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, to raise as soon as possible the number of Troops required of them by Congress to serve



in the Continental Army in a mode as nearly similar as their respective Circumstances will admit to that observed by the State of New York and Connecticut.

*Resolved*, That the President forthwith send a copy of the above Resolution with a circular letter upon the subject to the Executives of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The Draft of a Circular Letter for the above purpose was read and agreed to and is in the words following, viz :

HARTFORD Novbr 14<sup>th</sup> 1780.

SIR,

Your Excellency will receive herewith a Copy of a Resolution of the convention now sitting in this place recommending to the States of New Hampshire Massachusetts and Rhode Island and Providence plantations to raise as soon as possible the number of Troops required of them by Congress, to serve in the Continental Army in a mode as nearly similar as their respective Circumstances will admit, to that observed by the States of New York and Connecticut, I also transmit you a copy of the act passed by the State of Connecticut as also of the proceedings of the State of New York, relative the filling up and compleating their respective quotas of the Continental Army. As the gentlemen from New York were unprovided with their Law they have furnished an abstract only from recollection—they conceive however there is no material error.

Your Excellency will observe a difference in the measures taken by Connecticut and New York, the former raising their men for three years or during the

War the latter during the War only. As individuals we are in sentiment with the mode observed by New York yet in our Resolution we forbore to touch this point particularly, lest we should by approving of the Act of Connecticut seem to contravene the Acts of Congress which expressly require that the men should be engaged to serve during the war. If however it should be deemed impracticable to procure the whole number during the war It would be proper to Leave to the Recruit the alternative of engaging for three years or during the War, and to give an additional bounty for such as shall Inlist for the latter period. After the Resolutions of Congress and the pressing Letters from the Cominander in Chief upon this interesting subject, we presume it needless for us to attempt to excite the immediate attention, and exertion of your State, let it suffice to observe that we are persuaded the salvation of this country under Heaven depends chiefly, if not solely upon our having speedily in the field a permanent Army.

The Act of the Legislature of Connecticut referred to in the above letter is in the words following :

At a general Assembly of the Governor and Company of the State of Connecticut holden at Hartford on the second Thursday of October 1780.

*An act for filling up and compleating this States quota of the continental Army.*

*Be it enacted* by the Governor Council and Representatives in General Court Assembled and by the authority of the same, that there be forth with raised in this state four thousand two hundred and fourty eight able bodied effective men including non commissioned officers and privates to serve during the war or three years, including

those already in service from this State, and which are counted as a part of this States Quota in the Continental Army, and that the whole number aforesaid apportioned out to each town within this State excepting the town of Greenwich, according to the grand list for the year 1779 exclusive of the increase on the four-fold assessments each Town having Credit for such numbers of men as they now have in service for either of the said Terms.

*And be it further enacted* by the Authority aforesaid, That the several Towns within the State, shall forthwith choose a committee who shall divide all the inhabitants thereof who give in a List or are included in any militia Roll either of the Trainband, Alarm List, or Companies of Horse into as many classes according to their List, as such Town shall be deficient in number of men, and each of said Classes shall on or before the first Day of February next procure a good able bodied effective Recruit to serve during the War or for three years unless such Town shall in some other way procure the whole number of men to be by them raised as aforesaid, and that in case any one or more of said Classes shall neglect or refuse to procure their Recruits by the time limited as aforesaid such Town is hereby fully Authorized and Impowered to hire such Recruit for each of said neglecting classes, and may assess said class or the several neglecting Individuals thereof, according to their several Lists for the year 1779 except such of them as had no list in such Town for that year, who shall be assessed according to their list for the year 1780, double the sum which such Town shall give to hire such Recruit, and the several Town collectors or such other persons as shall by said Town be appointed for that purpose, are hereby fully authorized and Impowered by distress or otherwise to collect said assessment and that each and every town, that shall neglect to raise their whole Quota of men by the twentieth Day of February next shall forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this State as a penalty for such neglect double the sum it shall cost upon an average, to procure a Recruit for each and every Deficiency.

*And be it further enacted* that each Town shall receive out of the Treasury of this State thirty pounds, in Bills of Credit issuing out under the

authority of this State for each able bodied effective Recruit which they shall procure to Enlist as aforesaid and be mustered by the commanding officer of their respective Regiments, which sum shall by said Town be paid over to such class as shall procure such Recruit or otherwise as the Case may be and that every Recruit shall be accounted part of the Quota of the Town to which he belongs unless such Town hath obtained its full complement.

*And be it further enacted* that such Recruits Inlisted as aforesaid shall be entitled to the same Wages, Refreshments, Family support and emoluments whatsoever as those already engaged in the Connecticut Line of the Continental Army are entitled to have and receive, and the several Towns in this State by their Select men or otherwise shall procure for each recruit they are hereby ordered to raise a good Blanket and cause the same to be apprizd by Judicious men under Oath, on account of which being duly certified to the committee of pay Table shall entitle them to orders for payment out of the public Treasury, and the Captain General is hereby desired to issue from time to time the necessary orders for mustering marching and forwarding the Recruits so enlisted to the Army who shall have Liberty to Join any Regiment or Company of Foot of the Connecticut Line not completed to their full complement of men at their Election.

A True Copy of Record.

Examined by GEORGE WYLLYS Secrty.

The Abstract of the Law of New York referred to in the above Letter is in the Words following to wit :

*An Abstract of the Act passed by the Legislature of the State of New York for compleating their Quota of the Troops to serve in the Continental Army.*

The Governor as soon as he shall be informed of the Deficiency in the Quota of the State is authorized to Direct a competent number of men to be raised in the several counties according to an apportionment established by the Legislature, the number of men assigned to a County are apportioned among the several militia Regiments in the County by the Supervisors of the county. These apportionments both as to the Counties

by the Legislature and as to the Regiments by the supervisors are made agreeable to what is deemed the comparative account of Estates in each County and Regiment the number of men to be furnished by a militia Regiment being thus fixed the field officers divide all male inhabitants of sixteen years and upwards resident within the District of the Regiment, into as many classes as there are Recruits to be furnished by the Regiment in making these classes the rich and poor are mingled together so as to make the classes in point of Estate as nearly equal as may be, three persons in each class are to be served with a Copy of the List of the Persons of which the Class consists and within four weeks after such service the Class is to produce a Recruit to serve during the War. If the class do not furnish the Recruit it is to be fined in the sum of seventy five dollars in specie or new Bills of Credit emitted upon the Credit of the State pursuant to the Act of Congress of the 18<sup>th</sup> of March last. This sum is to be apportioned among the Class by the assessors of the town according to what may be deemed the amount of the Estate of each person and to be levied by a Sergeant of the Regiment by Warrant from the commanding officer; each able bodied man in the Class is to be assessed at least one dollar and an half. If one or more individuals in a Class procure a Recruit at their own expense they have a remedy by suit to recover from the others in the Class their respective Proportions of such expence, in which Case the Court determine the proportion of the several persons according to their respective Estates. By the same Law a tax is laid upon all persons whose sons have gone off and joined the Enemy of nine pence in the pound upon the amount of their Estates for each Son.

The monies arising from this Tax and the fines upon delinquent Classes is to be drawn from the Treasury by the Governor and paid into the hands of recruiting officers to be applied towards raising Recruits.

NOTE.—The supervisor is an officer elected in each Town, and the supervisors meet in County Convention for the purpose of settling the accounts of the county and apportioning among the several Towns the tax charged upon the County.

No. 2. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Several States represented in this convention punctually to comply with any Requisitions which the commander in chief of the Army shall find it necessary to make for Detachments from the militia to strengthen the Battalions of the Lines of the respective States until they shall be filled up with Recruits for three years or during the War.

No. 3. *Resolved*, That it be most earnestly recommended to the several States represented in this convention punctually to comply with every requisition from Congress for Men, Money, Provisions or other supplies for the War.

No. 4. *Whereas*, In Consequence of the neglect of many if not all the United States in not seasonably furnishing their respective Quotas of supplies required by Congress, the Army has greatly suffered and been frequently brought into a very critical and dangerous situation, and those offensive operations against the enemy have been prevented, which might otherwise have been prosecuted to great advantage. And *whereas* there is great danger that in case some of the States should be deficient in their supplies, while others furnish them their full quotas, such jealousies and distrusts will arise as may prove very detrimental to the common Cause and possibly destructive of the Union, therefore,

*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the several States represented in this Convention to Instruct their respective Delegates to use their Influence in Congress. That the Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States be authorized and Impowered to take such measures as he may deem proper and the

public service may render necessary to induce the several States to a punctual compliance with the requisitions which have been or may be made by Congress for supplies for the years 1780 and 1781.

No. 5. This convention having received Information that large quantities of Cloathing for the army are lying in store at Boston and Springfield. Resolved that it be recommended to the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York to impress teams, if they cannot be otherwise readily obtained, and forward the clothing by the most direct rout through their respective territories, to the army.

No. 6. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the several States represented in this convention to Instruct their Delegates to propose and agree in Congress, That an estimate should be made of the annual amount of the Interest of the Loan Office Certificates heretofore issued and also of all other Debts already due from the several Continental purchasing officers, and which can conveniently be funded. That Congress should then propose certain taxes upon specific Articles or duties or imposts on all or either of them as Congress may think proper and deem, to operate in the most equal manner among the several States the neet product of which Congress may judge sufficient for discharging such Interest.

That the several States should thereupon make the necessary provisions by Law to enable Congress to Levy and collect such Taxes Duties on Imports within them respectively and that the delegates should be authorized to pledge the Faith of their respective States that they will pass the requisite Laws for the pur-

pose with a Restriction that the delegates shall not have Authority to bind their respective States unless the Delegates from all the States, except such who are so in the power of the enemy as to be deprived of a Legislature, should have similar powers. That such Taxes Duties or imposts should be applied solely to the payment of such Interest. And that inasmuch as it will be impossible to ascertain precisely the sum which such Taxes Duties or Imposts may annually yield, that therefore if during any year, the product should exceed the amount of such interest, that such excess shall nevertheless be retained in the Continental Treasury and in the ensuing year be appropriated to the payment of such Interest as shall then have occurred and to no other purpose.

No. 7. *Whereas* through the neglect of many States in the Union in a full and seasonable compliance with the Requisitions of Congress of the 18th of March last, Congress have not been able to avail themselves of the money which they expected to pay their Troops and transport the necessary Supplies to the Army, which has occasioned not only discontent in our army but great embarrasments in our Affairs.

Therefore *Resolved*, That it be most earnestly recommended to the several states represented in this Convention to take effectual measures to sink their full Quota of the Continental Bills by the Time and in the manner prescribed by Congress.

No. 8. *Whereas*, the Laws heretofore passed by the several States have proved ineffectual for the purpose.

*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recom-

mended to the States represented in this Convention to take such farther measures as may be effectual to prevent any unlawful commerce or Intercourse with the enemy.

No. 9. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States represented in this Convention to appoint a commissioner or commissioners to meet for the purpose of entering into contract for supplying the Fleet and Army of his most Christian Majesty with provisions. That the commissioners from the respective States should be fully Authorized to enter into such Contracts, and that the Commissioners should meet at such Times and place as the Governor of Connecticut shall certify for the purpose.

No. 10. To the end that Congress until the Confederation shall be agreed to may be furnished with a Rule for making an apportionment of men money or other supplies among the several States.

*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States Represented in this Convention to instruct their Delegates to propose and agree in Congress, That Congress should require of the several States forthwith to return the number of persons Blacks as well as Whites within them respectively.

The draft of a circular letter to the States Represented in the Convention was read and agreed to in the Words following, viz.:

SIR,

Your Excellency is apprized of the Convention at this place of Commissioners from your State and the States of

although the original design of our meeting was principally to confer

upon the most eligible mode for completing the Army and drawing forth the necessary supplies from the States we Represented, yet as in considering this subject we were naturally led to others equally Interesting we conceive it our duty to communicate to our constituents the result of our deliberations.

Notwithstanding we have Reason to expect every aid from our benevolent Ally and notwithstanding Spain has engaged in the war with us, and the probability that the other European powers favour our cause, yet in other Respects we find our situation to be truly critical and alarming. Our Army is already or will be shortly so reduced in point of numbers as not to be able to furnish competent garrisons for the requisite posts, their pay is in arrears for many months. Frequently during this campaign totally without provisions and their present supplies very precarious, no magazine provided. The public Treasuries destitute of Cash and the public Officers destitute of Credit and almost the whole northern and western frontiers exposed and undefended.

Whence these misfortunes have arisen we will not presume to determine, some cases were beyond human prevention, but with respect to others we conceive there is a remedy within the powers of the several states, to these points, therefore, we mean to confine ourselves and to them we most earnestly intreat the attention of your State.

Our present Embarrassments we imagine to arise in a great measure from a defect in the present Governments of the United States.

All Government supposes the power of Coertion, this Power however in the

General Government of the Continent never did exist, or, which has produced equally disagreeable Consequences, never has been exercised. It is true that the powers of Congress have never been explicitly defined; but by the necessarily implied compact between the States at the commencement of the War, it may be certainly inferred that Congress was vested with every power essential to the common defense and which had the prosecution of the war, and the establishment of our General Liberties for its immediate object.

Waving the question however as to what were originally or now are rightfully the powers of Congress; the fact is that they have hitherto applied to the several states by way of recommendatory Requisitions; that the different States have in some instances neglected and in others refused to comply; that Congress have not in any instance used coercive measures to enforce a compliance, and their Power, now is become questionable. It must be evident to every sensible mind that under these circumstances the Resources and force of the country can never be properly united and drawn forth.

From this conviction we have passed the Resolutions N<sup>o</sup> 3, and 4 which we consider as temporary expedients, until a perpetual confederation between the States shall be established.

The measure proposed in the latter Resolution may appear to be rather harsh, but let it be remembered, that weak inefficient Governments are incapable to answer the great end of Society—defence against foreign invasions,—must and will end in despotism, and that the States individually considered while they endeavor

to retain too much of their Independence may finally lose the whole.

There is another evil flowing from the same source which though possibly not fatal yet is highly injurious and requires a remedy. It is suggested that Congress have no power to punish such of their Servants as do not belong to the Army. We have therefore intimated to Congress the necessity of their forming a generous mode for the tryal and punishment of persons appointed by them to the public offices and not in the military line, and it is our earnest wish that the several States would lend their aid in making the necessary provisions by Law for carrying into effect the Acts of Congress which may be passed for this purpose.

The next subject which claims our attention is the State of public credit. Whether it can be immediately wholly restored is doubtful, but we should be unjustifiable were we to leave any attempts unessayed.

No questions are more intricate and controverted than those of finance; we forbear therefore to enter into a detail of reasoning and shall content ourselves with merely proposing a measure which although partial yet, if adopted by all the States and properly executed, would we flatter ourselves have a great tendency to reestablish our credit and place our Finances upon a respectable footing. We assume the following propositions for granted, that we cannot by taxes only raise a sum sufficient for our current expenditures.

That therefore recourse must be had to loans. That future Loans cannot be obtained unless upon the most disadvantageous Terms without certain funds estab-

lished for the redemption of the present, or at least for the discharge of the Interest. Under the influence of these principles we agreed to the Resolution N<sup>o</sup> 6.

The want of a proper and permanent Confederation between the States is a matter of the most serious moment and upon investigating the causes of our present embarrassments it appeared to us that many of them flowed from this source; we must therefore request your Excellency to press it upon your Legislature to use every means and remove every obstruction to the completion of the confederation.

By the expulsion of the enemy we may be emancipated from the Tyranny of Great Britain. We shall however be without a Solid Hope of Peace and Freedom, unless we are properly cemented among ourselves, and although we feel the calamities of War yet we have not sufficient inducements to wish a period to them until our distresses, if other means cannot affect it, have as it were forced us into an Union.

This letter with our other proceedings we must request your Excellency to lay before the Legislature of your State, and as the matters to which they relate are of a most important nature, We flatter ourselves they will receive a due degree of attention.

I am &c.

The Letters to the Legislatures of the States unrepresented in this Convention are in the Words following to wit :

HARTFORD, November 22<sup>d</sup> 1780

SIR,

By the Direction of the Convention held at this place I have the honor to

transmit to your Excellency their proceedings with a Request that you will please to lay them before the Legislature of your State. As the measures we have recommended to the States by whose appointments we met, will depend for their efficacy upon the concurrence of the other States, We conceive it our Duty to communicate them immediately in order that if they should be deemed eligible they might with the greater Dispatch be carried into effect.

I remain with the most sincere wishes for the success of our common cause and the peace and prosperity of Our Sister States.

Your Excellencys most obedient Servant,

By order of Convention.

The Letter to His Excellency General Washington is in the words following to wit :

SIR,

By the direction of the Convention held at this place I have the honor to transmit their proceedings to your Excellency for your information.

I am with sentiments of the Highest esteem your Excellencys most obt Servant.

By order of the Convention.

A true copy.

Attest : HEZ. WYLLYS Secrty.

SIR,

By the direction of the convention, held at this place, I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency their proceedings, with a request that you will please to lay them before Congress.

From these proceedings, Congress will be able to collect the original design of

our appointment, and the measures we have recommended to our constituents, to draw forth the requisite supplies, and to remove the present public Embarrassments.

Congress will observe, that in addressing ourselves to our constituents, we have taken notice only, of such inconveniences as it was supposed, Congress could not provide against, without the previous aid and consent of the several Legislatures. We apprehend however, that our affairs, are become embarrassed, from other causes, against which, it is in the power of Congress, to apply the proper Remedy, and upon which tho' with the utmost deference, we shall presume to offer our sentiments.

We have now been engaged in the war, for upwards of five years, and our public business is still continued upon what we conceive to be a defective system. Congress, either by themselves or their committees retaining a considerable share in the Executive departments, this is productive of great delay, and as Congress with respect to the individuals of which it is composed is fluctuating, the train or connection of Business, must necessarily be lost, indeed it would be needless to enumerate all the disadvantages which must necessarily result from the mode, in which the general concerns of the states are at present conducted.

They must occur upon the least Reflection, and we cannot avoid expressing our earnest wishes for a Reform. Which would be the most eligible arrangement, it would be improper for us to mention; the wisdom of Congress will undoubtedly suggest it, and we shall only indulge ourselves, in giving a general idea, and observing that in our apprehension the

commander in chief ought to have the sole Direction of the military operations, and an individual should have the charge of each Department, who should be responsible; and especially that a person, who from peculiarity of Talents, abilities and Integrity may be supposed equal to the Business should be placed at the head of the Financies.

The want or supposed want, of competent powers in Congress, to try and punish, such officers of their appointment as do not serve in, or are not annexed to the Army, is exceedingly injurious. And we would suggest to Congress the necessity of their devising a proper mode of trial and punishment of Persons in the Service of the United States; and who cannot consistently be brought within the articles of War. From the circular letter to the States, whom we have the honor to represent, Congress will perceive that we have requested their attention to this subject, and we trust, they will readily carry into effect any acts which Congress may pass for this essential purpose.

His Excellency Governor Trumbull has been pleased to communicate to us the Requisitions of Congress for supplies for the ensuing year. We could have wished that these requisitions, had been earlier made, as the season for salting provisions is nearly elapsed, and we are therefore fearful that a punctual compliance, will be Impracticable.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the greatest respect your Excellencys most obedient servant

(By order of the Convention)

WILLIAM BRADFORD, President.

His Excellency

The President of Congress.



## NOTES

NOTES AND QUERIES, as may be inferred from numerous examples, need not invariably relate to strictly historical topics. This department is sufficiently flexible to embrace the entire range of antiquities, and afford scope for questions of literary interest, together with suggestions relating to manners and customs. We once more invite readers in general to send in their contributions for this department, and to present, in a brief form, communications on points which they think likely to interest others.

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THE LIBERTY OF PROPHECYING—With the politics of the day THE MAGAZINE has nothing to do, but after politics have passed into history, they afford legitimate subjects of discussion; and intelligent men of the different sections of the country have an undoubted right to give their views on issues which formerly divided the people, but which to-day are as essentially subjects of antiquarian interest as our grandmother's spinning-wheels, candle-sticks and old clocks. No one should be surprised by the exhibition of an archaic spirit in such connections, especially as all writers addressing the public over their names, whether they laud the virtues of William Penn or the peculiar claims of John C. Calhoun, discuss the Great Northwest or the explorations of La Salle, are supposed to speak simply for themselves; and their statements carry just as much force as the array of facts can command. THE MAGAZINE has always shown a courteous regard for opposing opinion, and has respected the dictum, *Audi alteram partem*.

MANUFACTURING HISTORY — Mrs. Stowe's publishers gave her a garden party on her last birthday, and no one should be so ungallant as to offer any criticism upon the very beautiful ovation which the distinguished lady enjoyed at Newtonville; yet we cannot fail to notice a certain point, since Mr. H. O. Houghton, in his opening address, likened the author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to the Miriams, Deborahs, and Judiths of the olden times, and after telling how people had wept over the story, added, "And to-day slavery, with all its attendant evils, has disappeared forever;" while Mr. Holmes insisted that it was her hand

"That gave to freedom's grasp the hoe," and Mr. Trowbridge declared, in equally animated verse,

"She loosed the rivets of the slave."

There was more in the same style, to which we have no objection, except upon the ground that it is not true; for Mrs. Stowe and her worthy co-laborers had nothing to do either in loosing rivets or securing emancipation. This was the work of an individual who went into the White House pledged to protect slavery and honestly resolved so to do, but who, at last, as President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the Army, wrote slavery's doom. He did not even consult his Cabinet regarding the right or expediency of the act. He conferred with no human being, taking counsel simply with events and with his own brave heart. Thus he performed the most momentous and beneficial act recorded in American history. Nevertheless the timbrel of Miriam is put into the hand of Mrs. Stowe, who is called upon for a song.

This particular case is of no great consequence, only the number of claimants in this department is becoming inconveniently large.

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THE ROYAL ROAD—The pronounced superiority of what is called the “lay” mind over the professional is very noticeable in our country, where one of the chief qualifications of the critic is found in the absence of special knowledge of the thing criticised, and where the science of government is better understood in the perfumed circle around the stove of a country grocery than in any cabinet. The judge who decides a case in opposition to a Bohemian, either “knows nothing” or is “bought.” When we come to science, military criticism, art or theology, the denizen of almost any cockloft around our publishing centres is competent, and can revise the campaign of Sir Garnet, demonstrate the ultimate character of steam power, or with regal calmness prove the mistakes of Moses. Occasionally the superiority of the “lay” mind becomes a little too apparent, and some time ago the publishers of a celebrated scientific writer, now in this country, felt obliged to stop furnishing press copies of his works to critics of this class, who, without study and reflection, could comprehend all the subtleties of metaphysics so much better than the trained professional mind. The same remarkable aptitude is found in connection with history, and almost any one who controls printer’s ink is able to stand forward the superior of the student and investigator, and teach even the American Herodotus. No one questions the right of impartial and intelligent criticism, but

how impartial and intelligent is the criticism which allows the studies of specialists to go for nothing and fancies that it is the province of idlers to discover a royal road to historical learning?

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“THE VISIT OF THE VIKINGS”—In *Harper’s Monthly* for September there is an article which tells us what American “antiquarians” thought of certain matters in the last generation—informs us that it is to a couple of seat-posts “that we owe the discovery of Greenland, and afterward of Vinland,” the latter being lost sight of about the year 1013. We also learn that our American shores would “look” tame and uninteresting “but for the cloud and mist which are perpetually trailing in varied beauty above them, giving a constant play of purple light and pale shadow, and making them deserve the name given to such shores by the old Norse legends, ‘Wonderstrands’;” notwithstanding the Saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne distinctly informs us that the name was applied, because the voyagers were “so long passing by,” and notwithstanding the fact that we have no knowledge of the name having been applied to any coast whatever, except a portion of the North Atlantic coast. Besides, the author is hopelessly tangled up even in his title, since, however well “The Visit of the Vikings” may sound, falling upon an alliterative ear, it nevertheless contains less truth than is suspected, even by its author; there being not a particle of evidence to prove that a viking’s flag ever flew either in an Icelandic or a Greenlandic port. The first part of the article is simple padding. The Icelandic voy-

agers to America were a rude and quarrelsome people, and some of them were addicted to murderous revenge, like their cotemporaries of Northern Europe ; yet pirates they were not, either in the "lay" or professional sense. It is perfectly well known that, instead of ending their visits in 1013, they continued them in the fourteenth century, and that religious teachers came with them.

In order to belittle the work of the Northmen, the writer in question tells us that their discovery of America was "without clear intent," whereas the Northmen never claimed to have discovered America with "clear intent" or otherwise ; and, in fact, declared the contrary. Whereas Columbus himself, though animated by "a heroic purpose," likewise discovered the continent of America "without clear intent," and even then not until it had first been discovered *with* a "clear intent" by John Cabot. It must be conceded, however, that the "intent" of Cabot was not so "heroic" as that of Columbus, who showed a lofty and most invincible spirit when he reached the western end of Cuba, where he drew up a paper, declaring that this was the eastern border of Asia, forcing his companions to sign it, and agree, moreover, that the person who denied its truth should pay a fine of five thousand maravedis and have his tongue cut out. It is about time, therefore, to let Columbus stand upon his record, as well as the late Professor Diman, who is made to bow the Northmen out by a quotation from the identical address in which, as clear as print can make it, he declares that the Northmen came into Narragansett Bay.

NEW HAVEN ANTIQUITIES—Mr. John F. Matthews, at one time editor of *Old South-east Lancashire*, and now in this country, begins a letter to a Manchester paper, by speaking of "the scanty stores of New World antiquities ;" forgetting, perhaps, that the New World is in reality the Old, and that before the foundations of Europe had been laid, the continent of North America was the seat of organic life, and that a glacial man once roamed on the Atlantic seaboard. In reality, the antiquities lie all around us ; while his letter shows the great interest attached to some things bearing a comparatively modern date. We Americans, or at least modern Americans, described by Talleyrand as without either bones or nerves, have been very busy in getting up our constitution, and heretofore have had no time to study the past. We are, however, making some progress, and, in time, it will appear that there are ancient things in this country worth looking after, and which, indeed, possess an interest that will justify the general reader in giving his support to a journal like *THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, devoted to the past days of this ancient western world, whose chronology goes back well nigh to the days of Chronos, and comprehends periods the contemplation of which almost makes one feel giddy. Mr. Matthews, who is a very cultivated and clever writer, shows, in the communication referred to, how large an interest is attached even to a place like New Haven, whose crypt he has recently explored, and where he had been preceded by President Hayes, who, even during his term of office, crowded with cares and responsibilities, was particular to keep up his

historic and genealogical reading, and who found time to visit this interesting place and view the monument of Dixwell the Regicide; little dreaming that one worse than a regicide was at that moment being trained to take the life of his successor; trained, too, in that opinion regarding himself which was entertained by many of Dixwell, who is described on the monument at New Haven as "a zealous patriot, a sincere Christian, an honest man." It would be a pleasant thing if the people of this country were generally accustomed to take that degree of interest in their past history which is so often shown by intelligent foreigners. It would be still better if they would acquire the habit of putting their "finds" on record, and sending them also to the *MAGAZINE*, which is the only monthly in the New World devoted to the history and antiquities of America, and as such is entitled to prompt and generous support.

THE ERRING SISTER must be the title of a paragraph or two more, being suggested by a writer in *The American (Stoddart's Review)*, who criticises Mr. Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution," and who says of the venerable historian: "He still persists in quoting to suit his own purposes, rather than with servile adherence to the words of any text that serves as his authority or illustration, and this in spite of the harsh criticism of Reed and Green, and the other representatives of revolutionary heroes, who essayed the defence of their ancestors against Mr. Bancroft's severe condemnation. Thus, in quoting from a letter of Washington to Madison, of May 2, 1788, at p. 284, he makes it read,

'Seven affirmatives without a negative would almost convert the erring sister,' and at p. 301 he cites it: 'Eight affirmatives for the Constitution ought to cause even the erring sister to hesitate,'—which is the true version?" He adds to this, not that it is "too too" interesting, but simply, "too interesting to find that the phrase of 'erring sister' so much used during the Rebellion has so good an authority as that of Washington for its sanction."

As it happens, however, neither Washington nor Mr. Bancroft says one word about any "erring sister." They write "*unerring*" sister. It will be seen that the critic makes a three-fold blunder in trying to point out *one* where he could have discovered *three*; for Mr. Bancroft, in his *second* quotation from Washington's letter (II. 301), writes, "The eloquence of eight affirmatives for the Constitution ought to cause even 'the unerring sister' to hesitate," thus making it appear as though Washington borrowed the phrase, which in the extract from Washington's letter as given in the appendix (II. 467) has no quotation marks, and runs as follows: "For eight affirmatives without a negative carries weight of argument, if not eloquence, with it that would cause even the unerring sister to hesitate;" which certainly is quite *unlike* what Mr. Bancroft quotes, evidently from memory. "Thus," as La Place would say, "it plainly appeareth" that the phrase "erring sister" has not the good authority of Washington for its sanction, who was writing to Madison and referring to the prospective approval of the Constitution by South Carolina, which State *did* approve. "Thus, in 1788," as Mr. Bancroft

says, "the plan for a Southern Confederacy was crushed by the fidelity of South Carolina," the State which first stood forth for such a Confederacy in 1860. The "unerring sister" of whom Washington spoke was his own Virginia, who at last gave over her opposition to the Constitution and wheeled into the line of the Union. It would, perhaps, be interesting to know who before Washington used in this connection the phrase "unerring sister."

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CROWS MATED—The following notice appeared in the *New York Gazette* of 1798: "Married, on Sunday, July 29th, Mr. Samuel Crow, mate of the brig *Defiance*, to the amiable Miss Isabella Crow, youngest daughter of Samuel Crow, of Woodbridge, N. J.—God bless 'em both!"

PETERSFIELD

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THE TELEGRAPH—On the occasion of a benefit at the Park Theatre, in New York, May 23, 1798, it was announced that between the play and the farce "there will be presented a Dramatic Sketch called *Naval Gratitude*, in the course of which will be introduced an exact representation of *The Telegraphe*, explaining the mode of conveying intelligence by it as now practised in Europe."

W. K.

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FIRST SALE OF A BLACK SLAVE IN ENGLAND—The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1763 has the following paragraph under date of January 28th: "At the sale of Rice, the broker's effects, a Negro boy was *put up by auction*, and sold for 32*l.*—Perhaps the first instance of the kind in a free country."

PETERSFIELD

WATTS' PSALMS—EDITION OF 1781—President Stiles has the following entry in his diary: "This year [1781] has been published the fortieth edition of Dr. Watts' Psalms; it was printed at Newburyport in Massachusetts by Mr. Mycall, Printer. He with the Advice & Assist<sup>a</sup> of neighboring Ministers & others, has made some Alterations in psalms where *G. Britain* is mentioned & references to the King of G<sup>t</sup> Britain, as in the 75<sup>th</sup> Psalm. At first it may seem as if these alterations were many: however they really are but few. Thus the Ps. Book is well adapted to the Chh in America." This was not the edition which Parson Caldwell, of New Jersey, is said to have distributed from his church during a skirmish to sundry Revolutionary soldiers who were out of wadding, with the exclamation, "Here, boys, give 'em Watts!"

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THE ORIGIN OF "O. K."—A correspondent of the *London Notes and Queries* gives the following as a contribution to the vexed and often discussed question, the origin of the symbolical "O. K." It is amusing, to say the least, in view of the undoubted American origin of the symbol: "In the year 1847 or 1848 I was stationed with my regiment at Up Park Camp in Jamaica. Those were the days of practical jokes; foolish and unmeaning they appear now, but at that time they perhaps indicated a spirit of adventure which may be dying out among us. The high road from Up Park Camp to the town of Kingston is bordered at intervals with small retail shops, mostly kept by Chinese and Negroes. From one of these shops—belonging, I think,

to a Chinaman—a pole above the door projected into the high road, and on it were erected the letters ‘O. K.,’ of large size and richly gilt. They were probably his sign. One fine night, after a late mess dinner, when driving to Kingston with some comrades, we espied these letters glittering brilliantly in the moonlight a little distance ahead of us. ‘How uncommonly well they would look in my room,’ observed one of the party. ‘So they would,’ was the rejoinder. ‘Let’s have them down.’ Whereupon the gig was brought up under the pole and one of its occupants was hoisted up. Silently and dexterously he removed the letters—he was a Royal Engineer—and deposited them in the gig. As we drove off some one remarked, ‘I wonder what O. K. means.’ ‘Oh,’ said the chief actor, ‘all correct, I suppose’—or, as he pronounced it, ‘Ole K’rect.’ The joke occasioned much laughter, and from that time, whenever anything out of the common or mysterious occurred in the garrison, it was not unusual to hear it described as ‘That’s O. K., I suppose.’ The vicissitudes of the service soon dispersed our party, and when I returned to England, a few years afterward, I was surprised to hear the expression made use of, and wondered how it had originated.”

MONUMENTS—It is expected that the Washington monument will reach an altitude of 330 feet by December 15th, and it is also intended to have an observatory on its summit, thus making it of scientific use. It is to be regretted that no use will be found for some monuments now going up.

LITHOS

QUERIES

FIRST UNITED STATES CENSUS—NEW HAVEN’S POPULATION IN 1782—Might not an approximately correct census be made up for the year 1782–83, representing the population of the thirteen original States when their independence was recognized by Great Britain? Congress had recommended a careful enumeration of the inhabitants for war purposes, and it was doubtless very generally made. The census was certainly taken in Connecticut, which showed a population of something over 202,000. The report for New Haven, for example, was as follows, as noted in the diary of Dr. Stiles, then President of Yale College :

“The selectmen of the several Towns in Conn.,” says the Doctor, “have been taking the Number of Inhabitants this winter and spring, by order of the Gen<sup>l</sup> Assembly upon Recommendation of Congress. Chiefly taken in the months of Jan<sup>y</sup> and Feb<sup>y</sup>. This is the Number for N. H.—that is that part Contained within the 4 Parishes whose Meet<sup>g</sup> houses are on the Green in the Compact part of the Town. There are six Parishes besides within the Township.

Males above 50.....	149
“ between 16 and 50.....	613
“ under 16.....	703

Total of Males.....1,465

Females above 50.....	162
“ between 16 and 50.....	760
“ under 16.....	730

Total of Females.....1,652

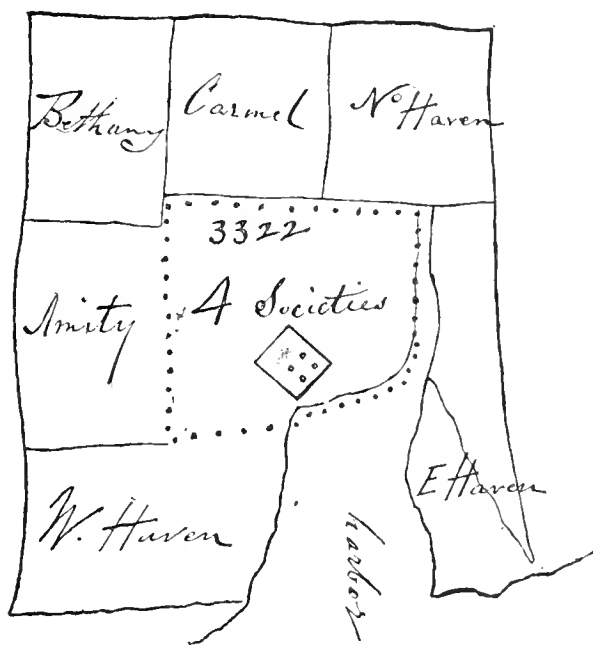
Refugees from New York :

Males above 50.....	3
“ between 16 and 50.....	7
“ under 16.....	8

Total of Males..... 18

Females above 50.....	2
“ between 16 and 50.....	12
“ under 16.....	14
Total of Females.....	28
Negroes.....	142
Refugees.....	8
Total.....	150
Indians.....	8
Sum Total.....	3,322
Yale College (not included).....	225”

Dr. Stiles drew the following diagram to illustrate the area of the population given :



A RISING SUN—We are all somewhat familiar with the rising or setting sun, whichever it may be, in the arms of New York, where it has also been viewed as a “westering” sun. I find from Bancroft’s “History of the Constitution of the United States” (ii. 221) that a sun “was blazoned on the President’s chair” at the convention when the Constitution was signed. Franklin is quoted as saying with reference to his own act of signing : “In the

vicissitudes of hope and fear I was not able to tell whether it is rising or setting ; now I know that it is the rising sun.” Can some one tell us about the chair in question and the significance of the sun blazoned thereon ?

YORK

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC—When was this name first applied to the United States ?

JEFFERSONIAN

GOD’S THOUGHTS OF PEACE IN WAR—A book with the above title was published at New York in September, 1780. The author is supposed to be John Sayre, a clergyman of the Church of England. Is any copy of this volume known to be in existence ?

MINTO

AUTHORS ON VIRGINIA—The following are the names of the authors cited in the Oxford Tract and “Smith’s General History” for the relation of various occurrences in Virginia prior to 1610, viz. : Thomas Studley, Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington, Thomas Abbay, Thomas Hope, Anas Todkill, Dr. Walter Russell, Thomas Momford, Dr. Anthony Bagnall, Nathaniel Powell, Richard Wyffin, William Phettiplace, Jeffrey Abbot, Richard Pots, and William Tankard. I solicit definite information regarding any of these. Several must have died before Smith left, among whom Studley and the two doctors. Did not Thomas Abbay, Richard Pots, William Phettiplace, and Richard Wyffin return to England with Smith ? Is it certain that more than two remained alive in the colony, viz. : Jeffrey Abbot, who was afterward hung by Dale, and Nathaniel Powell, who was killed by the Indians March 22, 1621 ?

ALEXANDER BROWN

FORT LEE—Can you inform me in what work I can obtain a good description of the fortifications at Fort Lee, and of the events which took place there? Greene's "Life of General Greene," at least the smaller edition, makes but little mention of the matter. In Stedman's "History of the War" an elaborate map of the forts and surrounding country is given, but it has evidently been laid down by rule of thumb. There must surely be some official documents in existence detailing the incidents of the evacuation, loss of material of war, etc. The date of the construction of the two forts seems even to be uncertain.

C. W.

BANCROFT PAMPHLETS—It is well known to historical students that Mr. Bancroft's great work has not given unalloyed satisfaction to the descendants of many of our revolutionary heroes, but on the contrary has provoked a good deal of controversy, and in consequence many pamphlets and articles have been published assailing it. Will some reader of THE MAGAZINE furnish a list of these publications?

STUDENT

AMERICAN COMIC PERIODICALS—Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE furnish a list of the various comic periodicals that have appeared in the United States? The history of these would no doubt form a very interesting chapter in the story of American journalism.

PUCK

WAS THIS THE FIRST ENGLISH FEMALE BORN IN NEW ENGLAND—*Ipswich, November 27.* On Thursday last in the Fore noon died here Mrs Grace

Graves, Widow, in the 99th Year of her Age. She was one of the first Female English Children that was Born at Boston in New England; she retained her reason and understanding to a good degree to the last.—*The Boston Weekly News-Letter, No. 1401, December 3, 1730.*

PETERSFIELD

[In this connection, Petersfield's attention is invited to the "Pilgrim Memorial," VIII., 597.]

SEEING STARS—What is the origin of this phrase, or, "I'll make you see stars"?

BINOCLE

## REPLIES

THE DOLLAR-MARK—With reference to the query [VIII. 637], I may give the following, taken from a foreign paper, which says that the best origin of the sign is offered by the editor of the London *Whitehall Review*, who once propounded the question at a dinner party in that city at which the American Consul was present. As no one could tell, the editor gave the following explanation: "It is taken from the Spanish dollar, and the sign is to be found, of course, in the associations of the Spanish dollar. On the reverse of the coin is a representation of the pillars of Hercules, and round each pillar is a scroll, with inscription *Plus Ultra*. This device in course of time has degenerated into the sign which stands at present for American as well as Spanish dollars—\$. The scroll around the pillars represents the two serpents sent by Juno to destroy Hercules in his cradle."

NUMISMATIC



STUYVESANT'S BOUWERY—I saw a statement in some public print a few days ago that no deed existed conveying to Stuyvesant the land on which stands now Mr. Hamilton Fish's residence. This is a mistake. The deed, from the Directors of the West India Company to Petrus Stuyvesant, per Jan Jansen Damen, his attorney, dated March 12, 1651, is on record in Volume III., folio 87, New York Colonial Manuscripts, State Library, Albany, N. Y. \* \*

THE FIRST AMERICAN WOOD ENGRAVER [VIII. 511]—The first to practise wood-engraving in America, Dr. Alexander Anderson, as already indicated, was born in the city of New York in 1775. He has been styled, not inappropriately, "the American Bewick." Specimens of his work, some of which, indeed, rival the productions of his great English model, will be found in the school books, and in many of the more dignified illustrated books that were published in New York during the early part of the present century. Your correspondent will find a sketch of Dr. Anderson, and of many of the early engravers of America, in "Dunlop's History of the Arts of Design in America," Vol. II. He is also mentioned in "Francis' Old New York." The Moreau Brothers of New York (J. B. and Charles C.), who were loving and enthusiastic admirers of Dr. Anderson, possess a great mass of interesting and valuable material relating to him, as well as a number of his early blocks.

#### BOOKWORM

[The *Century* for September has a splendidly illustrated article on Bewick, with many specimens of his work.]

MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT—It is to be hoped that the persecuted and maligned "pettifogger" of Gray's Inn, Mr. Thomas Morton, will be justly dealt with hereafter by the historical student, and your article should be the herald of an era of candor and truth respecting loyal churchmen of the early days. If Morton needs further credentials than those which he received from the hands of Mr. Samuel Maverick relating to the question of title to his lands, I am able to furnish the following from a rare contemporaneous publication. It is entitled "New-England's Vindication," and was "printed for the Author," Henry Gardener, in 1660, and the extract bearing on the point reads thus:

"Then the said Council [for New England] granted sundry Pattents, as to Capt. Willeston [Wallaston], Mr. Tho. Morton, some of Dorchester and others to settle in the Bay of the Machechusets" (p. 2).

The date is not given, but the transaction appears near events of 1620-30. A copy of this tract is in the Carter-Brown Library, Providence, of which I have a literal transcript by courtesy of the custodian.

C. E. B.

[A copy is also in the Lenox Library.]

GROANING BEER—On this subject [III. 694, IV. 70] raised by volume I. of "Sewall's Diary," is partially answered in volume III. p. 328: "Mrs. Dorothy Henchman died very suddenly; she came from a groaning very cheerfull, on Wednesday night about ten o'clock."

BADGES OF MERIT [VII. 298, 460, VIII. 577]—I have seen several dis-

charges with this Badge appended for six years' faithful service, and could furnish the names of the soldiers. That they are not more common, however, may be due to the fact that they were used in applications for pensions. J.

—

EARLY NEW ENGLAND TOMBSTONES [VIII. 638]—The tombstones in Boston and New England, with the exception of the beech boulder stones, were imported from North Wales quarries until after the Revolution, and in fact until the eighteenth century. The beech boulder is a green slate stone, very hard and close-grained, and was used only during the seventeenth century. It was short and thick, but very homely, and retains the inscriptions almost as perfect as when first lettered. It was taken from the shores of New England and lettered by stonecutters in Boston and Salem. The letters and designs are entirely different from any that were imported. The slate stones imported were brought from Wales, and were principally blue and grayish-blue, with a very few greenish ones, until the early part of the seventeenth century, when the purple stones and old red sandstones were introduced. Purple slate came from the Wales quarries, and the sandstones from Kirkdale and West Derby. It is claimed that some of our early slate stones were imported from the Devonian quarries of Ireland, but I cannot find anything to substantiate the claim that most of the tombstones were lettered in England previous to 1700, though some were cut in this country. Those in this country were cut with large, deep letters, simply the name and date of death, while those cut in Europe had a death's-

head and the skull and cross-bones cut over the inscription. After the seventeenth century the hour-glass and skeleton of death were added, also an occasional cherub. In the eighteenth century the style was changed, and we find the willow and urn predominating. In a pamphlet that I saw some few years ago, I found that in the seventeenth century stonecutters were sent to this country, and that some stones, all finished, were entered free of duties. It is mentioned in particular, in connection with the case of John Buckley, Jr., who died in 1798, that in order to enter the tombstone free of duty, the Collector of the port of Boston, wishing to befriend the family, entered it as a winding-sheet. On looking up this statement I found it correct. After the year 1800 quarries were opened in several parts of Massachusetts, Maine, and Vermont. Most of the stone now used comes from Vermont.

EDWARD MACDONALD

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THE NAME OF CONCORD—In respect to the application of this name [VIII. 577] to the famous town recently the home of Emerson and Hawthorne, I have seen it suggested that it was given by those who first settled there with reference to the quiet which they expected to enjoy after their escape from Boston, where, at the time, there was no end of wrangling among the people. \*

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NEW ENGLISH CANAAN—On this [VII. 510] see Drake's "Boston" (p. 38), who favors the notion that Morton called New England "Canaan" on account of its beauty.

GAD

## SOCIETIES

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY—The first meeting of the season was held September 6th, the President, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, Ph.D., in the chair.

The President referred to the recent death of his friend, Hon. Otis Norcross, formerly Mayor of Boston and a life member of this Society. He also announced the death of Hon. Frederic De Peyster, LL.D., President of the New York Historical Society and a corresponding member, and appointed as a committee to prepare resolutions, the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter and the Hon. Nathaniel F. Safford.

Mr. John Ward Dean, in behalf of the committee to prepare resolutions on the death of Colonel Chester, reported the following :

Resolved, That the New England Historic, Genealogical Society has received with feelings of profound regret the sad tidings of the decease of Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester, D.C.L., LL.D., of London ; that the death of this distinguished antiquary and genealogist is an irreparable loss to the cause of genealogical research, and that we join with kindred societies in this country and in England in expressions of admiration for his great abilities and esteem for his memory. After remarks by Mr. Dean, William B. Trask, President Wilder, and Frederic Kidder, the resolution was adopted.

A. Bronson Alcott delivered an address on Concord. After a brief notice of the history of the town and its representative men, the speaker said he would confine his subsequent remarks to Ralph Waldo

Emerson, the central figure of the town of Concord. He then gave interesting reminiscences of Mr. Emerson, and his intercourse with him. He concluded by reading a poem on his death which he had read on the 22d July last before the Concord School of Philosophy.

The President spoke in commendation of the address of Mr. Alcott, and moved a vote of thanks, which, after remarks by Rev. A. B. Muzzey and Rev. D. G. Haskins, D.D., was adopted.

The librarian reported that during the months of June, July, and August, fifty volumes and 228 pamphlets had been presented to the Society. Among the donations deserving of special notice is an original plan, by Lieutenant John Montresor, of the British army, of the route of his expedition on snow-shoes in the winter of 1760 from Quebec to the southern coast of Maine, the journal of which expedition was printed in the *Historical and Genealogical Register* in January last. This autograph plan was presented, through Mr. G. D. Scull, of Oxford, England, by Colonel H. E. Montresor, of England, a descendant. The journal of a subsequent summer expedition was used by General Arnold in his expedition against Quebec. Several important genealogies have been received from the authors, among them the Leete family of England (which traces the pedigree of Governor William Leete of Connecticut to his grandfather), by Joseph Leete, F.S.S., of South Norroy, England ; the Slocum family, by Charles E. Slocum, Ph.D., of Syracuse, N. Y., and the Jordan family, by Tristram F. Jordan, of Metuchin, N. J.

The report of Rev. Increase N. Tar-

box, D.D., was read in his absence by the Secretary. Memorial sketches of the following-named deceased members were reported: Joseph Edmund Bulkley, a corresponding member, who was born at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, February 9, 1812, and died in New York City, November 3, 1879; Alfred Mudge, a resident member, who was born in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, April 25, 1809, and died at Hull, Massachusetts, August 14, 1882; Hon. Frederic De Peyster, a corresponding member, born in the city of New York in the autumn of 1796, and died at Rose Hill, Dutchess County, August 18, 1882; and Hon. James Diman Green, a resident member, who was born in Malden, Massachusetts, September 8, 1798, and died at Cambridge, August 18, 1882.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY—This Society has lately come into possession of the quaint old cane used by Francis Lewis, one of the signers, ever since he came to America in 1735, or about seventy years. William J. Miller, Esq., of New Haven, was the donor. Mr. Miller has also presented the Society with the plume, powder-horn, and drumsticks used by his ancestor, Peter Miller, in several battles of the Revolution. In the powder-horn is the same powder which remained in it when the drummer came home from the army upon the declaration of peace. The Society, the increase of whose membership and library has been quite marked within the past year or two, will issue its third volume of papers and proceedings during the present season.

## LITERARY NOTICES

THE OLD BURYING-GROUND OF FAIRFIELD, CONN. A memorial of many of the early settlers in Fairfield, and an exhaustive and faithful transcript of the inscriptions and epitaphs on 583 tombstones found in the oldest burying-ground now within the limits of Fairfield, with brief notes and illustrations of five eras of tombstone embellishment, by KATE E. PERRY. Also an account of the "Rebuilding of the Tombs," July 8, 1881, by WILLIAM A. BEERS. Hartford, Conn.: American Publishing Company, 1882. 12mo, pp. 241.

OLD COPP'S HILL AND BURIAL GROUND; WITH HISTORICAL SKETCHES. By E. MACDONALD, Superintendent of Copp's Hill. March 1, 1882. Boston: Published by the author. 8vo, pp. 48.

KINGS COUNTY GENEALOGICAL CLUB COLLECTIONS. Vol. I., No. 1.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, New Utrecht, L. I. No. 2.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Flatlands, L. I., and Private Cemeteries adjoining. No. 3.—Inscriptions on Tombstones in Cemetery of Reformed Dutch Church, Gravesend, L. I., and Private Cemeteries Adjacent.

Old Fairfield is coming to be one of the best advertised towns in Connecticut, various writers vying with one another in portraying the interest attached in so many ways to this venerable bailiwick. The subject has been pursued with interest and with valuable results. The title-page gives a fair idea of the character of the book, and while the preface admits that such works do not attract publishers, it is truly declared that the time will come when the citizens of Fairfield will be grateful for the preservation of that portion of her history preserved in this book. The authoress has called Mr. Beers to her aid, who bids us "Hark from the tombs" with a cheeriness that could not have been excelled by a member of the firm of the Cheerful Brothers. The anniversary selected for his funeral address and the visit to the old burying-ground fell on a wet day, but the moisture of the atmosphere did not dampen the feelings of the speaker. At the same time his address did not prove dry. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Burroughs, who made "a fervent appeal to the God of our fathers,"

which it was well to state, since otherwise—owing to the manifold changes that have taken place in opinion and practice in old Fairfield—it might have been suspected that the moderns had lapsed to the worship of those dumb idols which Mr. Beers emphatically declares the ancients did *not* worship. In due time Mr. Beers got to his address, in which he said that the oldest decipherable stone reads, “S. M. 1687,” identified as the grave-mark of Samuel Morehouse, County Marshal here from 1675 to 1687; and that the no-prayer practice that early characterized Congregational funerals gave place to display and fashion, and that at the obsequies of the wife of one Governor more than a thousand pairs of gloves were given away, necessitating the intervention of the Legislature. The sole instance of burial procedures, however, that Mr. Beers adduces is the following: “It was a hot day, the distance long, the bier, carried on trestles, weighty. Half way one of the bearers cried out, ‘Set him down; he’s heavy;’ and pulling a flask from a convenient pocket, all imbibed fresh courage and moved solemnly on;” probably after the solemn manner of the speaker, who rounds out the next paragraph of his address, delivered in the Congregational Chapel, with

“Her: lies cut down, like unripe fruit,  
The wife of Deacon Amos Shute;  
She died of driaking too much coffee,  
Anny Dominy seventeen forty.”

The address gives a variety of reminiscences, in the course of which the speaker drops defensive words for the “Puritans,” quoting the saying that “Puritanism was not canting hypocrisy.” He might, however, have improved on this, and said that “Puritanism was not Fairfield Congregationalism,” nor even an ism at all; but that the name “Puritan” stood for a certain determinate type of men of the Church of England, and that the people defined by the recognized expounder of New England Congregationalism as Brown-Barrow Separatists were the people who gave Fairfield its early character. The descendants of the “Prime Antient Church” of Fairfield, therefore, have no right to steal the livery of those grand defenders of civil liberty, even when serving “the God of our fathers.” Connecticut “Episcopalians,” it may be added, do not appear singularly enterprising in allowing such “flat larceny,” much less in giving the name away.

The Superintendent of Copp’s Hill, though not, like poor *Yorick*, celebrated by the gravedigger in “Hamlet,” a fellow of infinite jest, has, nevertheless, made an interesting compilation, and visitors at the North End of Boston will do well to drop, not into one of Mr. MacDonald’s tombs, of which he has a number to let, but into his office, where they may get a copy of his book, and, by its aid, look up the many interesting monuments found on the Hill. The book by Bridgman, his predecessor, was equally valuable

and dull. The Hill appears in history as early as 1621; at least this appears to be the “Cliff” under which the Plymouth exploring party landed and found the sachem to be “Abbatimwat.” It was the second place of interment, King’s Chapel being the first. The date of the first interment is unknown, but the oldest stone bears the date of 1661. Here is to be seen the tombstone of Grace Berry, who died in Plymouth May 17, 1625, which Mr. MacDonald, not with sufficient reason, we apprehend, thinks was brought from Plymouth. Here, also, may be seen the Mather tomb, a very interesting relic, overshadowed by a willow grown from a slip brought from St. Helena. But it would be impossible to enumerate a tithe of the objects that here interest the antiquarian mind, while in the immediate vicinity are various old churches, such for instance as Christ Church, which also have their claim, and which are duly noticed in this book. Copp’s Hill is Mr. MacDonald’s pet theme, and he has discovered many old memorial stones. He will have it, however, that Robert Newman, the sexton of Christ Church, was the person who hung out the lantern which sent Paul Revere on his midnight ride.

Respecting the third publication in the above list, it may be said that the three issues make forty-three pages of closely compacted and abbreviated memoranda, which are given without note or comment. Unlike the Fairfield volume, this publication gives no inscriptions, and whoever wishes to know the reading of any particular stone must discover it outside of the Club’s “Collections.” He need not dwell upon either the advantages or disadvantages of the plan which gives the largest number of facts in the least possible space. Mr. W. H. Stillwell, of Brooklyn, is the manager of this serial, which may be bought of Mr. E. W. Nash, New York. The Club is at work in very interesting localities. \*

ATLANTA. BY JACOB D. COX, LL.D.,  
LATE MAJOR-GENERAL, Commanding Twenty-third Army Corps. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER’S SONS, 1882. 16mo, pp. 274.

By the fall of Vicksburg the Southern Confederacy received a staggering blow, and the occupation of Atlanta by Sherman was in reality its *coup de grace*. Appomattox added nothing to the certainty of its extinction and death, though it may have hastened the time when its dying struggles should end. When General Sherman entered Atlanta he took a position between the army of General Lee in Virginia and the Southern granary—between the house and the smoke-house. If he could hold it the question of the final submission of the last vestige of the Confederate armies was settled. They must surrender or starve. There was no necessity for the striking of another blow, for the shedding of another

drop of blood, or for the loss of another life. All that was needed was to have a little patience, and sit still. The raid through Mississippi and Alabama, the March to the Sea, and Appomattox, however much they may have added to our military fame, were in reality mere surplusage, and only served to illustrate the line of the poet, "And thrice he slew the slain." On September 1, 1864, when Atlanta surrendered, General Lee was drawing the supplies for his army from the Alabama canebrake, and the railway stations were filled with bags of corn destined for Virginia, as we ourselves saw. There was but one channel of communication left intact—the railroad that passed through Atlanta. Upon that road Sherman with his army had sat down. He could not be moved by any force which could be brought against him, and it was the almost universal feeling in the South that the war was at an end. The campaign, then, that resulted in the fall of Atlanta was, in one sense, the decisive campaign of the war. It was brilliant in a high degree—a campaign where there was a good deal of unnecessary fighting, attended with severe losses on both sides, but whose object was almost entirely obtained by strategy. The Federal forces outnumbered the Confederates by more than two to one, and however strong were the positions which General Johnston took, and impregnable to assault, as he proved again and again, he was outflanked every time and obliged to abandon them one by one. He was one of the ablest of the Southern generals, second, perhaps, only to Lee, but with his inferior force all he could do was to interpose months of delay between the impatient Sherman and his objective point. This he did by intrenching and fortifying as he retreated, and no sooner was he compelled to evacuate one stronghold than he was found possessed of another a little farther to the south. Thus, gradually, both armies approached Atlanta, and Jefferson Davis, with great folly, superseded General Johnston, and gave the command to General Hood. He soon justified what President Lincoln said, that it was never a good thing to swap horses when crossing a river. He led the army to quick destruction, and Atlanta was won. No more competent historian of the campaign of Atlanta could have been found than General Cox. He was an actor in it, and had every facility for learning the facts and details which he has so graphically described. One follows with unabated interest the march from Chattanooga and the account of the battles and assaults by the way of Dalton, Resaca, New Hope Church, Kenesaw, Atlanta, and Alatoona. The author writes like a historian and not like a partisan, and the result is that we have one of the most valuable books of the series of the "Campaigns of the Civil War." He gives us what we need—the facts—and leaves us to form our own conclusions and to mete out praise and blame according to our own judg-

ments. He has thus given interest and value to his work, and whoever reads "Atlanta," by General Cox, will be glad to know that the same pen is to be assigned to the "March to the Sea."

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#### THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.

By HENRY M. CIST, Brevet Brigadier-General,  
U. S. V. New York: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S  
SONS, 1882. 16mo, pp. 289.

Despite some of its glaring faults, the seventh volume of the "Campaigns of the Civil War" is scarcely less full of interest than its predecessors. General Cist was on the staff of Generals Rosecrans and Thomas. He was Secretary of the Army of the Cumberland, and has had ample opportunity to familiarize himself with its history, even down to minute details. He has diligently studied its various movements, and gives an intelligible account of them and of the various battles in which he was engaged, such as Perryville, Stone's River, Chickamauga, Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, battles where as much valor and heroism were displayed as in any engagement of the war, and where victory was as hardly won, but which, nevertheless, seemed to lead to no corresponding results. The army was led from the Tennessee River back to Perryville, and forward to Stone River and Tallahassee, but never seemed to reach any vital point. It did not march to the sea with Sherman, nor find an Appomattox with Grant. It, nevertheless, played an important part in the civil war, and was led by Rosecrans and Thomas, who were among the ablest generals in the Federal army. The story is full of interest, while the author confines himself to facts. The more is the pity that he should spend so much space in criticism and argument. It is here that he sinks the historian and the judge into the partisan and the advocate. The Army of the Tennessee is evidently his *bête noire*—it is the rival in the race for fame of the Army of the Cumberland, and General Cist feels called upon at every turn to laud the one and to disparage the other. This detracts very much from the value of the work, for it is not always easy to tell how far the author's prejudices color his facts. He may be unconscious of the partisanship, but it exists none the less, and to others than himself is visible at every turn. It is the more to be deplored, because it is so unnecessary. The Army of the Cumberland is assured of its deserved fame. It did some of the best fighting of the war, and what it needed was a historian, not an advocate. The work of General Cist has many and great merits, but it must be read with care, and with a consciousness of the bias under which he writes.

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#### THE NEW TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD

AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Translated out  
of the Original Greek; and with the former

Translations Diligently Compared and Revised. Containing the Authorized Version, commonly called "the King James Version," and the Revised Version, arranged in parallel columns for comparison and reference. Also containing the Notes of the New Version; Readings preferred by the American Committee; History of the Committee on Revision; Chronology of the New Testament; Index to Subjects; Chapter headings and running head-lines. Philadelphia: PORTER & COATES, 1882, 8vo, pp. 690.

If the famous Justinian Psalter properly takes its place in the list of *Americana*, much more should a work of this description win suitable notice in a magazine of American history. It is essentially a part of our literary and ecclesiastical history, and, as such, may have its place in working libraries. With the theological questions and textual criticism THE MAGAZINE has nothing to do, and our task is the limited one of indicating how the editor has planned his work. On this point we can award nothing but praise. The volume is as complete as it could well be made, while the typography meets the wants of the eye. Its distinctly American character arises from the fact, that the "Readings of the American Committee" which were not adopted are given in an appendix, besides being conveniently placed as foot-notes. This comparative volume, as a piece of literary history, is invaluable, while the multiplication of such issues indicates the firm hold which the New Testament has upon the people.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE COLLEGIATE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. pp. 82. PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, 1882.

The settlement of the Dutch and Walloons in New Netherlands dates from 1623. Thus first religious meetings were held in a loft over a horse-mill, and in 1633 their first church was built, Domine Bogardus having come out from Holland. Such was the origin of this great and wealthy religious corporation which now sustains seven churches and chapels, and of whose Christian work the Year-Book gives an account. In an appendix we have a history of the first English psalm-book, published in 1767, with a *fac-simile* of the title-page and of the first Psalm set to music. There is also a reprint of what might be called a proclamation of a day of thanksgiving and prayer. It is dated December 31, 1682, and was to be observed Sunday, January 7, 1683. An address to Governor Clinton, in 1743, with his reply, are also printed in the appendix. A portrait of Rev. Gualterus Du Bois, in flowing wig, gown, and bands, illustrates the

Year-Book. He became a colleague of the Dutch Church in 1699, and, upon the death of Henricus Selyns, he became the sole minister. It is an interesting fact that Domine Du Bois baptized Samuel Prevoost, when a child, who was afterward Rector of Trinity Church and first Bishop of New York. The Year-Books of corporations like the Collegiate and Trinity Churches, it is easy to see, may be made valuable contributions to our history.

CELEBRATED AMERICAN CAVERNS, ESPECIALLY MONMOUTH, WYANDOT, AND LURAY. Together with Historical, Scientific, and Descriptive Notices of Caves and Grottos in other Lands. By HORACE C. HOVEY. With Maps and Illustrations. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co., 1882, 8vo, pp. 228.

In more respects than one America is a land of marvels, yet whatever may be said of the scenes above ground, the subterranean regions certainly abound with wonders of the most extraordinary description, while the volume before us gives an appropriate introduction to the fairy land that lies in that darksome region generally associated with perpetual night. The author appears to have given much attention to the great American caverns, and gives valuable information respecting their situation, extent, and characteristics. A large portion of the volume is made up of fresh material, and more than forty illustrations add to the interest and usefulness of the work, though it is not to be expected that every reader will be convinced of the truth of every theory herein set forth.

GENERAL BUTLER IN NEW ORLEANS. History of the Administration of the Department of the Gulf in the year 1862; with an Account of the Capture of New Orleans, and a Sketch of the Previous Career of the General, Civil and Military. By JAMES PARTON. Seventeenth Edition. 8vo, pp. 661. Boston: HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY, 1882.

This book was written in General Butler's house at Lowell, where the author was offered every facility for his work, the General giving him access without reserve to all his papers, though abstaining from all interference respecting the composition. The book is very interesting, as a matter of course; and if Mr. Parton sees things with his own eyes, it is not because his hero made this course the subject of a particular request. A good case is made out for the General, but at the present time criticism is hardly required, while his career is one that will not soon cease to interest the general reader.



REV. JOHN JONES, FIRST MINISTER  
OF THE OLD TOWN OF FAIRFIELD, CONN.  
By WILLIAM A. BEERS. pp. 17. Bridge-  
port, 1882.

In this paper, which was prepared for the Fairfield County Historical Society, and read before that body, March 10, 1882, the author has given much interesting information concerning the early settlement and religious history of the town, and a very faithful personal sketch of its first minister, the Rev. John Jones, a native of Wales, who was settled at Fairfield in October, 1644, and had an unbroken pastorate in that town of more than twenty years. Of his eleven successors in that town, one continued twenty-seven years, one thirty-eight years, one forty years, another thirty-one years. The average retention of office has been almost exactly twenty years, and not one has been removed except by death or his own free will—"a record," says Mr. Beers, "almost without parallel in ecclesiastical annals."

ANTIQUITIES OF THE PARISH CHURCH  
OF JAMAICA (including Newtown and Flushing).  
Illustrated from Letters of the Missionaries  
and other Authentic Documents, with a Con-  
tinuation of the History of Grace Church to  
the Present Time. By HENRY ONDERDONK,  
JR., A.B., University of Cambridge; A.M.,  
Columbia College. Jamaica, N. Y. : CHARLES  
WELLING, 1880, 8vo, pp. 162.

This work by an antiquary of great diligence and patience will be found very useful and entertaining, embodying as it does the results of years of research. It contains portraits of the Rev. Thomas Poyer, Bishops Seabury, Provost, and Moore, Rufus King, the Rev. Drs. Johnson and Sayers, Dr. Lewis E. A. Eigenbrodt, Governor John A. King; together with three views of Grace Church, Jamaica, and St. George's, Hempstead. The book is of more than local interest.

RE-DEDICATION OF THE OLD STATE-  
HOUSE, BOSTON, JULY 11, 1882. Boston :  
Printed by order of the City Council, 1882.  
8vo, pp. 77.

This event [VIII. 41] was the occasion of a very full and minute address by the well-known antiquary, Mr. William H. Whitmore, who, by way of preparation, entered diligently upon the study of the history of this old and famous building, now happily saved from the vandalism of trade, and made an enduring monument of the colonial period. Still this monument, standing at the head of State Street, and well known to every passer-by, is the second building that has

occupied the site. The first was that of 1658, which was destroyed in 1711. In 1713 it was rebuilt, the style indicating the period of Queen Anne. Mr. Whitmore has laid the public under debt by his careful researches into the history of the Old State-House. The address is accompanied by remarks by Mayor Green and others.

THE MOHEGAN LAND CONTROVERSY.

By E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL.D.  
8vo, pp. 21.

The tract occupied by the Mohegan Indians embraced the present towns of Norwich, Franklin, Sprague, Barroh, Lisbon, and parts of Griswold and Preston. This was the land of the Chief Uncas, which in time, through the bad management of the Indians and the cunning of the whites, was alienated, and finally resulted in the removal of the tribe to the lands of the Oneidas, in New York. The story is told with considerable detail, but there is little in the record that reflects much credit upon the justice of the whites, who in New England, as a rule, regarded the red man in the light of a natural enemy. We must object, however, to the statement that the Pilgrims in 1620 gave the name to the place now called Plymouth, which appears as "New Plymouth" in the map of Captain John Smith, the name having been given in 1616 by Prince Charles.

MAJOR NATHAN GOLD, OF THE OLD  
TOWN OF FAIRFIELD, CONN. A summary of  
his important public services in the colony of  
Connecticut. Delivered at Memorial Library,  
July 8, 1882, by WILLIAM A. BEERS. July,  
1882. Printed by request of citizens of Fair-  
field. 4to, pp. 24.

About two hundred years ago the Rev. Joseph Webb preached two sermons upon the death of Major Gold, "one of the pious magistrates of Connecticut Colony," in neither of which is there the slightest reference to the said Major; but Mr. Beers has made ample compensation for this oversight, and in his well-written address shows his relation to history, indicating that he was the foremost man in his town and a leading figure in Connecticut during the latter half of the seventeenth century, among other things exciting Leisler to hold to his disastrous course in New York.

THE YEAR-BOOK OF THE CITY OF  
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. 8vo, pp.  
380. 1881.

This volume is filled with many signs of municipal prosperity, the city being under the mayoralty of the Hon. William A. Courtenay. It



shows, among other things, that the taxable values have advanced from \$20,796,398 in 1879 to \$22,427,057 in 1881. The city debt in 1849 was \$388,232.54. In 1855 it was \$3,549,927.54. In 1870 it stood at \$5,241,709.77. A further liability of two millions was authorized, but only a small portion was incurred, and, in accordance with the advice of Mayor Courtenay, the Legislature modified the city charter so as to prevent the accumulation of further indebtedness. The various departments appear to be well organized, and the city is evidently making headway, notwithstanding the embarrassments resulting from the war.

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FLY-FISHING IN MAINE LAKES; OR, CAMP-LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS. By CHARLES W. STEVENS. 16mo, pp. 201. Boston: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 1881.

In sixteen chapters Mr. Stevens gives us many sketches of some of his fishing experiences in the Maine woods and lakes. The chapters are records of separate adventures. Thus the book is not an artistic work, so to speak, having continuous treatment and interest; it is a series of pictures—some of them, we must say, rather inadequate—of the various fishing grounds in a State already distinguished as a tourists' and anglers' resort. The region described is that of the Richardson and Rangeley lakes, and the head waters of the Androscoggin, the best piece of writing in the book being the description of the Pormachenee Lake. Altogether it is a pleasant addition to the goodly library of anglers' books.

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CHICAGO BAR ASSOCIATION LECTURES. Part one. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY, 1882, pp. 104.

This issue contains (I.) "Recollections of Early Chicago and the Illinois Bar," by the Hon. Isaac Arnold; (II.) "Recollections of the Bench and Bar of Central Illinois," by the Hon. James B. Conkling; (III.) "The Lawyer as a Pioneer," by the Hon. Thomas Hoyne—all interesting and valuable productions.

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TRANSACTIONS OF THE NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, 1881-82. Editor, ALEXIS A. JULIEN. Published for the Academy.

The paper of the most interest to our readers is that by Professor Newberry on "The Ancient Civilizations of America," though the entire contents of this issue are attractive and most valuable. The Academy is doing a real work and deserves the support of scientific and scholarly men.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. Third Annual Report of the Executive Committee, and First Annual Report of the Committee on the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1881-82. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, Boston, May 20, 1882. Cambridge: JOHN WILSON & SON, University Press, 1882, Svo, pp. 56.

The Report, among other things, gives a foretaste of Mr. Bandalier's Report on "Cho-lu-lu." It is stated that Mr. Bandalier is now investigating the Pueblos, and that Mr. Ayme is engaged in Yucatan. The success of the Society in recovering the famous temple of Assos is regarded as the main achievement of the year.

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EARLY CHICAGO REMINISCENCES. By CHARLES CLEAVER, ESQ. Revised from the Chicago Tribune. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY, 1882, 12mo, pp. 52.

WINTER IN THE WEST: LETTERS DESCRIPTIVE OF CHICAGO AND VICINITY, IN 1833-4. By CHARLES FENNO HOFFMAN. Reprint, with the original and new Notes. Chicago: Fergus Printing Company, 1882, 12mo, pp. 64.

These two pieces form numbers 19 and 20 of the Fergus Historical Series, now being brought out in a neat and inexpensive form, and presenting a good opportunity for collectors.

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THE ROMANCE OF HISTORY IN "THE BLACK COUNTY," AND THE ROMANCE OF WAR IN THE CAREER OF GENERAL ROBERT SMALLS, "THE HERO PLANTER." By CHARLES COWLEY, Lowell, Mass., 1882. Svo, pp. 12.

This very interesting *brochure* is by the author of "Leaves from a Lawyer's Life Afloat and Ashore," and worthy of careful preservation, though few, perhaps, would gather its scope from the title.

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MISCELLANEOUS, LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, AND HISTORICAL NOTES, QUERIES, AND ANSWERS, FOR TEACHERS, PUPILS, PRACTICAL AND PROFESSIONAL MEN. N. B. WEBSTER, Norfolk, Va. S. C. and L. M. GOULD, Manchester, N. H. Svo, pp. 16, Vol. I., No. 1.

If carried out this publication will prove useful and entertaining.

THE TITUS FAMILY IN AMERICA.

Three generations. By the Rev. ANSON G. TITUS, Jr., Weymouth, Mass.

This is an interesting reprint from the *Register* of the New England Society, tracing the family from the first of the name in America, Robert Titus, born in Hertfordshire, England, in the year 1600.

THE WAR OF 1886 BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co., 1882. 12mo, pp. 25.

A review of this piece would anticipate matters, and we therefore turn over the warning or jest, according as the anonymous author may regard it, to politicians who think that bluster is equivalent to defence.

OHIO: A SKETCH OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS. By JOHN SHORT, Ph.D., Professor in the State University, Columbus. A. H. SMYTHE, publisher, 1882. 16mo, pp. 56.

This is a very interesting and able review, extending from the period of La Salle down to the present time.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF GREENE TOWNSHIP, HAMILTON COUNTY, OHIO. Delivered by C. REEMELIN, before the twenty-third annual festival of the Greene Township Harvest Home Association, August 31, 1882. Cincinnati: ROBERT CLARKE & Co., 1882. 8vo, pp. 33.

NEWLY DISCOVERED FOURTH OF JULY ORATION, by the illustrious orator and statesman, DANIEL WEBSTER, delivered at Fryeburg, Me., in the year 1802, and now for the first time given to the public. Boston, Mass.: A. WILLIAMS & Co., 1882. pp. 16.

CIRCULARS OF INFORMATION OF THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION. No. 1. 1882. The Inception, Organization, and Management of Training Schools for Nurses. 8vo, pp. 28. Washington: GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, 1882.

THE ANNALS OF FORT MACKINAC. By DWIGHT H. KELTON, Lieutenant U. S. Army. Chicago: FERGUS PRINTING COMPANY, 1882. 16mo, pp. 111.

THE LAW OF NEW JERSEY IN RELATION TO PUBLIC BRIDGES. As contained in the Statutes and laid down by the Courts of the State. By WILLIAM NELSON, Paterson, New Jersey, 1882, 8vo, pp. 43.

MONEY AND ITS SUBSTITUTES. By HORACE WHITE. New York Society for Political Education, 4 Morton Street, 1882, 12mo, pp. 31.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF LICKING COUNTY, Ohio. By ISAAC SMUCKER. 8vo, pp. 80. Newark, Ohio.

A SKETCH OF CHARLES COWLEY. By D. A. SULLIVAN. Lowell: Printed by the author, 1882. 16mo, pp. 60.

PAMPHLETS.

MEMORIAL OF THE LIVES AND SERVICES OF JAMES PITTS AND HIS SONS, JOHN, SAMUEL, AND LENDALL, during the American Revolution, 1760-1780. With Genealogical and Historical Appendix. By DANIEL GOODWIN, Jr. 8vo, pp. 63. Printed for Family and Private Use. Chicago, 1882.

REASONS FOR THE CENTENNIAL AT WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, NEWBURGH, N. Y. Prepared by J. T. Headley. At the Request of the Trustees. 8vo, pp. 16. Newburg, 1881.

THE BOOKS OF CHILAN BALAM. The Prophetic and Historic Records of the Mayas of Yucatan. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, M.D. 8vo, pp. 19. Philadelphia: EDWARD STERN & Co., 1882.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN. Twenty-eighth Annual Report. Submitted January 3, 1882. 8vo, pp. 42.

THE SABIN FAMILY OF AMERICA. The four earliest generations. By Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. 8vo, pp. 12. Weymouth, Mass., 1882.

BULLETIN OF THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. 8vo, pp. 60. January, 1882.





*Lucas Varick*

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## COLONEL VARICK AND ARNOLD'S TREASON

THERE are still living a few old New Yorkers who well remember Colonel Richard Varick, an early mayor of the city, and before that one of Washington's military secretaries. His full-length portrait hanging in the reception hall of the Bible Society, of which he was once president, bears out the traditional recollection of his appearance as a man of commanding stature, with a strong and kindly face and the most courteous ways. He was a type of the solid Dutch-American of post-Revolutionary society, who took pride in the new political life here, and settling down as a good citizen, helped along the city's progress by busy and orderly methods, filling public stations, and, in later years, quietly devoting himself to social and benevolent projects. His stock, so far as he was a benefactor, at least, has happily not run out with us, as one may see in many evidences of both moderate and princely liberality since his day.

With Varick's name are associated certain hitherto unchronicled episodes of Arnold's treason; and it is to these, as being of special historical interest, that the present paper is, in the main, devoted. The colonel's long and useful career—and a further biographical notice will be made in the closing pages—was varied in his early and military days with a novel and all but tragic experience. If it is an old topic, the Hudson "Melodrama" of 1780—a very threadbare topic indeed—all the more reason for weaving into it some new threads. For once, too, the luckless André is out of the scene, itself a new feature, and we are left to contemplate the arch-traitor within his own sinister environment. There are some things both curious and interesting among these additional incidents, if they are not also valuable as furnishing clues, or reconciling matters which have never been satisfactorily explained.

As private secretary to General Schuyler, and then mustering officer in the Northern Department, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, Varick was thrown in contact with, and had come to admire Arnold as an officer of uncommon spirit and courage in the field, and presumably devoted to the

cause. When the latter assumed the command of West Point in July, 1780, he invited the colonel to join his family as aid and secretary, naming, among other inducements for his acceptance, the fact that Mrs. Arnold was about to join him at his headquarters. Cheerfully accepting the invitation, Varick reported for duty on August 13th, and a month later, or September 15th, the general's wife arrived from Philadelphia. Arnold's military family, or the party which messed at his own table at the Robinson House, nearly opposite West Point, which he had made his headquarters, thus consisted of himself, Mrs. Arnold, Colonel Varick, and Major David S. Franks, who had been an aid to the general for some time, having left Canada to join the American army, and thereby incurring the displeasure of his father and the loss of property. Among those who dined as guests more frequently than others at Arnold's board were his former Quebec comrade, Colonel John Lamb, commanding the batteries at West Point, and Doctor William Eustis, of Boston, surgeon of Knox's old artillery regiment, who signs himself, in November, 1780, as "Hospital Physician, Robinson House." With the charming Mrs. Arnold, her excellent cook and *cuisine*, and the officers vieing with each other in their attentions and essays at witty entertainment, we may imagine that camp life at that particular spot reminded none present either of Valley Forge or the Morristown huts. Far from the minds of all save one was the suspicion that they were drinking poisoned and well-nigh fatal cups.

During the month of September the even temper of the "family" at the Robinson House was occasionally ruffled by the presence of a visitor in the person of Joshua Hett Smith, for whom Colonel Varick for one could not conceal his dislike. This was the Smith so much talked about at the time and since as the supposed associate with Arnold in his conspiracy, and the agent whose convenient hospitality brought André to his fate. He lived at Haverstraw, some nineteen miles below West Point; had been ostensibly a true friend of the American cause; had furnished the preceding West Point commander, General Robert Howe, with information of the enemy's movements, and was now on the same ground developing a growing intimacy with Arnold. But he was one of the marked and doubtful Smiths, that is to say, a brother of the well-known Judge William Smith, of New York, who, from being an avowed Whig, had lapsed into a Loyalist, and cast his fortunes with the enemy in the city. Denounced and proscribed by the patriotic party in the State, a certain suspicion attached also to his two brothers, Joshua and Thomas, who still remained on their estates as good citizens, under American protection. Whatever may have been Joshua Smith's real sentiments, it would appear that he was not very gen-

erally suspected, and that those who avoided him were influenced largely by the circumstance of his brothers' defection and his own somewhat questionable principles. That Varick should mistrust him was natural. He had received his political education as a student and business partner in the law office of John Morin Scott, in New York, whose voice and pen had been powerful in shaping opinion toward opposition and rebellion. No one could come from his training anything less than a Son of Liberty of the most radical type. Varick was of the Scott and George Clinton school—a "very staunch Whig" he was once significantly called—and all dark hints respecting Joshua H. Smith, coupled with the supposed inherent loyal bias of the Smiths as a family, found in him a receptive disposition. It will be seen that certain conversations at Arnold's table proved that Smith's patriotism was not of that whole-souled character which the colonel delighted in, and give us a glimpse of some of the cat-like methods the traitor himself was pursuing within our lines.

The discovery of Arnold's treachery and his escape to the enemy on September 25th, most effectually broke up the happy establishment at the Robinson House. The head was gone; Mrs. Arnold, as represented by all who saw her, fell off into an intermittent condition of swoon and delirium; the two aids, Varick and Franks, were quietly directed by the commander-in-chief, through Colonel Meade, of his staff, to consider themselves placed under arrest. The same night Smith was dragged out of his bed and hurried like a criminal into Washington's presence. The transformation was startling and complete. Then came the trials of André and Smith, and, later, a third court, whose proceedings were never published, and which brings us to the new episodes of the treason referred to.

Although the arrest of Colonel Varick and Major Franks was a mere formality, not to be followed by court-martial, and no one acquainted with them suspected complicity on their part in Arnold's schemes, they were too jealous of their honor and reputation as faithful officers not to demand an investigation of their conduct while in Arnold's family. Varick was especially so, his letters to Washington asking for a court of inquiry being very earnest and urgent. The appeal was successful, and on November 2, 1780, a court met at West Point, composed of Colonel Van Schaick, of New York, President, and Lieutenant-Colonels Cobb, of Massachusetts, and Dearborn, of New Hampshire, Major Reid, of Hazen's regiment, and Captain Cox, of New Jersey, members. Necessarily the proceedings were of an *ex-parte* character, consisting of affidavits of prominent officers testifying their firm belief in the innocence and integrity of the two aids, and their own representations of their conduct and conversations at

Arnold's headquarters. As they and their friends expected, the case was clear and conclusive in their favor. Colonel Meade, among others, declared that, sensible of their questionable position after Arnold's flight, both Varick and Franks willingly gave up the keys to their chests and begged an immediate and thorough search of their papers and effects. Colonel Harrison, Washington's secretary, and General Knox also expressed the utmost confidence in them, the latter's deposition, sworn to before General Greene, being sufficiently important to reproduce here in full, as follows :

"In justice to the said Colo. Varick, I think myself bound to say that on the Discovery of Arnold's Treachery, there was not a single circumstance to induce a suspicion that either he or Major David Franks was knowing or privy to the Perfidy or Flight of Arnold; That Colo. Varick and Major Franks gave ready and decided answers to such questions respecting Arnold, as were asked them and willingly produced all papers belonging to him that were in their possession or that they could find; a particular instance of which was exhibited by Colo. Varick two days after the first discovery: By a certain research in a trunk where Arnold's clothes were deposited, he found the Plans and Profiles of each work at West Point in a separate paper, which he instantly brought to His Excellency Gen'l Washington. It was until that time supposed that Arnold had carried off these Papers with him.

"Also, that I frequently examined the Papers detected upon Major André, all of which were written in Arnold's own hand; and that nothing appeared upon Major André's Trial before the General Officers of the Army, of whom I was one, to prove that he had ever been at Robinson's House, but he declared that the meeting at Smith's House was his first personal communication with Arnold.

"H. KNOX,  
Brig. Gen'l Artillery."

But the most interesting part of the proceedings were the "interrogatories" and "answers" which Varick and Franks put to and received from each other, and a few other officers who frequented the Robinson House, and which, besides containing information of value, reveal some lively scenes at Arnold's table. We give material portions of the record as we find it in Varick's own hand, preserving the original form of question and answer. The first point is in regard to Smith's visits to headquarters, when Major Franks made the following replies to the colonel's interrogatories :

*Question.*—"Did I, or did I not inform you before, and how long before Arnold's desertion, that I had often conversed with him on the subject of his intimacy with Smith, and that I had begged him to discontinue it from a regard to his own reputation in the State, and what were his replies as then recited by me to you?"

*Answer.*—"You did inform me that you warned Arnold against associating with Smith as you mentioned, and that he assured you that he would not put it in Smith's power to hurt him or his Country."



*Question.*—“Did or did not Smith often come to Arnold's Quarters, and whether before or after Mrs. Arnold arrived, and how long after? and did I not testify my hearty dislike to his visits, and on what account? and did or did I not often and very soon after joining Arnold, and afterward on all occasions when Smith's name was mentioned, freely and with apparent design, express my opinion of his moral and political character both before Arnold and Mrs. Arnold, and what was it?”

*Answer.*—“He came to the house after Mrs. Arnold arrived twice to my knowledge, and never before. The first time was the next day after I came from Philadelphia, when he stayed two nights, and the other when he dined with us on his way to Fishkill on the 23d September. You always expressed your dislike at his visits to our family, as you said you knew him to be a very great liar, and thought him an enemy to this Country hid under the Masque of Friendship. You reprobated him, and often with apparent design declared freely your sentiments of him before Arnold.”

*Question.*—“Did or did I not inform you, and at what time, that on the night of the 17th, when Joshua Smith and his wife had come to visit Mrs. Arnold, I had a warm political dispute with him, and that I had affronted him, and the reasons for my so doing?”

*Answer.*—“On my return from Peekskill on the 18th, when I had accompanied Arnold to meet his Excellency on his way to Hartford, you told me you had affronted Jo. Smith the preceeding night in a political conversation, for his asserting that America might have made an honorable peace with Great Britain when the Commissioners came out in 1778; and the same day Mrs. Arnold told me of the dispute of the preceeding evening, and added that ‘Colo. Varick was in her opinion a very warm and staunch whig.’”

More satisfactory, however, are the answers given by Varick on the same points when Franks examined him in his own behalf. Thus, by the major:

*Question.*—“What was my opinion of Mr. Joshua H. Smith's character and conduct, and of his visits at Arnold's Quarters? and did not any and what quarrel take place between you and me and Arnold and Smith? Pray inform the court of the whole.”

*Answer.*—“When I first joined Arnold's family he received a letter of the 13th August from Smith which gave occasion to my speaking freely and unfavorably of Smith's moral and Political character. Arnold and yourself thought well of him as a man, but I soon prevailed on you to think

him a Lyar and a Rascal ; and you ever after spoke of him in a manner his real Character merited, and was always disgusted at his visits, the first of which took place I think on the 16th September, the day after Mrs. Arnold's arrival.

“ On the 23d September he came to Arnold's Quarters and dined with us —my unfavorable opinion of his moral and political character, and his usual and unparalleled impertinence and forwardness, and General Arnold's Countenancing him (notwithstanding my advice and frequent solicitations to the Contrary) fixed a resolution in me to affront him before Arnold the first opportunity. A trifling one offered at Table. I embraced it with warmth ; a very high dispute took place in which you became a volunteer with me. Arnold opposed you and often addressed to you with warmth answers to my observations, and I reply'd to his answers, addressing myself to Smith. You as well as myself were cavalier with Smith till Mrs. Arnold (who also thought ill of Smith) observing her Husband in a passion, beg'd us to drop the matter. I soon quitted the Table and went to my room which was then the office.

“ After dinner, Smith went off and Arnold came into the office and took you to task in very illiberal Language for affronting Smith. He lashed me over your Back without addressing himself to me—he declared that *if he asked the Devil to dine with him the Gentlemen of his Family should be civil to him*. You told him that if Smith had not been at his Table you would have sent the Bottle at his head and would thereafter treat him as a Rascal. I then found it necessary to do you as well as myself Justice, by taking the Blame of affronting Smith on myself. You thereupon declared to Arnold that you had of late observed that he viewed every part of your Conduct with an eye of Prejudice and beg'd him to discharge you from his Family. You went out of the room in a passion and to New Burgh on Business from which you did not return till the 24th.

“ The dispute between Arnold and myself continued very high. I cursed Smith as a —— Rascal, a scoundrel and a Spy, and said that my reason for affronting him was that I thought him so. I also told Arnold that my advice to him had proceeded from a Regard to his Reputation which he repeatedly and confidentially told me he wished should stand well in this State, and which I had very often told him would suffer by an improper Intimacy with Smith. I further told him that Smith's Insolence to you and his ungentlemanlike Conduct to Mrs. Arnold, in speaking impertinently to you before her in a Language she did not understand, justified your treating Smith as you did and worse, and also merited his resentment instead of Countenance. Arnold then told me that he was always willing to be ad-

vised by the Gentlemen of his Family, but by —— would not be dictated to by them ; that he thought he possessed as much prudence as the Gentlemen of his Family. Some other words ensued till I had occasion to leave him to dispatch an Express, and when I returned he had left the office.

“ In the evening I received a Letter of the 19th from Lt. Colo. Benson, of Governor Clinton's Family, in answer to one of mine of the 24th August, enquiring of Smith's real Political Character and the truth of some information he had given Arnold and which I thought false. The answer contained an opinion of Smith's character by no means favorable to him. I showed it to Arnold and then told him that I considered his past Conduct and Language to me as unwarrantable and that I thought he did not place that Confidence in my repeated friendly assurance and advice which I had a right to expect and which was necessary to be put in a person acting in my capacity, and that I could not act longer with Propriety. He gave me assurances of his full confidence in me, of a conviction of the Rectitude of my conduct, of Smith's being a Rascal, and of his error in treating me with such cavalier Language, and that he would never go to Smith's House again, or be seen with him but in company. All which I related to you the 24th on your return from New Burgh.”

Colonel Lamb, it appears, dined at Arnold's on the occasion of this breezy encounter, and tells us what the “ trifling ” incident was that unloosed Varick's ire. Though the subject was *oil*, it seems not to have been of that quality which usually exerts a soothing influence upon troubled waters. It was something more inflammable, as Lamb's reply to one of Varick's questions shows :

*Answer.*— . . . “ When we were at Dinner at Saturday the 23d September there happened to be a scarcity of Butter at the Table. On Mrs. Arnold's calling for more Butter she was informed by the servant that there was no more. Arnold immediately said, ‘ Bless me, I had forgotten the oil I bought in Philadelphia ; it will do very well with salt fish, ’ which was one of the dishes. The oil was produced, and on Arnold's saying it cost Eighty Dollars, Smith replied Eighty *Pence*, that a Dollar was really no more than a penny, upon which you said with some warmth, either, ‘ You are mistaken, ’ or, ‘ That is not true, Mr. Smith, ’ I do not particularly recollect which. This you said in such a tone of voice as convinced me you was determined to affront him. A great deal was said on the subject between you and Smith. From some expression which Smith dropped Major Franks became a party in the dispute which was growing very warm, when

Mrs. Arnold (who had observed that Arnold was getting very angry) interposed and begged that the dispute might be dropped as it gave her great pain. After dinner you told me you was determined to affront Smith as often as he came to the House and drive him from it if possible."

Respecting Arnold's visits to Smith's, on the other hand, which we know from other sources were not infrequent, Varick replied as follows when questioned by Franks :

*Question.*—"How often did Arnold go down the River in his Barge, whilst I was at Robinson's House? Did I ever attend him and what were our opinions and Conduct on his going down and remaining absent the night of the 21st of September?"

*Answer.*—"He went down once on the 14th to meet Mrs. Arnold and returned on the 15th. After that he went down, but once, *declaredly* to consult with Major Leavenworth about the disposition of Colo. Meig's Regiment which had been ordered up by Genl. Greene and about the disposition of which Arnold told me he had received no advice from His Excellency or Genl. Greene. You did not accompany him anywhere to my knowledge except on the 17th to Peekskill to meet His Excellency. I had said so much against Smith, that I did not expect he would ever go to Lodge at his House again. But when I was informed by you or Mrs. Arnold, on the 21st, that he was not to return that evening, I suggested to you that I supposed he was gone to Smith's, and that I considered Arnold's treatment of me in keeping up his Connexion with Smith, in opposition to the warning I had given him, as very ungenteel and that I was resolved to quit his Family. We did thereupon concert the Plan of preventing their further Intimacy by alarming Mrs. Arnold's Fears and asking her Influence against it, as she entertained and had declared to him before me an unfavorable opinion of Smith, both as a *Gentleman, and as a Man of Sincerity*; which we did, and she informed me afterwards that Arnold had made her fair promises not to countenance Smith at all.

"You did at the same time inform me that you could not account for his connexions with Smith—that you knew him to be an avaricious man and suspected he meant to open Trade with some person in New York under Sanction of his command, and by means of Flags and the unprincipaled Rascal Smith; that you were induced to suspect it from the Letter he wrote to Anderson in a Commercial stile as related to you by me. We thereupon pledged to each our word of Honor that if our suspicions should prove to be founded in fact we would instantly quit him."

Again, in the matter of Arnold's private speculations, his small dealings with sutlers, which Hamilton mentions, and his grasping ways, Varick and Franks have this to say, the latter replying to the former :

*Question.*—“ Did or did not Arnold declare that he had 10,000 rations due him since 1775, 1776, and 1777, for which he could not get an adequate Compensation and that he would in future draw all his rations ? ”

*Answer.*—“ He did frequently and that he would never leave his rations again in the hands of the Public.”

*Question.*—“ Did or did I not inform you on your arrival from Philadelphia with Mrs. Arnold, that Arnold had sent for a Capt. Robinson, a skipper, and asked him to sell some rum for him, and that I had prevented any intercourse between them by informing Arnold that Robinson was a Tory ? And did I not also inform you that he had bargained with Capt. Bard for the sale of three barrels of Pork and that I had prevailed on him to lay aside his intentions by representing to him that he would incur disgrace if he did sell any provisions, especially when that article was in such serious demand at the Post ? ”

*Answer.*—“ You informed me that Mr. Robinson had been spoken to by Arnold, and that you had prevented his employing him to sell rum ; but do not recollect mentioning anything of Mr. Bard or the Pork. You did tell me that you had prevailed on him to decline selling stores as you mention.”

The next set of interrogatories brings us to the last scene of all—the discovery, the flight, the anxiety of all concerned, and especially the bewilderment at the Robinson House. That day's experiences for themselves, as related by the two officers so painfully interested, certainly make up a fresh chapter in the history of Arnold's treason. We have here a story direct from eye-witnesses, not in any way changing the accepted accounts, but throwing some broad side-lights on the dark event. With Varick on the stand, Franks interrogates :

*Question.*—“ What was Arnold's as well as my Conduct and Deportment on the Day of his Desertion, and had you the slightest reason to think that I had been or was Party or Privy to any of his villainous practices and correspondence with the enemy, or to his flight ? Pray relate the whole of our Conduct on that day to your knowledge.”

*Answer.*—“ I was sick and a great part of the Time in my bed in the morning of his Flight. Before Breakfast he came into my room ; soon after,

I entered it and he asked me whether I had answered some Letters rec<sup>d</sup> from Lt. Colo. Jameson and Major Tallmadge, and whether I had written to Gov<sup>r</sup> Clinton inclosing copies of the letters that had passed between him and Colo. Beverly Robinson. I replied, 'No Sir, nor am I able to do it.' He took Tallmadge's Letter out of the office and said he would write to Tallmadge himself, and I never saw him after it but betook myself to my Bed. I think it was not an hour thereafter when you came to me and told me Arnold was gone to West Point; also a considerable time thereafter you came to the window of my room near my Bed and shoving it up hastily told me with a degree of apparent surprize that you believed Arnold was a villain or rascal, and added that you had heard a report that one Anderson was taken as a spy on the lines and that a Militia officer had brought a letter to Arnold and that he was enjoined secrecy by Arnold. I made some warm reply, but instantly reflecting that I was injuring a gentleman and Friend of high reputation in a tender point, I told you it was uncharitable and unwarrantable even to suppose it. You concurred in opinion with me and I lay down secure in the high idea I entertained of Arnold's integrity and Patriotism.

"Sometime in the course of the Day, I do not recollect when—think it was pretty soon after His Excellency arrived—Capt. Lt. Hubbell came into my room and in conversation told me he saw Arnold's Barge going down the River. But that circumstance made no impression on me. Not long after you mentioned your suspicions to me Mrs. Arnold called for me, and when I waited on her I found from her Language and conduct that she was in great distress and had lost her reason, but could not divine the cause. Some time before dinner (the hour I do not know, but I think just before His Excellency General Washington returned from West Point), Mrs. Arnold recovering her Reason in some measure, complained to me that she was left without a friend. I attempted to sooth her by saying that she had many Friends, enumerating you and myself and that General Arnold would be there soon. On my mentioning his name she replied in great agony, *Oh no, no! he is gone, gone forever!*

"I soon left the room, found His Excellency had returned, and that Arnold had not been at West Point, and then recollecting your Declaration while I lay in bed, and his unaccountable and long absence, and Captain Hogland having come with dispatches to His Excellency, and avoiding answers to my enquiries with respect to Anderson's being taken, I mentioned to you that I was very apprehensive of his having destroyed himself or gone off. In *very few* minutes after we mentioned our fears to Eustis in *Confidence* lest we might be deceived. We were anxious to advise the

Genl. of our suspicions but fearful of doing it in a direct manner, when Mrs. Arnold's request to see him to ask for relief soon furnished us with the opportunity, and I waited on His Excellency into her room accordingly. I soon after and just before dinner communicated my suspicions to Colo. Lamb in Confidence, and it was not until after Dinner that His Excellency communicated Arnold's Perfidy and Treachery to us.

“I never had any reason from any part of your Conduct before or that Day or since to suppose you were Party or Privy to any part of his Villainy or to his Flight. But your Language and Conduct on all occasions betrayed a very strong attachment to the Rights of our Country.”

Equally circumstantial was Franks' reply when questioned nearly to the same effect by Varick :

*Answer.*—“Arnold, I believe, did receive two letters by a militia officer, tho' I did not see them. You did not I am sure—you was sick in your room. Arnold did not come into it nor did you see him after breakfast that day. His conduct was that soon after he received the letters above mentioned he went up Stairs to his Lady. In about two minutes His Excellency General Washington's servant came to the door and informed me that His Excellency was nigh at hand. I went immediately up stairs and informed Arnold of it. He came down in great confusion, and ordering a horse to be saddled mounted him and told me to inform His Excellency that he was going to West Point and would return in about an hour. His Excellency came about half an hour after Arnold went off and after taking breakfast went to West Point. Soon after Mrs. Arnold's unhappy situation called us all to her assistance. Her alarms together with Arnold's precipitate departure gave me much uneasiness. I hoped to see him return soon and you and myself were about to send for him. An hour and a half or thereabouts after he was gone a report was spread about our quarters of a spy of the name of John Anderson being detected nigh our lines. On my hearing it I flew to you with indescribable agitation and told you I was sure Arnold was a Villain, but on further reflection and further Conversation we agreed that it was uncharitable, and that we were not warranted to think so, and that if any bad consequences were to ensue to Arnold from our suspicions, our characters would be ruined.

“Soon after His Excellency returned from West Point where he had been some considerable time, and during which Mrs. Arnold was in the most alarming distress of mind. You were frequently with her and informed me that she had complained that she had no friends, she was left alone, and on

your telling her that she had many friends (here enumerating yourself, me, and General Arnold)—on your mentioning him she exclaimed in an agony of grief, *Oh no, he is gone, gone forever!* This at last confirmed your and my suspicions which were communicated to Dr. Eustice immediately."

And, finally, Surgeon Eustis corroborates both when examined by Varick :

*Question.*—"What hour of the day on the 25th September last did Major Franks and I communicate to you our suspicions of Arnold's having joined the enemy, or destroyed himself? How long after he had left the house, and whether before or after his Excellency General Washington returned from West Point? and after what injunctions on you?"

*Answer.*—"I know not the hour; but soon after His Excellency returned from West Point. I came out of Mrs. Arnold's chamber with you and Major Frank. I asked you where General Arnold was gone, and beg'd you, for God's sake, to send for him, or the woman would die. You took me into my chamber and both Major Frank and yourself (after enjoining on me the most sacred secrecy) informed me of your suspicions that Arnold had gone to the enemy. On my asking if you had told it to General Washington, I think you told me it was a bare suspicion, and that you were afraid to lisp it to any creature living, lest proving untrue it should ruin your reputations forever. You afterwards informed that your suspicions were confirmed by Mrs. Arnold saying in her delirium that he (meaning her husband) was *gone forever.*"

That the two aids were not only relieved from all suspicion of complicity in the treason, but honorably commended by the court for their conspicuous fidelity, as was the case, would be readily inferred; but for most readers who have familiarized themselves with the subject, much of the interest of the extracts quoted doubtless lies in their bearing upon the *accomplices* in the conspiracy. Do they furnish any additional reasons for the belief that either Joshua Hett Smith or Mrs. Arnold were or were not in the traitor's secret? It is a disputed point in the case of each, and perhaps not of much consequence. As for Smith, Varick clearly regarded him as a dangerous party—just the man to be hand and glove with any treacherous scheme; but it is curious to note that upon Smith's trial, where a number of American officers appeared as witnesses—General Howe, Colonel Hay, and Colonel Lamb among them—he was given, on the whole, a favorable character as being friendly to America. His contemptuous allusion to the



“eighty *pence*,” or the worthlessness of Continental currency, and his advocacy of some plan of reconciliation like that offered in 1778 were suspicious, it is true; but have we anything more here than a corroboration of his published statements in his own defence, that he assisted Arnold only so far as he supposed him interested in bringing about such a reconciliation through the agency, on the British side, of Colonel Beverly Robinson? Smith never could have ventured mentioning the subject at Arnold’s table had they not already talked it over at his own. Had he been cognizant of the real plot, his mouth would have been sealed to anything like an unpatriotic utterance. He had become inoculated with the idea that Arnold was to be the means of bringing the war to a close by a grand political *coup* which would prove a boon to both sides. No sufficient proof has been produced to show that he was privy to the treason, while the Varick evidence strengthens the conviction that Arnold simply wheedled Smith into one scheme that he might use him more readily, and, without his knowledge, for another and a blacker one. Nor is it easy to accept the conclusion that Mrs. Arnold was involved in the plot, although we are confronted with the statement of Aaron Burr that she made a confession to this effect to Mrs. Prevost at Paramus, New Jersey, on her return from West Point to Philadelphia. If, as alleged, her distress and delirium on the day of the discovery were all feigned, as proof of innocence, she acted her part with signal skill and success, cleverly deceiving the attending surgeon and her acquaintances at headquarters. In truth, there was no need of feigning. Few women of Mrs. Arnold’s delicate nature could have placidly withstood the shock of the situation. To be hurriedly told of the sudden failure of the plot, the danger in which her husband stood, and told, too, perhaps, that the fascinating André, whom she had known, had been seized as a spy, would have been enough to unnerve the most masculine of wives. Her prostration, feigned or not, might have meant *guilt*, in which case it behooved her to play some other part. Is it likely, moreover, that if Mrs. Arnold was conscious of her deception, and was acting with the height of circumspection, she would have permitted herself to say to Varick that she had no friends, and that her husband had *gone forever*, when as yet his guilt had not been discovered, and his whereabouts or safety were uncertain? She never could have given a hint or clue as broad as that; but in her innocence it was the burden of her mind, and under great agitation she could lay it before her friend, the colonel, without reflecting upon its possible effect. Burr’s statement comes through three or more different channels, no two giving it alike, which throws a doubt over the terms of Mrs. Arnold’s original confession, to

whomsoever made. Arnold may be taken at his word where he writes to Washington that neither Varick nor Franks, nor Smith, nor, again, his wife were cognizant of his transactions, as this harmonizes with both fact and probability. It remains yet to bring out convincing evidence that there was more than one traitor—that one, Arnold. We believe the sum total of the hideous conspiracy on the American side to have been represented in himself in that desperate flight when pursued, as we must imagine, by a legion of fears, he dashed away from the Robinson House to his barge below, quite—*alone*.

The proceedings of the court of inquiry touch upon another point of interest, which may be briefly noticed, namely, the long, secret correspondence between Arnold and André, carried on over the signatures of "Gustavus" and "John Anderson." Their letters are stated to have been numerous and significant, but only two are known to have been preserved; at least, no more have been published. The extent of the correspondence while Arnold was at West Point is doubtless indicated in his private memorandum book which Varick discovered among his effects, and from which it appears that he wrote to André on June 7th, July 13th and 17th, in August once without date and again on the 30th, and on September 3d. We also know that he wrote again on September 15th, forwarding a duplicate of it on the 18th, which was probably the last he sent. Both Varick and Franks had heard of this correspondence. Speaking of Arnold's letters, the former, in reply to one of Franks' questions, says: "I never knew of his writing but that of the 3d September, which he informed me he had written to a friend of his in New York under fictitious characters and sent by a Mrs. Mary McCarthy of Quebec, who had Gov' Clinton's pass and a Flag from Arnold to go down the River to New York. I never saw the letter, nor did I know the fictitious characters until Arnold rec<sup>d</sup> Anderson's letter of the 7th Sep<sup>r</sup> to Col. Sheldon in consequence of Arnold's of the 3d Sep<sup>r</sup>. You was absent at the time and knew nothing of it until the morning after you returned from Philadelphia, when I communicated the correspondence to you. You thereupon told me you thought you remembered his corresponding to and receiving intelligence from a Person of that name. I then thought the correspondence was proper, in discharge of his duty and Commendable if he could procure intelligence in that way. I never was solicitous to know the real character or names of his Emissaries further than he chose to communicate them to me, as I thought it none of my business and improper to be known to any person. I do not recollect your seeing the Letters on the subject of that correspondence which passed

between Arnold and Col. Sheldon and Major Tallmadge, but all the public papers were open to your perusal, except one of the 6th Sep<sup>r</sup> sent to Arnold by his Excellency which, as it was delivered to me confidentially, I did not think myself at Liberty to shew you." Franks says: "I told you that I thought Arnold had corresponded with Anderson or some such name before from Philadelphia and had got intelligence of consequence from him."

The correspondence in question was probably destroyed by the parties at the time. Of the two letters extant, those from Arnold of August 30th and September 15th, the former, as we now ascertain for the first time from Varick's papers, never reached its destination, which accounts for its preservation. Both Sparks and Sargent print it on the supposition that André received it; but not so. It took a strange route. Sargent, in his "Life of André," states that it may have reached New York through a Mr. Heron, whom he describes as a Connecticut legislator, who was in reality a spy, and who after dining with Arnold on the 30th, went to Kingsbridge under a flag of truce, only to impart important information to the enemy. For this surprising statement, Sargent unfortunately gives no authority. The Varick papers, on the other hand, tell a different story. They furnish a deposition from Heron himself, to the effect that having applied to Arnold for a flag to go to the enemy's lines—on what business he fails to say—Arnold kept him waiting two hours, and then handed him a letter with the request that he would have it delivered at New York. Heron, who is vouched for by General Parsons "as a gentleman of unquestionable honor and integrity and an established friend of the country," goes on to say that certain circumstances, such as Arnold's anxiety that no one at headquarters should know about the letter, and the fact that it was addressed in a feigned hand, aroused his suspicions to such an extent that instead of delivering it at the lines he delivered it to General Parsons. Parsons opened it, and supposing that it referred to some mercantile speculations, concluded to consult the commander-in-chief privately in regard to its contents. He reached West Point as Washington was starting to meet Rochambeau, when it could not be conveniently mentioned; and in Parsons' hands the letter remained until Arnold was beyond reach, or, as Colonel Harrison writes, "It was left to the ripening of the horrid event to detect the unsuspected instrument." The letter is familiar, but as Colonel Varick attaches a key of his own in explanation of its true meaning, it is reproduced here with the references in brackets:

"August 30th, 1780.

"SIR: On the 24th inst. I received a note from you without date in answer to mine of the 7th July, also a letter from your house [*British Head Quarters. N. Y.*] of the 24th July, in answer to mine of the 15th with a note from B. [*Sir Henry Clinton*] of the 30th July, with an extract of a letter from

Mr. James Osborne of the 24th. I have paid particular attention to the contents of the several letters ; had they arrived earlier, you should have had my answer sooner. A variety of circumstances has prevented my writing you before—I expect to do it very fully in a few days and to procure you an interview with Mr. M——e [*Arnold*], when you will be able to settle your commercial plan, I hope agreeable to all parties. Mr. M——e [*Arnold*] assures me that he is still of opinion that his first proposal is by no means unreasonable and makes no doubt when he has a conference with you that you will close with it. He expects that when you meet that you be fully authorized from your house that the risques and profits of the copartnership may be fully and clearly understood. A speculation might at this time be easily made to some advantage with ready money [*the British army*], but there is not that quantity of goods [*provisions and stores*] at market [*West Point*] which your partner seems to suppose, and the number of speculators [*the main army at Tappan and Malcolm's levies at Haverstraw*] below I think will be against your making an immediate purchase [*an attack*]. I apprehend goods will be in greater plenty and much cheaper [*more provisions and less stores*] in the course of the season ; both dry and wet [*rum and flour*] are much wanted and in demand at this juncture. Some quantities are expected in this part of the country soon.

“ Mr. M——e [*Arnoid*] flatters himself that in the course of ten days he will have the pleasure of seeing you. He requests me to advise you that he has ordered a Draught on you for £300 which you will charge to the account of the *Tobacco*.

“ I am in behalf of Mr. M——e and Co., Sir, Your most obed. hum<sup>ble</sup> serv<sup>t</sup>

“ GUSTAVUS.”

How the letter of September 15th was preserved does not appear. Sparks does not give its source, while Sargent, as we infer from a foot-note, obtained his copy from a rare pamphlet printed by Rivington in New York, in 1780. In all probability it was the duplicate of the 18th which was committed to Colonel Robinson's care on board the *Vulture*, and which André must have left there on going ashore to meet Arnold. It was thus preserved and published with the Robinson letters.

Colonel Varick, to whose jealousy of a clean record and unsuspected character the disclosure of these Arnold *addenda* is due, was of pure Dutch descent. His father lived at Hackensack, New Jersey, where he was born on March 25, 1753. Making law his profession, he entered the office of John Morin Scott, in New York City, “ with whom,” says Varick, “ I served my law apprenticeship in 1772, 1773 and 1774, and who from friendship and personal confidence embarked me in professional business with him as soon as I attained the years of maturity and responsibility.” Scott he describes as “ one of the most able and eloquent counsellors of the New York bar.” The Revolutionary troubles coming on, he took up the sword, being appointed sixth Captain of McDougall's regiment on June 28, 1775. A day or two later, July 1st, Schuyler made him his Private Secretary, and when the General resigned in 1776, Congress appointed Varick, September 26th, Deputy Muster Master General of the Northern Department, giving him the rank, November 7th, of Lieutenant-Colonel. This office he held until Jan-

uary 12, 1780, when all the mustering officers of the department were discharged. Varick was then on the point of retiring to civil life, when he received Arnold's invitation to become his Secretary. Nor was he long off duty after the traitor's family was broken up, as he favorably impressed the Commander-in-Chief, who appointed him Recording Secretary under resolution of Congress in the spring of 1781, for the purpose of arranging his military correspondence for preservation; and this office he retained to the close of the war.

Resuming his law practice in 1784, Varick rose to influence, became Recorder of the city, Attorney-General of the State, and finally Mayor, which office he held for twelve years, from 1789 to 1800. His death occurred July 30, 1831, at his summer residence in Jersey City. The funeral services were held at the Cedar Street Presbyterian Church, New York, when the Rev. Cyrus Mason delivered the discourse. Judge James Kent, Colonel John Trumbull, Colonel Nicholas Fish, Colonel Aaron Ogden, and Messrs. John Pintard, W. W. Woolsey, Peter Jay, and L. Catlin, acted as pall-bearers, while among the public and private bodies in attendance were the City Corporation, Judges of the Courts, the American Bible Society, of which the deceased had been president for four years at the time of his death, the Cincinnati Society, and officers and students of Columbia College. The Colonel married Miss Maria Roosevelt, of New York, who survived him a number of years. They left no children.

H. P. JOHNSTON

NOTE.—The original papers upon which this article is founded are in the possession of the Mercantile Library, New York City.

From an obituary notice of Colonel Varick, we take the following extract: "Having passed through the war with high reputation as an officer and a patriot, he settled in this city in the practice of law and was successively appointed to the offices of Recorder and Mayor; the last of which he filled for a number of years, and performed its duties with great fidelity, energy, and ability. For many years he has been out of all public employment, both in civil and political life, and has devoted much of his time to the promotion, by all the means in his power, of the various objects of moral and religious improvement for which the period has been greatly distinguished. Almost all the charitable institutions in this city have his name enrolled among their numbers; and an examination of their books will show that he has been to them not merely an influential member, but a liberal benefactor."

Colonel Varick lived for some time on Broadway, just above Pine Street, and then built himself a house on Pine Street near Broadway. The present Varick Street takes its name from having been cut through the Colonel's property.

## THE PAWNEE INDIANS

### THEIR HABITS AND CUSTOMS

The two previous papers in *THE MAGAZINE* (April and November, 1880) presented, in as concise summary as the subject would admit, a sketch of the history, nearer relationships, and general traits and usages of this tribe. The following pages are now offered as a continuation of the last of these topics, and will conclude the series. Purposely but the merest reference has been admitted to one of the most interesting and valuable questions pertaining to this people, *i.e.*, their language. To every student of aboriginal philology it must remain a matter of sincere regret that the elaborate investigations now in progress under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution do not appear to contemplate any special study of the Pawnee group. At some future day it is hoped that a brief monograph illustrating the grammatical structure of the language, and including a moderate vocabulary, may be prepared for publication.

§ 7. *Mourning*.—The moment of death was marked by the rattle in the throat. Hence they had a belief that the seat of life was in that region. Another curious superstition was that a person would not bleed to death. Some of their doctors accordingly held that the flow of blood from a wound should never be staunched.

As soon as a person died, all members of the family broke into the most doleful lamentations. Women especially were extremely demonstrative, venting their grief at the highest pitch of the voice, wringing their hands, beating their breasts, dishevelling their hair and allowing it to hang unkempt over their faces, covering themselves entirely with their robes, together with many other expressions of sorrow.

Burial took place soon after death. The body was wrapped in a blanket or robe; with it were placed a few trinkets, and perhaps an article of value, as a bow or tomahawk; and the women bore it to the grave. The relatives and friends followed, howling and weeping. Sticks, or stones, if they were to be had, were piled upon the grave to prevent the body from being disinterred by wolves. I never knew them to deposit bodies above ground, as is usual with some tribes. A post curiously painted was usually placed at the grave. The devices on these posts were rude in conception and execution, and had a double purport. Part were designed to commemorate anything remarkable in the life or character of the deceased;

while others were expressions of a belief in his continual existence. To this end his spirit, winged, was represented as passing away to another world. Women remained mourning at the grave of a husband or child frequently most of the time for several days. When travelling they sometimes were exposed to great danger from prowling foes by lingering behind at the grave of a relative. Men were more quiet in their grief, expressing it by sitting in silence and covering their heads with robes. At the death of a favorite wife or child, their feelings were manifested in ways which sufficiently indicated their reality and intensity. In such cases they have been known in the depth of winter, with no clothing on the person other than the indispensable breech-clout, to follow the body to the grave and continue sitting there for hours, apparently insensible to the cold, their minds absorbed in overwhelming sorrow. Women continued for years to resort to the grave of a brother, husband, or child, to mourn. Seated beside the grave they would give utterance to their feelings in plaintive wailings—the only occasion when women ever attempted to sing—or in a sort of monologue, *talking to God* they termed it. Sometimes they also placed food at the grave, or if a man, a bow, for the use of the dead.

Forty years ago there was a usage that a widow should not marry for five moons after her husband's death, but of late years this has fallen into almost entire desuetude.

§ 8. *Religion*.—This is a very perplexing subject. Most of the Pawnees have only indistinct and confused conceptions in the matter. But few can be found who seem to have bestowed any special thought upon it, and the religious ideas which even these have, are, so far as may be judged by appearances, extremely unsatisfactory to themselves; and hence they are naturally disinclined to converse freely concerning them. I shall endeavor to give an accurate general statement of the body of their religious beliefs. Much of their system, as usually heard, has been manifestly borrowed, perhaps remotely, from the Christian religion. Every element that seemed really traceable to this source I have unsparingly eliminated.

There was one Supreme Being, *Ti'-ra-wa*. He was conceived of as dwelling above, and was addressed as Father; hence the frequent designation, *ā-ti'-ūs ti'-la-kit-ūk*, my father who is above. He was described as omnipresent (cf. the frequent expression *ā-ti'-ūs tā'-kaw-a*, my father dwells in (all) places), all-seeing and all-knowing. He controlled all things, all success being regarded as an expression of his favor, and all disappointment or failure as a betokening of his disapprobation. He was changeable like themselves. The weather was cold or disagreeable because he was bad, and pleasant because he was good. The thunder was his voice, the lightning

the flashing or sparkling of his fire. Though stoutly affirming that they loved him a great deal, they evidently feared him. It was very doubtful whether their conception of *Ti'-ra-wa* could rightfully be called a conception of a spiritual being at all. It was rather an indistinct being with certain human attributes indefinitely magnified.

Of a distinctively bad spirit they had no knowledge. The expression *kĩ-čá-ho'-ruks-u ti'-hu-rĩ-wa*, spirits are about or abound, was quite common; but these beings were conceived of as the shades or ghosts of certain persons returned after death to haunt and annoy people. By this use the term, *kĩ-ca-ho'-ruks-u*, came to be nearly synonymous with *bad*, or *evil spirits*. Mysterious noises and occurrences, especially such as happen in the night, were attributed to their agency. Sometimes when shooting at an enemy or at game they unaccountably missed, they would say that some of these shades had mischievously deflected the missile from its course.

One being, originally of this class, deserves particular mention, *Pa-ho-kat'-au-ǎ*. Forty years ago their account of this being was as follows: Long ago *Pa-ho-kat'-au-ǎ*, Kneeprint by the Water (a name derived from his having once left the print of his knee in the sand beside a stream where he had hurriedly kneeled to drink), was a great war-chief. During life he greatly distinguished himself in warring against the Dakotas. On his last expedition he was killed and his body not recovered. Being left on the prairie, birds of prey devoured it and in their ordure it was scattered irretrievably over the country. From that point the accounts of him were conflicting. Sometimes his roaming spirit was spoken of as being implacably hostile, because of the abandoning of his body, as constantly inciting the Dakotas and aiding them against his kinsmen. But more usually he was represented as a sort of guardian spirit of his tribe, exerting himself incessantly in their behalf, advising measures, and forwarding designs against their hereditary enemies, foretelling how many they should kill and how many they should themselves lose. His method of communicating intelligence was by dreams. This is the only instance I ever discovered in their system of any thing like apotheosis.

A frequent phase of semi-religious belief was a form of supernaturalism. The heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, and morning star, specifically, and the smaller in an indefinite way, were conceived of as endowed with superhuman potencies, and to some extent were objects of reverence if not of actual worship. Sickness, misfortune, and personal mishaps of various kinds were often spoken of as attributable to their incurred ill-will. So also animals, as the buffalo, bear, wolf, beaver, etc., were vested with supernatural powers. What these special attributes of the buffalo were was difficult to determine.



The idea of its superstitious exaltation may have originated in the buffalo being to them so necessary as a means of subsistence. The bear (the cinnamon variety) was venerated as possessing superior intelligence (a belief prevalent among many tribes), certain magical powers and great tenacity of life. A current idea was that to kill a bear it should be wounded not in a vital part, but in one of its extremities. One of the magical powers ascribed to it was that it could spit different colored earths at its assailants. Finally, trees and some plants were believed to be tenanted by existences which could to a limited extent exert influences over human affairs.

In worship *Ti'-ra-wa* alone was always recognized. Other beings were recognized or not, as suited the disposition of the worshipper. The simplest form was prayer. Any one might thus address *Ti'-ra-wa*, and oftentimes there was much sincerity in their devotional acts. Sacrifice might also be made privately, by setting apart a portion of food at each meal, or by offering an object in various ways, as burning it, depositing it in a certain spot, etc. Smoking in some sense was a religious act, the first whiff always being offered to *Ti'-ra-wa*. The more obtrusive feature of their religion was their public devotions. These assumed various forms according to the occasion or motive that prompted them, as a dance, a sacrifice, a feast, or, as was more usual, all these combined. The more important dances were the bear-dance, buffalo-dance, dog-dance, sun-dance, war-dance, and pipe-dance. The first was celebrated by night, dancing and feasting alternately till dawn. It has of late years lost much of its original significance, as nothing other than some of the costumes and postures now remain that are specially suggestive of the bear. The second was of the nature of a thanksgiving for a successful hunt, and sometimes continued for several days, till the capacity and endurance of the participants was completely exhausted. The dog-dance was had at night. After the preliminaries of smoking, dancing, speech-making, and praying, perhaps about midnight, the boiled dog was eaten. The kettle containing this had been boiling over the fire all the while, and when the flesh had become so disintegrated as to fall to pieces all crowded about the fire and helped themselves, picking the bits of meat from the seething mass with their fingers and swallowing them. After the meat was all eaten, the head of an old man, apparently attending for this purpose, was for a moment thrust into the broth. On withdrawing him each one present set about dipping a wisp of fine switches into the broth and beating his breast and shoulders. This continued for some time, after which dancing, speech-making, etc., were resumed till morning.

The sun-dance, pipe-dance, and war-dance were very elaborate in detail, no ceremony being omitted that would add to their impressiveness.

By strange contradiction fasting for one, two, or even three days was sometimes practised in their celebration. The pipe-dance has already been mentioned, and the explanation now given by the Pawnees of its origin and significance is in exact accord with the statement there made. It not unfrequently closed with a begging dance, the band that had the dance *dancing*, as they expressed it, *before* one of the other bands. The band thus entertained acknowledged the compliment by presenting ponies. Each donor galloped up in front of the beggars caparisoned at his best, made a speech in laudation of himself and his exploits, every sentence of which was duly applauded, dismounted and left his steed in their hands. The ponies given on these occasions, however, were usually by no means the best of the herd.

Many features of these dances, especially if celebrated in the open air, were extremely picturesque. The fine display of agile, athletic physique, the gaudy and unique costumes, the intricate movements, the absorbing earnestness, and the mystical purport of much of the services made them very striking. An artist might lay all students of aboriginal history under lasting obligation by portraying from life some of these scenes.

In all dances, feasts, and sacrifices, old men acted as priests. Any old men, particularly those who had been distinguished in their early days, when invited to attend became thereby officiating priests. By such services they made requital for their entertainment.

One form of sacrifice formerly practised in the tribe, or rather in one band, for the other bands emphatically disclaimed any share in the barbarous rite, stood apart in unhappy prominence. This was the offering of human sacrifices (captives); not burning them as an expression of embittered revenge, but sacrificing them as a religious ordinance. What the origin of this terrible practice was the Pawnees could never explain, and I am inclined to regard it as a fortuitous element in their system. The rite was confined to the *Ski'-di* band, and was no doubt of long standing; yet the Arikaras, who are nearly related to the *Ski'-di*, and have always maintained intercourse with them, never have admitted the practice; and to all appearance the denial of the other bands was supported by fact. The sacrifice was made to the morning star, *o-pir'-i-kut*, which, with the *Ski'-di* especially, was an object of superstitious veneration. It was offered about corn-planting time, and the design of the bloody ordeal was to conciliate that being and secure a good crop. Hence, it has been supposed that the morning star was regarded by them as presiding over agriculture, but this was a mistake. They sacrificed to that star simply because they feared it, imagining that it exerted malign influence if not well disposed. It has also

been stated that the sacrifice was made annually. This, too, was an error. It was made only when special occurrences were interpreted as calling for it. The victim was usually a girl or young woman taken from their enemies. The more beautiful the unfortunate was, the more acceptable the offering. When it had been determined in a council of the band to make the sacrifice, the person was selected, if possible, some months beforehand and placed in charge of the doctors, who treated her with the utmost kindness. She was fed plentifully that she might become fleshy, and kept in entire ignorance of her impending doom. During this time she was made to eat alone, lest having by chance eaten with any one of the band, she would by the law of hospitality become that person's guest, and he be bound to protect her. On the morning of the day finally fixed for the ordeal, she was led from lodge to lodge throughout the village, begging wood and paint, not knowing that these articles were for her own immolation. Whenever a stick of wood or portion of red or black paint was given her, it was taken by the doctors attending, and sent to the spot selected for the final rite. A sufficient quantity of these materials having been collected, the ceremony was begun by a solemn conclave of all the doctors. Smoking the great medicine pipe, displaying the contents of the medicine bundle, dancing, praying, etc., were all had and repeated at different stages of the proceeding. A framework of two posts, about four and a half feet apart, was set in the ground, and to them two horizontal cross-pieces, at a height of two and seven feet, were firmly fastened. Between the posts a slow fire was built. At nightfall the victim was disrobed, one half of her person painted black, the other red, and fastened with thongs, her right wrist and ankle to one upright, her left ankle and wrist to the other. A throng of boys crowding round, each provided with a small bow and a bundle of halms of the tall joint-grass (*Tripsacum dactyloides*), began shooting these joints as arrows at the breast and body of the unfortunate sufferer. The sharpened points of the shafts penetrated the skin and fatty substance beneath and there remained, the oily matter oozing out and trickling from the numerous exposed extremities into the fire below. These exposed ends sometimes took fire and burned like tiny torches from the body of the writhing victim. After this sickening sight had continued sufficiently long, an old man previously appointed discharged an arrow at the heart of the unfortunate, and freed her from farther torture. The doctors forthwith cut open the chest, took out the heart and burned it. The smoke rising from the fire in which it was burning was supposed to possess wonderful virtues, and implements of war, hunting, and agriculture were passed through it to insure success in their use. The flesh was hacked from the body, buried in the corn patches,

thrown to the dogs, or disposed of in any way that caprice might direct. The skeleton was allowed to remain in position till, loosened by decay, it fell to the ground.

Such was this revolting transaction. The only published accounts I am acquainted with are in "Long's Expedition" and in Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes," both evidently from hearsay. The latter gives the account twice (vol. iv., p. 50, and vol. v., p. 77), with slight variations. In the last place he gives an imperfect illustration of the scene.

The last known instance of this sacrifice was in April, 1838. It is probable that it has been repeated once or twice since, but this is not positively known. The winter previous to the date given the *Ski'-di*, soon after starting on their hunt, had a successful fight with a band of Oglala Dakotas; killed several men and took over twenty women and children. Fearing that the Dakotas, according to their tactics, would retaliate by coming upon them in overwhelming force, they returned for safety to their village before taking a sufficient number of buffalo. With little to eat, they lived miserably, lost many of their ponies from scarcity of forage, and, worst of all, one of the captives proved to have the small-pox, which rapidly spread through the band, and in the spring was communicated to the rest of the tribe. All these accumulated misfortunes the *Ski'-di* attributed to the anger of the morning star; and accordingly they resolved to propitiate its favor by a repetition of the sacrifice, though in direct violation of a stipulation made two years before that the sacrifice should not occur again.

In connection with its abolition, the oft-told story of *Pit'-a-le-shar-u* is recalled. *Sa'-re-cër-ish* (Angry Chief), second chief of the *Cau'-i* band, was a man of unusually humane disposition, and had strenuously endeavored to secure the suppression of the practice. In the spring of 1817 the *Ski'-di* arranged to sacrifice a Comanche girl. After *Sa'-re-cër-ish* had essayed in vain to dissuade them, *Pit'-a-le-shar-u*, a young man about twenty years of age, of almost giant stature, and already famed as a great brave, conceived the bold design of rescuing her. On the day set for the rite he actually cut the girl loose, after she had been tied to the stakes, placed her upon a horse that he had in readiness, and hurried her away across the prairies till they were come within a day's journey of her people's village. There, after giving necessary directions as to her course, he dismissed her, himself returning to the Pawnees. The suddenness and intrepidity of his movements, and his known prowess, were no doubt all that saved him from death at the moment of the rescue and after his return. Twice afterward he presumed to interfere. In one instance, soon after the foregoing, he assisted in securing by purchase the ransom of a Spanish boy who had been set

apart for sacrifice. Several years later also (*circa* 1831) he aided in the attempted rescue of a girl. The resistance on this occasion was so determined that even after the girl had been bought and was mounted upon a horse behind Major Daugherty, at that time general agent at Bellevue, to be taken from the *Ski'-di* village, she was shot by one of the doctors. The magnanimous conduct of *Sa'-re-cör-ish* and *Pit'-ă-le-shar-u* in this matter stands almost unexampled in Indian annals.<sup>1</sup>

The symbol of supernatural, I might almost say of divine, presence was the so-called medicine bundle. To the Indians it was a sort of shekinah. Each band had one. They were kept in charge by the doctors, and were carried with the band in all general expeditions and cherished with the greatest reverence. They were opened only on occasions of special interest, and the opening and displaying of their contents was accompanied with great ceremony. Only those who had been expressly invited were allowed to attend. Forty years ago, through the persistent efforts of the second chief of the *Cau'-i* band, Mr. Dunbar was allowed to be present on four of these occasions. Of later years this rigid exclusiveness has been entirely relaxed. The contents of the *Cau'-i* medicine bundle were: a buffalo robe, fancifully dressed, skins of several fur-bearing animals, as the beaver, mink, and otter, the skull of a wild cat, stuffed skins of the sparrowhawk (*falco sparverius*), and the swallow-tailed fly-catcher (*milvulus forficatus*), several bundles of scalps and broken arrows taken from enemies, a small bundle of Pawnee arrows, some ears of corn and a few wads of buffalo-hair, such as may be found in wallows where the animals roll when moulting. The presence of the robe in the collection was natural—the buffalo was to them the staff of life. The furs, skull, and wads of hair were of recondite meaning, and probably the Pawnees themselves had lost their original significance. The hawk was a symbol of bravery, and the swallow-tail was a sacred bird, possibly because of its remarkable appearance and rarity in their territory. The scalps and arrows were tokens of their own warlike prowess, and the corn of their agricultural interests.

In each lodge also was a bundle of sacred things, holding the same place in the estimation of the Pawnee as did the Penates with the ancient Roman. This bundle was suspended from the framework of the roof of the lodge directly opposite the entrance. Beneath it was the seat of honor. Certain acts of recognition and devotion were regularly paid to it. Extreme care was taken that no act or work should afford cause of offence to it. No stranger could touch it; a knife could not be stuck in the floor of the lodge in its presence, and various other superstitious tenets were held concerning it. I have seen but two of these bundles opened. The prin-

cipal object in one of them was a skull reputed to be that of a famous enemy killed by an ancestor of the family long ago. It was worn quite smooth by handling and attrition and was evidently of considerable antiquity. In the other the most noticeable object was a curiously marked flinty nodule about as large as a goose-egg.

The future life is a topic upon which they were very loth to converse. Any subject that involves or implies the thought of death they preferred ordinarily to relegate to silence. Very likely they did not allow themselves to think much upon such matters, and necessarily their ideas were vague and unsatisfying. Their primitive beliefs were somewhat as follows: After death the disembodied spirit traversed a vast region thickly beset with falling arrows. If brave, it passed on undismayed and at last came into a new country, tried, and henceforth lived in repute and ease; but if not able to endure the perils of the way it might turn aside into another path free from danger, but strewn with hoes, axes, and other implements of labor. These sufficiently marked the character of the future life of such as travelled this way—an existence of endless toil and servitude. Another account was given in this way: On leaving the body the spirit was required to pass over a vast chasm, like crossing a swollen stream, on a small log. The brave reached the other shore in safety and entered at once upon a new existence of plenty and peace, which continued forever; but the cowardly fell into the abyss and were known no more. This theory differs noticeably from the preceding, in that it teaches the annihilation of some—an idea that does not seem to be inherent in the Pawnee system. It bears rather the cast of being an importation. In conversation the usual expression for the hereafter is *ti-he-ít-ă-rük'-ču-rĭ-wa*, “when we are all together again,” which sufficiently illustrates the dominant popular belief. In both accounts it will be observed that the future life is not conditioned upon a good or bad life as such here, but upon bravery—a genuine Indian theology. During recent years their ideas in this relation have been much modified, a result attributable largely to interweaving into their system of new elements borrowed from the whites. The facility that they thus evince in seizing upon any new notion that will serve to alleviate the sombre future—even though the use they make of it may be strangely distorted—is a tolerable evidence that they do not regard their own views as essentially consolatory. Of metempsychosis, or successive transformations, they knew nothing.

§9. *Creation.*—*Ti'-ra-wa* made all things. Of the manner of the creation of the earth their accounts were vague and varying, indicating that their great aim was rather to amuse the fancy than to answer the irrepressible questionings of the mind. The first race of men that occupied the

earth was of gigantic size. Several buffalo-skins were required to make a garment for one person, and a man of that generation could easily pick up and carry away a buffalo under each arm. An entire buffalo scarcely made a meal for four. This people multiplied rapidly and overspread all lands. In consciousness of their power they became self-willed and defiant toward *Ti'-ra-wa*. Failing to reduce them to proper allegiance he finally determined to destroy them. For a long time it rained till all were gathered upon the high hills and mountains. At last even these were submerged and the entire race perished. The large fossil bones found in many parts of the Indian grounds, they say, are the remains of these extinct giants. When the earth was recovered from the deluge *Ti'-ra-wa* created a man and woman of smaller stature, such as are now in existence. To the man he gave the buffalo for game and arrows for the chase and for war; to the woman corn and beans, and flint from which to make knives, axes, and other tools. The interpretation of this distribution of gifts is that from the beginning *Ti'-ra-wa* had himself thus designated the sphere of either sex. Man was to be occupied with hunting and war—the game and the instruments of the chase and warfare fixed. To woman, on the other hand, was assigned corn and beans and the means for their cultivation. Fire for the preparation of food was produced by the friction of pieces of dry wood.

A marked epoch in the history of this second race was the advent of the white man. The event seems to have given rise to great commotion among them, and round it tradition still lingers with a peculiar fondness. They assert that while other tribes met the whites with hostility, or at best with cold formality, they, from the first, welcomed them as friends, and have continued friendly ever since, though they have thereby incurred the relentless animosity of all their powerful neighbors. This is in a large degree true. They never have engaged in any of the frequent Indian movements against the whites, and have, in consequence, been regarded unfavorably by other tribes.

§ 10. *Astronomy*.—Their knowledge of astronomy was very limited, though they were very observant of meteorological phenomena. Their months were determined by the moon (*pa'*). The sun was so nearly identified with the idea of day that the same word answered for both (*sak-u'-ru*). The sun and moon were represented as masculine and feminine respectively. Of the stars they discriminated few by name. The morning and evening star (*o-pir'-i-kut*) they believed to be the same body always. The north star they recognized and named as stationary (*kür-a-di'-wür-ï*). The great dipper they knew (*tër-ä-ha-rik'-uts*). This name would naturally suggest that the idea was derived from the whites; but it was probably original

with themselves. The pleiades (*čĕk-a*) they associated with cold weather. The milky way (*tĭ'-rĕt-kĭr-ar-ĭt-u'-rut-u*) they explained as the line where the two hollow hemispheres that form the sky close together. A group of stars in the constellation Cassiopeia they named turkey's foot (*kĭt'-u-raru ĭs'-u*) from a fancied resemblance. The rainbow (*u-ra-kĭp'-iks*) they knew only as attending rain. They had a superstition that it should never be pointed at, otherwise the finger or the lips (which they frequently used in indicating direction) would decay and fall off. From the fact that all the heavenly bodies move from east to west they had another superstitious belief that in their travels they should never move directly east. This, however, in actual life they rarely observed at the expense of convenience.

§ II. *Calendar*.—They had no method of computing years by calendric notation. Occasionally a year that had been marked by some important event, as a failure of crops, unusual sickness, or a disastrous hunt, was referred to as a *year by itself*, but at a few years' remove even this mark became indistinct or faded altogether away. Any occurrence ten or twelve years past was usually designated as *long ago*. Their great use of the past was not as history, but simply as a storehouse of tradition, and this tendency soon enveloped the most important events with a semi-traditional glamour. When time was computed by years it was done by winters (*pĭ'-čĭ-kĭt*).

The year comprised alternately twelve and thirteen moons or months. The months were, *Ki-wĭks'-kuts*, December; *Ka'-at*, January; *P-ra'-pa'*, February; *Pa-hu-tau'-ĭ-u*, March; *Pa-hu-wĭt-u'-ru-kut*, April; *Pa-hi-wa'-kar-uks*, May; *Pa-ra'-rĕr-uks*, June; *Pa-rĭk'-ish*, July; *Pa-la'-re-huts*, August; *Kĭs-at'-u*, September; *Lut'-a*, October; *Ki-wĭks-kĭ*, November. The intercalary month, *Ŭs-a-rĕr'-ă-hu*, was usually inserted at the close of the summer months. The regular months were grouped as with us by threes, the first three constituting winter (*Pĭ'-čĭ-kĭt*); the second three, spring (*O-ra'-rĕ-kar-u*); the next three, summer (*Li'-ĭt*); the last three, autumn (*Lĕts-kuk-ĭ*). The year was also divided into two seasons (*Kĭt'-ĭ-har-u*), a warm and a cold.

As may be readily anticipated, there was much confusion in their system of reckoning by moons. They sometimes became inextricably involved, and were obliged to have recourse to objects about them to rectify their computations. Councils have been known to be disturbed, or even broken up, in consequence of irreconcilable differences of opinion as to the correctness of their calculations.

As an aid to the memory they frequently made use of notches cut in a stick or some similar device for the computation of nights (for days were counted by nights), or even of months and years. Pictographically a day or



daytime was represented by a six or eight-pointed star, thus ✱, as a symbol of the sun. A simple cross, thus × (a star), was a symbol of a night, and a crescent, thus ☾, represented a moon or lunar month.

§ 12. *Mental Traits.*—Much that would properly come under this title has already been introduced incidentally in the foregoing narrative, but a few characteristic traits still unmentioned may be noticed. The Pawnees were thorough Indians, and as such there were of course dark features in their character. They could be almost demoniacally cruel, taking keen delight in inflicting exquisite torture; they were often excessively impure in conversation and in conduct; in some of the kindest relations of common life they were ungrateful and unfeeling to an extreme degree. Still they evinced many admirable traits.

Theoretically their recognition of the claims of kinship were very high. The oft-uttered maxim, *ca'-sī-rī pi'-rus, he wi'-tī ti'-ruk-ta'-pi-di-hu-ru*, "Why, even the worms, they love each other" (much more should men), indicates that their code, though in many respects imperfectly observed, was in purport most praiseworthy. Family ties and obligations were sacred; what concerned one, whether good or evil, concerned all. The relation of husband and wife and parent and child afforded abundant instances of the manifestations of affectionate devotion and tender solicitude. An intentional infraction of the claims of natural affection called forth at once unqualified reprehension. The naturally unfortunate, though often made subjects of unfeeling raillery and merriment because of their actions or appearance, were cared for wherever they chose to remain, so long as they did not render themselves obnoxious by too troublesome idiosyncrasies. In this way much real interest was shown in their behalf.

They were extremely hospitable. As long as a man had the means to entertain, friend and stranger alike was welcome. The exercise of hospitality entailed certain obligations that could not be ignored. The host was bound to protect his guest while with him and assure him a safe departure. On the other hand, the guest was expected to hold himself in readiness to requite in kind whenever occasion offered. These mutual relations formed one of the most attractive phases of Pawnee life, and found expression in various ways other than that here under consideration. It has been charged that all amenities of this kind were essentially mercenary, with the definite expectation that each service rendered should be repaid with a greater; but this, as a rule, is incorrect.

They were, also, among themselves, very sociable. With the men there was apt to be, perhaps, an excess of formality in their casual gatherings, but this was a natural consequence of their oft-recurring feasts and councils.

It was quite common for several men in the evening to meet in some lodge where tobacco was to be had, and there sit smoking and recounting their exploits. One of the party kept up a monotonous thumping upon a drum. Another would dance for a while, make a speech, and sit down. Another would follow with the same rôle, and so on. At certain seasons such gatherings were of nightly occurrence, lasting usually till well-nigh day-break. With the women there was no thought of ceremony, and the social element had full play. They were much given to assembling in little groups when engaged in work that allowed them to congregate. At such times, while busily plying their tasks, their gossiping volubility found unrestrained freedom, and was, to all appearance, inexhaustible. Their conversation was often quite interesting and facetious. Displays of wit, which were common with both sexes, were prone to degenerate into mere *double entendre* of the lowest character; still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining and thoroughly appreciable. (Cf. "Ūs'-u-kat-u-hās-tau'-i-u," the shadow of a moccasin string; a nick-name bestowed upon a tall, slender person. "Kür'-es ti-üt, kus'-ats-u-ä," "I shall not go; it will rain." "A, uks'-ü-wüts-ats-u-ä, kai'-it-kür-üs?" "Well, were it even to rain, are you salt?")

A favorite diversion with both sexes was story-telling. A man with a facile imagination and a fluent tongue could hold an audience quiet and attentive during a long winter evening. Stories and songs constituted their literature. Many of these stories were traditional, concerning the tribe or some remarkable members of it; others were mythological, or of the nature of the German *Thiersagen*. They were rehearsed over and over, till, no doubt, most of the tribe believed them as strictly historical.

Akin to this trait was their delight in discussion. They were extravagantly fond of debating what might be termed questions of general principles, often exhibiting considerable tact in their manner of sustaining a line of argumentation. Their principal efforts of this kind were reserved for public occasions, as councils. It was impossible to attend a tribal council, where any important matter was pending, without being impressed with the power and cogency of much of their native eloquence. The reputation of being an orator was coveted, and a man, when once recognized as such, was sure to wield great influence. An orator, when addressing a council upon a question in which he was thoroughly interested, seemed to appreciate fully the dignity of his position, and, identifying himself with the cause which he advocated, and addressing himself directly to the person he was attempting to answer or convince, his speech would become vividly dramatic. The language of oratory, also abounding in sud-

den inversions and striking figures, was, like all Indian harangues, boldly rhetorical. "Major Long's Expedition" (vol. i., p. 395 *et seq.*) contained some very imperfectly rendered specimens of Pawnee eloquence.

Another noticeable trait was their fondness for music and singing (of their kind). The songs were invariably brief, but the prelude of the tune, the numerous repetitions, and the refrain, made them seem quite long. I was never able to catch any of their tunes, and am inclined to question whether they could be written with our system of notation. "Their singing (which, to all intents, was sufficiently devoid of melody) was accompanied with two instruments of (anything but) music. One was a dry gourd, into which, after it had been emptied of its natural contents, a handful of small shot was poured, and the aperture closed. This gourd was shaken in time to their singing. The other instrument was a sort of drum, made by stretching buckskin tightly over the head of a small powder keg. They sometimes also used another musical instrument—a hollow reed, with holes cut like the stops of a flute. The sound (not music) produced by it was not unlike that made from several willow whistles of different pitch. The character of their singing might best be judged by the company it kept." The opinion of Pawnee music given in this quotation was by one who had ample opportunity to judge, but his view is somewhat extreme. Much of the time of the men, when not hunting or travelling, was spent in singing. Even when they awoke in the dead of night they frequently commenced singing, one man quite possibly starting another, till a considerable chorus was engaged, and continued till weary or till sleep overpowered him in the very act. The following will serve as an example of the Pawnee songs :

*Si-la'-wür-ï-[ï]* (repeat six times). *Skür'-ǎ si-la'-wür-ï-[ï, a,-a,-a,-a,-a]*.  
*Cǎp'-at-e we-ti-wak'-o, si'-kat-üs-ï'-wür-tiks-[a]?* *Skür'-ǎ si-la'-[a]-wür-ï-[ï, a,-a,-a,-a,-a]*.

"They two who are travelling. They two who are travelling with each other. A young woman is said to have queried 'I wonder if they two are [always] true [to each other]?' They two who are travelling with each other."

The traditional account of the origin of this song is that a young woman, having watched two young braves who were inseparably with each other in travelling, hunting, and in warlike adventure, remarked, as if to herself, "I wonder if they are (always) true?" Hence the song, the burden of which is to emphasize the reality and value of friendship. It is much sung. In the text the bracketed syllables are inserted to facilitate the singing; *a* is constantly so used.

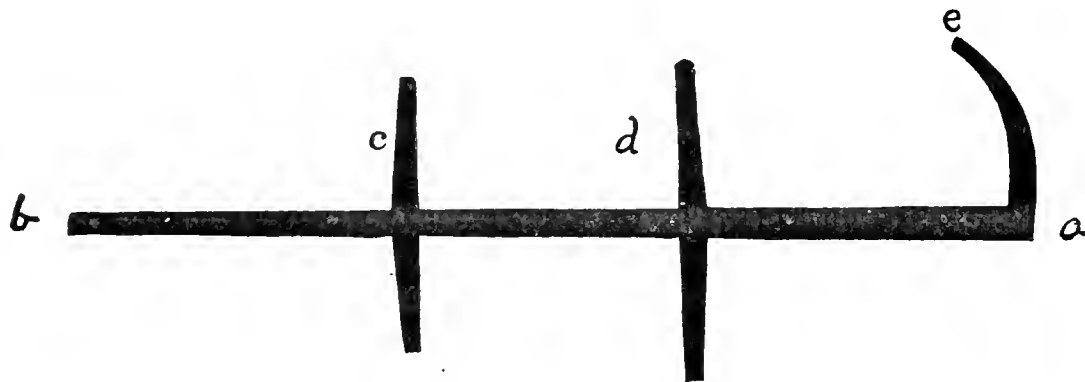
Their love of the marvellous was unbounded. In some measure the

passion was gratified by the diversion of story-telling, already mentioned ; but it was also amused in a more dramatic way. In each band there was a number of conjurors, or wonder-workers, who at times suitable to themselves gave public exhibitions of feats of legerdemain. At those entertainments, usually given in the open air, they appeared entirely divested of garments except the indispensable breech-cloth, and with no elaborate paraphernalia, thus reducing the possibility of delusion to a minimum. They swallowed arrows head downward till the point had apparently reached the region of the stomach, and in this condition, with the feather end protruding from the mouth, turned somersaults and executed various acrobatic movements involving violent contortions of the body. Instead of arrows, long-bladed knives or pieces of nicely dressed board about two feet long and two inches wide were used at the pleasure of the performer. Sometimes they appeared to drive these objects, particularly the boards, down the throat by beating heavily upon the exposed end with one hand, blood meanwhile flowing copiously from the mouth. Now in all these acts there may really be nothing more than artful deception ; and the fact that several performers always appeared together, as if collusively in concert to distract too critical an eye, indicates that to some extent there was palpable trickery. But after all margin was allowed for the elimination of mere sleight of hand, there remained some facts, the adequate solution of which on such grounds was extremely doubtful. After one of their exhibitions some days were required by the jugglers to recuperate, indicating that the physical prostration, and quite possibly too the actual injuries received, was considerable. Besides, only a few years since a young brave lost his life during one of these performances in consequence of incautiously swallowing an arrow so far as to preclude its ejection or extraction. There were also more difficult feats, as apparently cutting their own throats ; shooting each other with arrows, the arrow still sticking from the body of the apparently dead performer ; and taking out and replacing the vitals of such seemingly dead persons. The following will answer as an example of their bolder feats : Two performers, during a pause in one of the exhibitions, led from a neighboring lodge a small boy stripped naked. After laying him upon his back on the ground, one of them held the boy's hands extended above his head ; the other seated himself astride the child's body, seemed to cut into his chest, to insert two fingers and draw out one lobe of the liver, from which a part was cut and eaten by the two men. The mutilated liver was then crowded back, the opening closed, and the boy borne away. Soon after he was about again as usual. Account for this transaction as we may, as beheld at a distance of twenty-five feet the vraisemblance was perfect.

As would naturally follow from their fondness for the marvellous they were extremely superstitious. They were unquestioning believers in signs and wonders, and almost any event might, if occasion demanded, be looked upon as an indication of the supernatural and so become portentous. A sudden death in a lodge, or lightning striking near by, would cause the spot to be abandoned. That a person should have drunk at a certain spring just before being taken dangerously ill, would cause it to be tabooed, though it might have been in use for years and known to be most excellent water. Other instances of superstitious beliefs have already been noted.

Some of them wore charms about the person, believing them to possess magical powers in relation to the wearer. Sometimes this was a bean safely enclosed in the scalp-lock. Others had curiously marked pebbles, or fragments of stone in their native form or worked into fanciful shapes and decorated with various markings.

Another conspicuous trait in Pawnee character was an inordinate attachment to certain games of chance or skill. So absorbed did they sometimes become in them that they would play hour after hour without seeming to note the lapse of time or to heed the promptings of hunger. The stakes at first were usually light, as one or more arrows; but as the players became



more interested they were gradually increased, till not infrequently all that a losing player had, arrows, bow, robes, blankets, articles of attire, ponies, etc., followed each other in rapid succession. The most usual game with men was *stüts-au'-i-ka-tus*, or simply *stüts-au'-i*, played with a small hoop, or ring, and stick. The hoop was about four inches in diameter, made of several coils of a small strip of rawhide wrapped tightly together with a stout string. At one point on the exterior of the hoop was a bead threaded on the wrapping string. The stick was of peculiar structure. Its general shape is shown in the above cut.

The entire length of the stick was about five and a half feet. It was flattened somewhat in the direction of the cross-pieces and tapered slightly

from the heel, *a*, to the point, *b*. Directly over the intersection of the cross-pieces, *c* and *d*, which were upon the upper side, was a small crooked projection (not shown) about the length of a finger, curving over the part of the cross-pieces on the same side as the curved heel-piece, *ae*, *i.e.*, to the right. The entire stick was firmly wrapped with buckskin or rawhide, and the cross-pieces and curved attachments held in place by the same means.

At each village there were two or more grounds, about sixty paces long and fifteen wide, cleared and smoothed for this game. Two sticks and one hoop were necessary, and the players were arranged by pairs. Two players took the sticks, one of them having also the hoop, and started at full speed from one end of the ground toward the other. When about half way across the one carrying the hoop hurled it violently forward so that it should speed along the ground before them; then instantly changing his stick from his left hand to the right, they simultaneously cast them both at the rolling hoop, in such way that striking flat upon the ground they should glide along point forward and overtake it. The best throw was to catch the hoop upon one of the small projections over the intersections of the cross-pieces. To catch it upon the point of the stick, upon the extremities of the cross-pieces or of the curved heel-piece, was also a good throw. If the hoop was not caught at all, as was usually the case, the value of the throw was determined



by its contiguity to certain parts of the stick, and each player was provided with a straw for measuring in such cases. The bead upon the hoop was the point from which every measurement was made. Sometimes spirited debates were had upon the question of the correct measurement, as to whose the throw should properly be. In such case one of the numerous spectators was called in to act as umpire. The value of each throw was reckoned by points, so many points constituting a game. If there were more than two players, the couples alternated in making throws.

By boys this game was played with a smaller and simpler stick about four feet long. The aim in their game was to dart the point of the stick directly through the hoop and catch it upon the two prongs at the heel.

There were also frequent games played with arrows. One person shot an arrow so that it should fall upon the ground at a distance of from forty to sixty paces. The players then in succession endeavored to shoot so that

their arrows should fall immediately across this arrow. Whoever succeeded took all the arrows discharged. If no one lodged an arrow upon it the player whose arrow lay nearest took all. Another game was for several players to take an arrow between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand and throw it so that it should strike in the ground twenty or thirty paces in advance, the feather end of the shaft sloping back toward the thrower. Then stepping forward another was thrown by each, so as to strike four or five feet beyond the first. Each arrow that failed to strike fast in the ground entailed a forfeit.

The foregoing games were all distinctively Pawnee. Others played by them were similar to well-known games among other tribes, and require no special mention.

The women also were addicted to games of chance, though with them the stakes were usually trifling. The familiar game with plum-stones (*sūk'-u*), and another (*lūk'-ta-kīt-au'-i-čūk-u*) played with a bundle of parti-colored rods about a foot in length, were much in vogue among them.

§ 13. *Present Condition and Prospects.*—The preceding narrative in many ways implies or states that the Pawnee tribe is rapidly diminishing. It seems scarcely credible that they are to-day only a remnant (a little over one-tenth) of what they numbered a generation and a half since; yet such is the fact. Besides the causes already given for this surprising decrease, one other may well be stated: the tribe is completely broken-spirited. In the early part of the century the epithet applied to them by the French voyageurs who frequented and traversed the Platte region, "*Les gentil-hommes du prairie*," was, no doubt, very appropriate. They were then independent and bold, yet consistently friendly. Forty-five years ago, Major Daugherty, whose acquaintance with the Indians of the West was of long standing, described them to Mr. Dunbar as being the most courageous, honorable, and urbane Indians known to him. Now the tribe is fast becoming spiritless and abject. The prominent cause of this pronounced degeneration is the treatment they have received from the general Government. They have uniformly acted in good faith, and trusted in it for the fulfilment of all its engagements, only finally to be hopelessly deceived. In other of their most important relations with the whites (not directly with the Government), they have also in the end met only the most unmerited treatment. Thoroughly convinced of the irresistible power of the Government, they have never ventured open resistance, nor even dared open remonstrance against all this unscrupulous injustice. In all the important measures inaugurated concerning them during the last twenty-five years, their part has scarcely in any instance been more than passive or listless

acquiescence. The old fire, save spasmodic flashes at lengthening intervals, has altogether died out. So hopeless and inelastic has their nature become that even the love of life, nowhere more intense than in the Indian, has lost much of its pristine vigor; and so inert is their vital energy that a slight or even fancied indisposition is oftentimes the sure precursor of death. To no other cause may we attribute the extraordinary mortality in the tribe during the last twelve years.

Whether the tribe will ever recover its former individuality is a question that involves grave apprehension. It is no easy matter to decide just what may be the best course to be taken toward them. One redeeming feature of the case, even now, is their willingness to work if only assured of recompense. This trait, which has always marked them distinctly from adjacent tribes, affords good hope that with due care something of their loss may yet be retrieved. If the following means, in part or fully, could be faithfully tried, great advantage would, no doubt, be secured:

1. To break up the tribal organization. This would be no holiday task for a wise hand; but its demolition is a necessity. As it now exists, it is a fatal incubus upon all individual industry.

2. To encourage heads of families to settle upon and improve farms, the possessory but inalienable right to which should pass only by inheritance.

3. To so regulate the issuance of annuities that all, if possible, may be applied to the encouraging of schools, agricultural enterprise, and especially of stock-raising.

4. To invite and, so far as may be, aid in the establishment of a Christian mission among them.

5. The constant shaping of all these influences toward preparing the tribe for the ultimate attainment of full citizenship, which shall be granted under such limitations as may meantime commend themselves as safe and desirable.

§ 14. In closing this series of sketches, I wish to direct attention for a moment to two often mooted and by no means unimportant facts:

1. *Pawnee Slavery*.—Old French documents contain frequent references to Pani slaves. The same references occur also, as a matter of course, in earlier English records. To make only a few citations from the latter, in the articles for the surrender of Canada to the English in 1760, an entire article relates to negroes and Panis held as slaves in Canada (N. Y. Col. Doc., 10, 1118). In the treaty negotiated by Sir Wm. Johnson in 1764 with the Hurons, an article concerning negroes and Panis is also inserted (*id.*, 7, 550). Earlier, in 1736, in an enumeration of tribes known to or



connected with the government of Canada, the Panis on the River of the Missouri are named (*id.*, 9, 1057). This would give reason to surmise that the Panis spoken of as slaves were Panis by race. But this is by no means certain; for (*id.*, 4, 979) Panis is explained as a French name of the Nadowasses, *i.e.*, the Dakotas. Again (*id.*, 10, 138 and 144 *et pas.*), Pani is used in a connection where Pawnees could not have been meant, showing that the word was simply a general name for any Indian captive held in bondage. Such slaves were common among all warlike tribes, and were no more to be limited to one kindred than were the captors themselves. The natural tendency that prompted Bougainville to conclude them, from whatever source taken, to be Pawnees, and therefore write that the Pawnee tribe was the only one that could be held in servitude, was by no means historical, though to a large degree accepted as such by excellent writers. But whence, then, shall we derive this frequent use of the word Pani, as slave? The answer to this inquiry brings us to

2. *The Name Pani* (*i.e.*, *Pawnee*).—The derivation which alone I am inclined to accept as tenable has been already noticed. Another plausible explanation of it is given as follows: Gravier's Illinois Dictionary gives *apani-wa*, *c'est un fol, il n'a pas d'esprit*. The Chippeway (and with the necessary dialectic variations most of the western Algonkin languages) also furnishes the word *abánini*, a slave (male). Gravier also gives *Pana*, or *Pani*, as the name of the tribe in question. Marquette had also earlier given the tribal name *Panis*, having probably learned it from the Illinois. Now, it required no inconceivable stretch of Indian imagination that when the two words, *apani-wa* and *Pani* in Illinois, and *abánini* and *Pani* in Chippeway (to use only these two cases as illustrations), were so nearly alike in sound they should conclude that there must be a genetic relationship between them. And the earlier explorers, as Marquette and Gravier, were not necessarily in the case before us distinguished for greater comparative philological insight than was the tribe from which they ascertained their data. The fact, moreover, that the Indians seemed to identify *Pani*, the tribe, and *pani*, a slave, instead of being an irrefutable proof of the inherent degeneracy of the Pawnees, is rather an index of the fear and hatred with which they were uniformly regarded by their neighbors. Above all, that the Pawnees should have themselves accepted as their tribal name a term applied to them by their enemies as a stigma is forcing the argument altogether too far. It was with this in view that I have more than once already taken occasion to emphasize the old-time martial spirit of the Pawnees. Time and space alike preclude me from entering upon this topic with the fulness that I should wish. I hope erewhile to resume it in a more elabo-

rate and satisfying statement, including such additional data as may be necessary to place it in a full historic form.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

NOTE.—By an inadvertence which I very keenly regret, a note that should have accompanied the first of this series of papers was omitted. Most of the early notices of the Pawnees, as also a portion of the cartographic data determining their early territory, I owe to the kindness of Dr. John G. Shea, of New York City. It is the last thought that I should ever, even in appearance, be reluctant to acknowledge the great indebtedness under which I am to him in this as well as in other relations.

<sup>1</sup> The account of the rescue of the Comanche girl by *Pit'-ă-le-shar-u* in 1817 is so nearly like the narrative already detailed of *Pit'-ă-le-shar-u*, the son, in a previous number of THE MAGAZINE (November, 1880), that it will naturally be surmised that they are really one story; but because of the identity of name in the two heroes were within a few years after the performance indifferently attributed to each and so finally came to be regarded incorrectly as two distinct incidents. This was the original belief of Rev. John Dunbar, who for several years was well acquainted with both of the men. After mature investigation, however, he adopted the conclusion that each of them had at separate dates performed the exploits attributed to them. *Pit'-ă-le-shar-u*, the elder, assured him that such was the fact, rehearsing to him the full details of either incident. Many years subsequently the younger chief recounted the two feats as distinct, and with the essential features unchanged, and both accounts are certified by the current traditions of the tribe. I have accordingly presented them as independent acts, though I feel confident that the inspiration at least of the latter exploit was derived directly from the frequent rehearsal by the elder chief of his exploits in the ears of the younger. Instances are not uncommon in Indian life where the applauded narratives of older warriors serve as provocatives to enkindle the emulation of youthful braves to essay deeds of like daring.

At the last offering of a human sacrifice, mentioned in the text, there was present a young French trader, who made upon the spot a sketch of the scene with its surroundings, and subsequently wrote out a full description of the transaction. The sketch was commended by the Indians as an accurate representation, and with the accompanying explanatory text, was known to be in existence a few years since. In 1877 I endeavored, by personal search and also by advertising, to ascertain the exact place of the papers or their author, but without success. The former, however, are believed to be still in keeping in St. Joseph or in St. Louis, Missouri. Their discovery would be a valuable acquisition to aboriginal literature. The author of them was lost sight of by his acquaintances in 1869, and is supposed to have been killed in New Mexico.

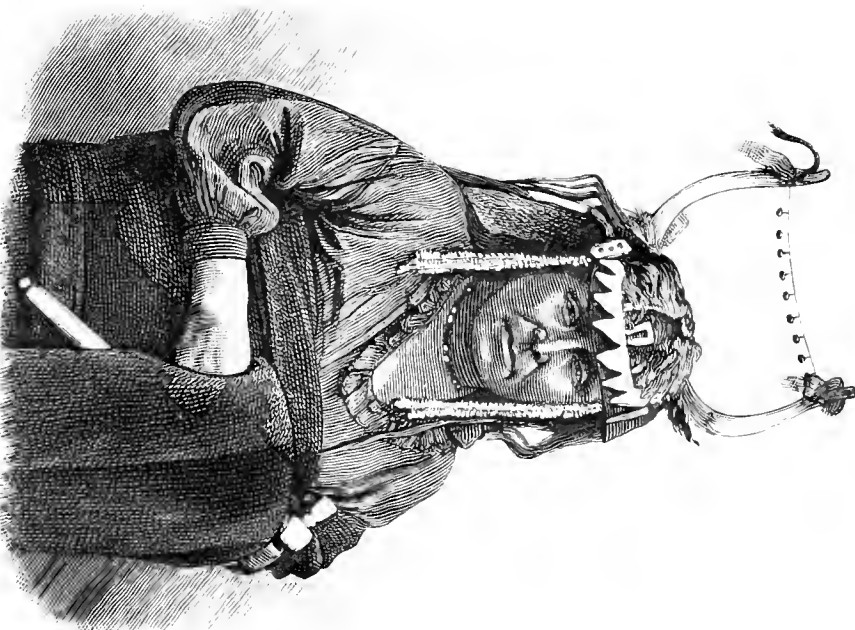
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## LONE CHIEF AND MEDICINE BULL

The portraits accompanying this sketch were selected partly as presenting the two prominent types of feature prevalent in the Pawnee tribe. In *Skür'-ă-ra'-re-shar-u*, Lone Chief, is seen a face which in general contour and in special marking is almost Caucasian. Its broad and fine proportions are essentially un-Indian. Faces of this cast and fair complexion are specially frequent in the *Çau'-i* and *Kit'-ke-hak-i* bands, though *Skür'-ă-ra'-*



KIWIKUWARUKSTI.  
(Medicine Man.)



SIKURARESHART.  
(Tome Chief.)



re-shar-u himself was a *Ski'-di*, and would suggest that there has been in all such instances a free intermingling of white blood ; but this, I am sure, is not the case.

Skür'-ă-ra'-re-shar-u was the second chief of his band, and at the time of his death (1876) was about forty-one years of age. He was five feet eight and a half inches in height, and of full, compactly built stature. In his early days he was reputed to be quite an athlete, and was famous for physical endurance ; but in after life, without losing any of his pristine energy and power, he became somewhat sedate and undemonstrative. His youthful accomplishments won him a rightful prestige in his band, and for several years before his death he wielded far more real power than its first chief, Li'-tä-küts-le-shar-u, Eagle Chief, who after the death of Pit'-a-le-shar-u in 1874, became also first chief of the tribe, but was deficient in ruling qualities. From the date of the first establishment of a permanent agency with the Pawnees in 1858, Skür'-ă-ra'-re-shar-u cast all his influence in favor of the advancement of his tribe in civilization, finally setting an example in his own person and life. To some extent he adopted the dress of the whites, allowed his beard to grow after their manner, and was the first prominent man in the entire tribe who engaged personally in the labors of agriculture. He put his own hand to the plough, and by other means also sought to eradicate the old Indian beliefs of the ignobility of manual labor. The advanced position he thus assumed was extremely difficult, as his band was the most disinclined to all such progressive innovations ; but he consistently maintained his course, retained throughout the respect and confidence of his people, and probably by his individual efforts accomplished more for the advancement of the tribe in this direction than all other agencies combined.

Like all the leading, well-informed men of the tribe, Skür'-ă-ra'-re-shar-u was opposed to the removal of the Pawnees from their reservation in Nebraska to the Indian Territory. When, however, he realized that by a certain kind of management the event was become inevitable, he accepted the fact and wisely set to work to secure the best issues possible from it. But his work in the new home was brief. The summer following the removal, owing to the sudden change from the dry climate of the Platte Valley to the damp region of the Arkansas in the Indian Territory, he, in common with great numbers of the tribe, suffered from malarial fever, but in a short time recovered sufficiently to be pronounced out of danger. Soon after his convalescence was well established his wife and two sons were attacked by the disease. The death of his wife, which occurred within a few days, was a bitter blow to him. In less than a week the elder son, aged about twelve years, succumbed. The aggravated sorrow bore heavily upon him, and

when the younger son too was taken away he broke down entirely. On returning from the grave of this child he remarked that he could not live any longer, and the next morning was dead, apparently dying of grief. It is rarely that we meet in any annals a story that bears in itself more of the elements of true pathos than we find in the circumstances attending the death of *the man* Skür'-ă-ra'-re-shar-u.

In general demeanor he was rather undemonstrative, and by those who were not familiarly acquainted might readily be taken as a man of no special force. But his great earnestness, when once thoroughly enlisted, was most impressive and efficient. With rare discernment he chose to work mainly with the young men of the tribe, and over them his influence, by example as well as by precept, was pronounced and salutary. In this direction particularly his death was a loss to his people that has not yet been retrieved.

Socially he was of an urbane nature, and with intimates his manner might be very attractive. In his family relations he was a man of marked character. He had but one wife and shared with her all her labors, and might be seen not infrequently walking with her at his arm. In all his acts he evinced for her and for his two sons a most sincere appreciation and attachment.

*Ki'-wik-ă-war'-uks-ti*, Medicine Bull, seen in the remaining portrait, is a brave of the *Ski'-di* band. He has also at times, as the name implies, advanced some pretensions as a medicine man; but in neither capacity, as brave or as doctor, has he succeeded in attaining any noteworthy eminence. He is five feet eleven inches in height, of spare build, and about thirty-eight years of age. His portrait is given here for the reason that it presents an excellent example of the genuine Indian face as found in all the bands of the tribe, but with much greater frequency among the *Ski'-di*. The low, receding forehead, the small eyes, the high cheek-bones, the large mouth and slightly protruding chin are all unmistakable indices of the generic Indian physiognomy. The long, unkempt hair has always been worn by the *Ski'-di*, while the other bands have usually kept the head, save the scalp-lock, closely shaven. The engraving also illustrates the ordinary style in which the buffalo robe is worn in cold weather.

JOHN B. DUNBAR

## THE ORIGIN OF THANKSGIVING DAY

An amiable divine who, very likely, has learned his mistake from some of the ancients whom, ere this, he may be supposed to have met, says, in a volume devoted to the subject of Thanksgiving Day, that, "connected with it are no superstitious rites, handed down from time immemorial; no revellings in baronial halls; no decorations of houses or churches with garlands or evergreens; no wassailings, no shoutings, no carols, no riotous dissipation."

This declaration, with its neat allusion to Christmas, calls to mind what has been said about one of our American reviewers, who, we are told, cannot produce a criticism upon "Robinson Crusoe" without making an attack upon "Pilgrim's Progress." Evidently the writer referred to was thinking about Thanksgiving and Christmas as they appeared in his own virtuous dining-room, existing in his mind's eye. The wickedness and innate depravity of Christmas greens and garlands we do not, however, presume to defend any more than the corrupting carols and riotous dissipation. It may, nevertheless, be said in extenuation for our comfort, that, viewed in its broader aspects, Thanksgiving Day is, after all, in about the same predicament as Christmas. This brings us to a recognition of the fact that Thanksgiving Day has not always kept the select company supposed by the writer referred to. Nor can it be said that it was New England that imparted to the day its sombre features, for it had such features, and was made compulsory like the Sunday observances. Where, then, shall we look for the origin of Thanksgiving. A writer in the *New Englander* (1879, p. 240) says:

"There is a certain tradition which wanders about New England in a lawless kind of way, and which undertakes to account for the origin of Thanksgiving Day. The story runs somewhat as follows: In the early days of the New England settlements, the people somewhere were gathered together to consider the propriety of appointing a day for fasting and prayer, in view of the many sorrows and calamities by which they were then encompassed. One brother, more cheerful-hearted than the rest, ventured to suggest the propriety of counting up the many blessings which had fallen to their lot, and impressed his thought so deeply upon the minds of those present that they concluded to appoint a day of thanksgiving instead of a day of fasting. From this ancient circumstance we have our modern festival. Twice, within a year or two, we have encountered this tradition coming from the pulpit on Thanksgiving Day. From this and other incidents of a similar kind we have been led to believe that the people at large have rather obscure ideas on the general subject. It is not at all unlikely that somewhere and at some time, in a local New England church, matters took shape in the way described in the above tradition. But it is quite certain that our November festival did not have its origin in that manner."

The writer then goes on to say that the origin of the day is hard to find, suggesting that Increase Mather, if alive, could tell all about it. Yet the origin of the story which he recites is preserved in the ancient records of Charlestown, where, under date of February 5, 1631, we learn that the fast day previously appointed "was changed, and ordered to be kept as a day of thanksgiving," on account of the arrival of a ship with provisions.

The idea of Thanksgiving Day is as old as the human race. It is a part of natural religion. In connection with the fruits of the earth, the thanksgiving festival has been celebrated from the remotest antiquity. We find it in the Seventh Idyll of Theocritus, where Simichidas says: "Now, this is our way to the Thalysia; for our friends, in sooth, are making a feast to Demeter (Ceres) of the beautiful robe, offering the first fruits of their abundance. Since, for them, in bounteous measure, the goddess has piled the threshing floor with barley." Plutarch tells of the emperor who, after his return to Rome from a disastrous campaign, concealed the facts and proclaimed a "Thanksgiving," which was duly observed; explaining, when the facts came to be known, that he did not wish to deprive the people of a day of enjoyment.

Under the Hebrew dispensation thanksgiving was observed as the Feast of Tabernacles, or of the Ingathering; earlier in the season there being the festival of First Fruits, in connection with which the people were reminded of the giving of the Law. The idea of law was also connected with the feast of Demeter or Ceres; and the analogy between the classic and the Hebrew festival is significant and worthy of investigation. But the ancient thanksgiving did not, as some have fancied, skip down over the ages to find an exclusive home in America. In one way or another it was always observed. On the Continent, as in parts of England, it occurred at Martinmas. Indeed, it was a popular institution in England before it fairly had a foothold in Massachusetts. Butler, who wrote in 1651, gives a better idea of the true state of things in a few lines than could be given by any formal history:

"For Hudibras who thought he 'ad won  
The field as certain as a gun,  
And having routed the whole troop,  
With victory was cock-a-hoop;  
Thinking he 'ad done enough to purchase  
Thanksgiving Day among the Churches."

When we go back to the century before Butler, it is found to be filled up with fasts and thanksgivings, especially during the time of Elizabeth, as the publications of the Parker Society prove. Under Elizabeth it was expressly



ordered that on Thanksgiving Days no servile labor should be performed, and severe penalties were attached to the violation of the order. The New England worthies adopted the principle. In 1559 Thanksgiving entered into Rogation Day, and it was ordered that thanks should then be offered "for the increase and abundance of His fruits upon the face of the earth." In the seventeenth century the custom was continued, and in the year 1749, when Massachusetts was dumb, Henry speaks, in his published sermon, of the "*Te Deums*, proclamations, forms of prayers and thanksgivings, sermons," etc., that abounded. Such, then, was the state of things in England. Indeed, just before the Plymouth colonists came over, the special thanksgivings had been incorporated into the Prayer Book; while Copeland's "Virginia's God be Thanked," preached before the Virginia Company in Bow church, illustrated the tendency of the times, he being followed by Dr. Donne. The early settlers brought with them a traditional respect for days of thanksgiving. Nevertheless, false notions on this subject abound, and Thanksgiving Day, is popularly supposed to have been established first at Plymouth, and continued without interruption, from the Landing until now; while a supplementary theory declares that the so-called originators of the festival intended thereby to suppress Christmas.

In the first place, however, it must be stated that the earliest service of this kind was held by Church of England men, the Popham colonists, who, August 9, 1607 (O. S.), landed upon Monhegan, near the Kennebec, and, under the shadow of a high cross, listened to a sermon by Chaplain Seymour, also "gyving god thanks for our happy metinge and saffe aryvall into the contry."

Next we pass to Plymouth, where, in 1621, the autumn after the arrival, a notable thanksgiving was held. The brief accounts present a joyous picture. As we learn from Winslow, the harvest being gathered, the governor "sent four men on fowling, that so we might, after a special manner, rejoyce together," and the traditional turkey was added to the abundant venison. The people gave themselves up to recreation, and the great Chief Massasoit was feasted for three days with his ninety swarthy retainers.

Possibly, on this first Plymouth thanksgiving there was more carousing than we suppose, while there is not the slightest indication of any religious observance. Massasoit and his braves, no doubt, enjoyed it all greatly, as the thanksgiving idea was entertained by the Indians before their contact with whites, and in their celebrations there was much excess. How much "comfortable warm water" the grave and reverend elders themselves consumed during those three days of jollity Bradford does not say.

In 1622 there is no mention of thanksgiving, but in 1623 a day was kept;

not, however, in the autumn, as a harvest festival, but in July, upon the arrival of some provisions. After this nothing more is heard of thanksgiving at Plymouth for nearly half a century. So far as the colonial records go, they indicate that the day did not find a revival until 1668, when there was some kind of a thanksgiving. Again, June 27, 1689, there was a thanksgiving for the accession of William and Mary. In 1690 an autumnal thanksgiving was held, and the next year Plymouth Colony was merged in Massachusetts, and so passes out of the story. If any festival can be said to have been established, it was established in imitation of the old customs across the sea. Distinct religious societies, however, may have kept occasional thanksgivings, as the people at Barnstable observed thanksgiving December 22, 1636, and December 11, 1639.

In the Massachusetts Colony, the first thanksgiving was held at Boston, July 8, 1630, it being a special occasion, having no reference to harvests. Again, in February, 1631, there was a thanksgiving, as already noticed. In the October following a thanksgiving was held for the safe arrival of "Mrs. Winthrop and her children." In these appointments we do not find the thanksgiving that we know to-day, nor do we detect any fell design against Christmas. In 1632, on June 5th, there was a thanksgiving for the victories in the Palatinate, and in October another for the harvest. In 1637 there was a thanksgiving for victory over the Pequots, and in 1638 for the arrival of ships and for the harvest. The thanksgiving days from 1634 to 1684 numbered about twenty-one, or less than one in every two years. The celebration of 1676 had special reference to the victory over King Philip, though there were those in Church's expedition who had "much doubt then, and afterward seriously inquired, whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity and the benevolent principles of the Gospel." That of 1661 was for "stopping the bottles of heaven," and restraining the "excessive rajns."

From this period until the Revolution a thanksgiving of some kind occurred nearly every year, and even twice in the same year, as in 1742, as we learn from the manuscript records at the State House in Boston, which have been searched with reference to establishing the position taken in this article. Some of these days were appointed by the royal governors, while, again, they were ordered by the king or queen, or by the home board of trade. The people were ordered to give thanks when an heir to the throne was expected, and when the royal stranger arrived Massachusetts tried to be thankful again. Thus they filled up the tale of feasts, such as they were, the matter not being in the hands of the people as popularly supposed, and not being an exhibition of local gratitude. Under the date, however, of

Thursday, December 19, 1689, the Massachusetts General Court expressed itself as follows :

“ It having pleased the God of Heaven to mitigate His many frowns upon us in the Summer past, with a mixture of some very signal Favors, and in the midst of wrath, so far to remember Mercy ; that our harvests have not wholly failed, that our Indian enemies have had a check put upon their Designs of blood and spoil, that others have not seen their desires accomplished upon us, and that we have such hopes of our just God’s yet adding more perfection to our deliverance ;—Inasmuch also as the great God hath of late raised up such a defence to the Protestant Religion and interest abroad in the world, Especially in the happy accession of their Majesties Our sovereign King William and Queen Mary to the throne. It is therefore ordered that Thursday the nineteenth of December instant be kept as a day of thanksgiving throughout the Colony, and all servile labor on that day is hereby inhibited and the several ministers and assemblies are exhorted to observe the same in celebrating the just praises of Almighty God of whose tender mercies it is that we are not consumed.”

Thursday, July 14, 1692, we find a bill sent up to the Representatives setting apart a day for solemn thanksgiving for the preservation of their Majesties, the continuance of peace within the three kingdoms, the safe arrival of his Excellency the Governor, etc. ; it was read and consented to by William Phips.

Thursday, June 18, 1696. A bill was ordered to be drawn up appointing a day of thanksgiving for the early discovery of a horrid and detestable plot and conspiracy to assassinate the royal person of his sacred Majesty, and for the preservation of his Majesty and his kingdom from insurrection and invasion, and accordingly presented, read, and agreed to.

Coming into the reign of Queen Anne we find her making thanksgiving compulsory, like Elizabeth and others. In 1713 Anne speaks as follows in the Massachusetts records :

“ Whereas by our Royal Proclamation bearing date the 18th Day of May last, we did appoint and command that a general thanksgiving to Almighty God for the peace should be observed throughout Eng., Wales, and the town of Burwick upon Tweed, on Tuesday the sixteenth day of June instant, which time having been humbly Represented to us to be too short for making the preparations necessary for so great a Solemnity. We have thought fit by the advice of our Privy Council to issue our Royal Proc., hereby declaring, that Gen. Thanksgiving shall be observed in England, the dominion of Wales, and the town of Burwick upon Tweed, on Tuesday the 7th day of July, to be strictly observed on pain of suffering such pun-

ishment as we can justly inflict on such as shall contemn or neglect the performance of so religious a duty. Given in Court at Kensington June 8 1713, God save the Queen."

From this proclamation in particular we see how little reason there is for crediting the New Englanders with having made the observance obligatory and repulsive, as often charged.

In Connecticut the records show that thanksgivings were ordered at intervals from 1639 down to 1716, after which the observance was quite regular, all "servile labor" being prohibited on that day, as in England and all New England. Fast days often followed the festival, and were ordered in the same proclamation. In 1660 the New Haven authorities confessed that they were nonplussed; as the scribe observes, they could not "pich vpon a day."

In Rhode Island, as elsewhere, various of the Massachusetts appointments were observed. In New Jersey the records of thanksgiving are few, though common political events appear to have been improved quite regularly.

In Virginia, whose early history was overshadowed by frightful calamities, little appears to have been done, yet days were observed in obedience to the home government. The records need to be searched in order to show the particulars of the observance; yet the same royal proclamations that reached to New England went to Virginia, and with substantially the same results.

Coming to New York, we find Mr. Brodhead saying in his history, that the proclamation by government authority in this State of days of fasting and days of thanksgiving was a custom derived from Holland. Yet with this able and worthy writer everything was "Dutch."

The records of thanksgiving in New York are so scattered that it would be difficult to bring them together in an ordered series. As in New England, the observance during the seventeenth century was sporadic. Only about a dozen mentions of the day are found in the colonial documents.

In New York, as elsewhere, the people were not always happy in the selection of the occasion for thanksgiving. One of the early festivals recorded was that of 1644. A manuscript which the Dutch preserved at the Hague shows that in 1644 the New Yorkers marched to Greenwich, Conn., and shot or burned alive five or six hundred Indians, including women and children. They then marched back to New York, and sat down to a thanksgiving dinner.

In 1654, New York found a more fitting occasion for thanksgiving in the peace arranged between England and Holland; but the next year it was for

the victory over the Swedes in New Jersey. In 1659 general prosperity was the staple of gratitude among the burghers, and in 1664 the "Esopus war" was ended with thanks. In 1665, New Amsterdam changed hands, and the English kept thanksgiving for the "conquest." Three years later all parties were very grateful for the birth of an heir to the throne; and in 1696 the people were thankful for the preservation of the king. In 1755, New York, like New England, was in a blaze of thanksgiving glory for the victory of Sir William Johnson at Lake George; and in 1760 there was a thanksgiving day for the conquest of Canada. In New York, New England, and the other colonies political or military events took the lead, the harvests holding a subsidiary place.

After the close of the Revolution a tendency to make Thanksgiving Day a regular institution in New York was at once apparent, and Governor John Jay, in 1795, issued a proclamation for the 11th of November. The act, however, was seized upon by politicians, who maintained that he was seeking to flatter religious prejudices. At an early period, also, the mayors of New York were accustomed to appoint a day of thanksgiving, in accordance with the recommendation of the council, and that of December 16, 1799, appears to have been the first so ordered. Yet the observance of the day until Governor Clinton's time was more or less broken. The festival was kept, however, by Episcopalians, according to the provisions of the Prayer Book, other religious bodies at the same time following their own preferences. Clinton's course, like Jay's, excited criticism. At the east end of Long Island there was no little murmuring, because the day did not coincide with the local custom. It appears that the people of East and South Hampton observed thanksgiving on the Thursday after the cattle were driven home from the common pastures at Montauk Point, the day of the return of the cattle being fixed annually, with due solemnity, at the town meeting. Hence there was a collision, and the herdsmen were divided, striving as the herdsmen of Abram's cattle strove with those of Lot. But this was no case of an immovable body opposed to an irresistible force, and, therefore, the opponents of Clinton gave way, though not without many expostulations. Here was the beginning of the movement which led to the first presidential proclamation nationalizing Thanksgiving Day.

NOTE.—Some valuable matter on Thanksgiving will be found in the *New Englander* (1879, pp. 240-252). The reader will also find interesting material relating to Thanksgiving proclamations in Hough's Collections. The earliest form for the celebration of Thanksgiving Day appears to be that of the American Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by representatives of Pennsylvania.

## MINOR TOPICS

INVENTOR OF THE SUBMARINE TORPEDO—The summer tourist in search of the salt breeze may have eyed with anxiety the mysterious caution posted off one or two of our coast defences not to anchor in that vicinity by reason of "TORPEDOES!" Such anchorage grounds are rigidly avoided, and Government officers proceed in their experiments with these dangerous monsters without fear of exterminating peaceful craft unawares. As an instrument of war, the torpedo is coming forward; and had both parties in the recent Egyptian embroglio been possessed of navies, its modern methods would have been heard from. The principal defence of New York harbor, in case of a sudden rupture, is presumed to lie, we believe, in the capabilities of a torpedo-boat at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The submarine machine is claimed to be an American invention. General Henry L. Abbot, in charge of the United States Engineer School of Application at Willett's Point, Long Island, having examined the subject historically, finds David Bushnell, an undergraduate of Yale College in 1771-75, its originator, and in a quarto pamphlet lately published for the use and information of his corps, introduces all the known authentic references and extracts showing what Bushnell accomplished. The common impression that this individual, who became an officer in the Revolutionary Army, first turned his attention to the effect of submarine explosions for the one purpose of blowing up English men-of-war in our waters, is found not to be correct. He studied the subject before the war broke out—as early as his Freshman year, 1771, and himself speaks of making experiments "to prove that powder would take fire under water." His famous American Turtle, the father of torpedoes, so to speak, which attempted to blow up the "Asia" in 1776, was projected and completed while he was a student, and it is high praise which Lieutenant F. M. Barber, of the navy, awards him when he says, that notwithstanding its failure to accomplish anything against the enemy, it was "the most perfect thing of its kind that has ever been constructed, either before or since the time of Bushnell."

During the early part of the war Bushnell's efforts to injure the British shipping were unsuccessful, but his ingenuity and ability were recognized, and he was finally rewarded with an appointment as captain-lieutenant in the newly raised corps of sappers and miners. Promoted in 1781 to a full captaincy, he participated in the siege operations at Yorktown, and some-

time after the war removed to Georgia, where he died at an advanced age as a highly respected physician.

In summing up Captain Bushnell's contributions to scientific warfare, General Abbot concludes that he was the first to perceive and experimentally establish that the pressure of water alone may develop an intensity of action in a subaqueous explosion sufficient to destroy a vessel in the vicinity, that it was he who gave the name "torpedo" to a case containing a charge of gunpowder to be fired under water, and that he introduced the use of submarine boats and of drifting torpedoes. Fulton, coming after, originated the use of submarine mines, or torpedoes anchored to obstruct a channel. "In a word," says Abbot, "Fulton simply improved upon and developed Bushnell's *offensive* machines, but he originated the method of operating now known as *defensive* torpedo warfare. Finally, Samuel Colt, by introducing electricity as the agent for igniting the charges, rendered it possible to perfect both classes of torpedoes. To these three men, Americans all, we owe more than to any others the inauguration of this new and important mode of maritime warfare, which, by strengthening the hands of the weak, has done and is doing much to justify the sentiment inscribed by Fulton upon the title-page of his first treatise upon torpedo war, 'The Liberty of the Seas will be the Happiness of the Earth.'"

David Bushnell

THE WASHINGTON PEDIGREE AND SHIELD—The death of Colonel Joseph L. Chester must prove as much a deprivation to those working in the same field in America as to the English public, with whom he earned the reputation of being, as one of his admirers there writes of him, "a gentleman unrivalled and unapproachable in his own departments of genealogy." He will be missed by many individuals engaged in tracing their ancestry back to the motherland, and to whom in his lifetime he rendered valuable assistance. More than all, he was cut short in the midst of investigations into Washington's pedigree, which he had pursued so far as to overthrow heretofore accepted but incorrect theories respecting the first emigrants, and whose further researches and final conclusions were awaited with a lively interest on both sides of the water. In this matter, as is well known, Colonel Chester established the fact several years since that the John and Lawrence Washington whom Sparks, Irving, Baker, and others describe as the first Washingtons to come to Virginia, and the former of whom is given as the direct ancestor of the "Father of his Country," never

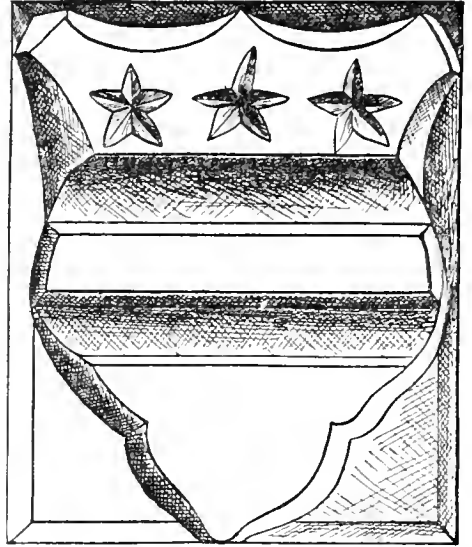
emigrated to America, but lived, died, and were buried in England. This finding took historians and genealogists by surprise, not a few being disappointed, and, in the interval since, little more has been reaped beyond discussions and suspense. Colonel Chester himself, however, to use his own word, had a firm "belief" that he had established the identity of the true emigrants, John and Lawrence, and showed his evidence to his friends, but refrained from publishing anything until every link was complete and the pedigree unimpeachable. The final link was the missing will of the first John Washington, of Virginia, whose signature was needed for comparison with that on a deed discovered in England and supposed to be drawn by the same John. A vexatious doubt thus attaches to the matter.

What, in the eyes of some, lent interest to the pedigree heretofore was the quality of Washington's ancestry, the line being traceable regularly to Lawrence Washington, of "gentle" blood, who, in 1533, and again in 1546, appears as Mayor of Northampton, with his home at Sulgrave, in that shire, and which, still standing, is the oldest known Washington manor-house in England. It is pleasant to know, perhaps, that our first President was well connected, and, so far as this point goes, it appears that Colonel Chester's researches, could the Virginia link have been supplied, would still have connected him with the Northampton family. In regard to this we have almost a positive assurance from the Rev. J. N. Simpkinson, author of "The Washingtons," who was given the opportunity of examining Colonel Chester's new material, and with whom he freely exchanged views on the subject. In a letter to the *Nation* of April 15, 1880, he writes: "I hope I am not saying too much, under the circumstances, in adding that some of these documents seemed to me to supply strong presumptive proof that the emigrants would be found, after all, to have sprung from the Northampton stock, though of a generation below that which was erroneously pointed out [by Sparks, Baker, etc.]. In this case Brington and Sulgrave would not lose their interest to Americans." And so they would not. A view of the Washington manor of Brington, whither the son of Lawrence of Sulgrave went to reside, appeared in THE MAGAZINE for August, 1881, with a brief article from the pen of Mr. Simpkinson. The Sulgrave manor, older still, is at present occupied by an English farmer, and it seems to have received but little notice. One of its interesting features is the shield, or family coat of arms, cut into the stone in the porchway, a fac-simile of which, reduced, is presented on the next page, drawn from a cast of the original, for the use of which we are indebted to Mr. E. M. Tuffley, now in this country with interesting material respecting the Northampton Washingtons. This is believed to be the earliest specimen of the shield extant. Upon the ques-



tion whether its stars and bars suggested the stars and stripes for the American flag in the war for independence, about which our English friends seem to entertain little doubt, something further may be said in a future number of *THE MAGAZINE*. That the flag should somewhat resemble the shield may be a coincidence, but the probability that it is anything more can hardly be entertained.

Lawrence Washington, the Mayor, lived to a good old age. His wife's name was Amée. She was buried in a vault in the Sulgrave church, and to this day may be seen in its south aisle, near the old pew, the family tombstone, with its brasses, inscription, effigies of the children, and a well-worn coat of arms. The inscription, which runs as follows: "Here lyeth buried y<sup>e</sup> bodys of Lawrence Washington Gent. & Amee his wyf by whome he had issue IIII sons & VII daughts w Lawrence dyed y<sup>e</sup> — day of — an<sup>o</sup> 15— & Amee deceased the VI day of October an<sup>o</sup> Dm 1564," shows that Lawrence expected to be buried in the same spot, when the dates left blank would be inserted; but, being buried elsewhere, the dates remain blank. The character of the lettering in this oldest known Washington gravestone inscription is represented in Lawrence's name, given below, reduced one-half in size, and drawn from an original rubbing of the ancient brass. But these memorials bring us back to the main question—Was this Lawrence the direct ancestor, distant seven generations, of George Washington?



Lawrence Washington Gent  
1564

A RARE NEWSPAPER—"JOIN OR DIE"—The Stamp Act agitation developed, among other things, the resources of colonial editors. They assailed it with every shaft that wit and pen could forge within the bounds of loyalty. One anonymous individual manifested the degree of his public

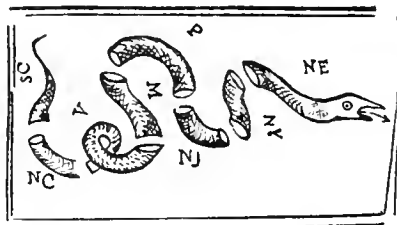
spirit by issuing a special sheet wherein to air the sentiments of certain writers whose contributions were rejected by "the printers in York" as being written "with greater freedom" than was prudent. The heading of this newspaper, of which a reduced fac-simile is here presented, shows the same device which was subsequently used at the opening of the Revolutionary War, and which is also said to have been printed in Pennsylvania ten years before as an insignia for colonial union against the Indians. But for Stamp-Act times the sheet in question appears to have been unique, and but one number is known to have been issued. A copy is preserved in the library of Yale College, and the query is made whether there were more numbers; also, *where* was the paper published? Certain references in its columns indicate that it was outside of New England. Had the editor shown more personal grit and come out over his own name he might have been honored with conspicuous mention in history; but he was at least facetious, as he announces his identity and locality as follows: "Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the *Bribe Refused*, on *Constitution Hill*, North America." The paper—a single sheet, about ten inches wide by fifteen in length—contains but two articles, one signed "Philoleutherus," the other "Philopatriæ," which are argumentative and rampant against the Stamp.

### JOIN OR DIE.

SATURDAY, September 21, 1765.

[NUMB. 1.]

*The Constitutional*

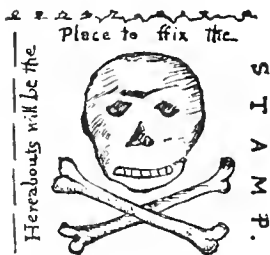


COURANT:

Containing Matters interesting to LIBERTY,

and no wise repugnance to LOYALTY.

The use of the snake as the tocsin for union is explained quite satisfactorily in Preble's "History of the American Flag." It denoted both defiance and vigilance. The device, as it appears in the heading annexed, was reproduced soon after by the Boston *Evening Post*, evidently as something new. Can any one inform us certainly whether it appeared earlier than 1765? The articles were reprinted in the Connecticut *Gazette*, and as for the Stamp itself, it was repeatedly caricatured as the Death's-head, as in the subjoined cut from one of the New England papers of 1765. The Maryland *Gazette* of October 31st of that year brought it out, with the alliterative phrase, "The Times are Dreadful, Dismal, Doleful, Dolorous, and Dollar-less," appended in black letters.







*Frederic de Peyster*

## A MEMORIAL SKETCH OF FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D.

The founder of the American branch of the family, Johannes de Peyster, a native of Haarlem, in Holland, and of Huguenot descent, settled in New Amsterdam in 1652, where he died in 1685 after having faithfully discharged, under both the Dutch and English rule, many offices of trust and honor, including those of alderman, deputy mayor, and mayor. His sons, Abraham, Johannes, and Cornelius, were respectively esteemed for their private worth and public spirit, and became eminent in the history of the colony. The succeeding generations of the family to the present time have enjoyed the respect of the community, and have intermingled by marriage with other reputable families of the State, whose names are associated with its early history.

The late Frederic de Peyster was born in this city on November 18, 1796. He was a direct descendant of Abraham de Peyster, and son of Frederic de Peyster. His mother was Helen Hake, daughter of Commissary-General Samuel Hake. Mr. de Peyster gave early evidence of the possession of qualities which indicated for him an honorable and useful career, and marked him as well fitted to maintain the honor of the family name. He was carefully prepared for college at Nassau Hall, under Dr. Eigenbrodt, and at the grammar school of Dr. Chase, in Poughkeepsie. In both of these institutions, celebrated for their excellent standard of scholarship, he distinguished himself by his diligence and proficiency, and the superior opportunities which their high character afforded exercised no small influence on his subsequent career in strengthening the generous proclivities with which he had been happily endowed. After a sedulous and faithful attention to his duties in the collegiate course at Columbia College, where he attained high scholarly rank in a class of distinction, he graduated in 1816.

Inheriting the preferences of his paternal ancestors, he chose the profession of the law, and in the preparatory studies for his vocation enjoyed the friendship and guidance of the celebrated jurists, Peter Augustus Jay, afterward a President of this Society, and the venerable Peter Van Schaack. In 1819 he was admitted to the bar, and devoted himself to chancery practice. His legal talents and proficiency soon attracted the official notice of Governor DeWitt Clinton, who appointed him a Master in Chancery in 1820. The executive force, sound judgment, and integrity which he displayed in the discharge of his official duties, secured his continuance in that office for the long period of seventeen years.

Shortly after his admission to the bar he became interested in the military organization of the State, and was appointed a Captain in the 115th Regiment. In 1825 he was selected by Brigadier-General Fleming as an aid, and shortly afterward became a member of Governor Clinton's staff as Military Secretary for the South-

ern District of the State. In this field, which the young citizen's patriotic sense of duty had impelled him to enter, he displayed the same sterling common-sense and administrative talent which he manifested in his profession, and on more than one occasion his excellent legal capacity was of great service to his superior officers.

At the period of his retirement from his office of Master in Chancery, Mr. de Peyster had increased, by sagacious and profitable investments, the large patrimony which he had inherited, to such an extent as to compel his relinquishment of his professional career for the purpose of devoting himself to the management of his estate. From that period to his death, his life, though not distinguished by civic position or notable event, was no less honorable and useful than it would have been had he continued in the path which leads to professional distinction and public preferment. The public spirit of the good citizen suffered no abatement from his disinclination for public station, and in the political discussions and struggles of the day his opinions were listened to with attention, and his personal influence was of weight. In the business community, to which his interests commanded him, his hereditary uprightness, thorough legal knowledge, and sound financial judgment were recognized in a marked manner, and he became a director and trustee of many monetary institutions of the city. His conscientious and able contribution to their faithful management was an important factor in the prosperity of these institutions, among which may be instanced here the noted Tontine Association, of which he was the last surviving associate, and the affairs of which were managed by him with the care and fidelity which he bestowed on his private interests.

But it is chiefly in the nobler fields of religious, philanthropic, and intellectual activity that the monuments of his life and character were erected, and remain as conspicuous examples. Placed by the possession of a large fortune above harassing personal cares, he was enabled to follow the high preferences of his nature, and the gentleman of leisure became a constant and faithful laborer in these fields until the day of his death.

The religious element was conspicuous in his nature. His logical and well-disciplined mind early accepted the truths of Christianity, and through life, by his zeal, personal activity, and substantial aid in the diffusion of those truths and the inculcation of moral principle, he exhibited the character of the sterling Christian gentleman. At various periods he was a Trustee of the Bible Society and other religious bodies, and at the date of his death was Warden of the Church of the Ascension in this city, with whose notable efficiency in the cause of charity he was largely identified.

To measures for improving the condition of the unfortunate and suffering his large human sympathy led him to extend at all times his hearty aid and co-operation. During the three score years of his manhood and venerable old age he served most faithfully in the boards of management of many charitable and educational institutions, and the instances of his liberal benefactions are numerous on their records. As Trustee of the Free School Society, and of the Institution for the Instruc-

tion of the Deaf and Dumb, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, Vice-President of the Home for Incurables, and of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, he was thus especially active, and effected, by his advice and material assistance, many salutary measures for furthering the humane purposes and extending the usefulness of these institutions. But large as his public beneficence was in connection with these and other bodies, it was in private that he preferred to exercise the generosity of his nature by extending his countenance, advice, and bounty to suffering worth, and his unostentatious liberality endeared him to its recipients.

Interested in all plans for the public welfare, his efforts in connection with institutions established for the intellectual elevation of his fellow beings will cause his name to be gratefully remembered by all who enjoy their facilities or appreciate their great importance to the individual and the State. To these in particular his time, talents, and means were given with a noble disinterestedness which was commensurate with his great love of letters and high culture.

In 1824 Mr. de Peyster became a member of this Society, and during his connection with it of nearly sixty years evinced the most ardent interest in its welfare and purposes. A constant and watchful attention to its needs and interests characterized his discharge of the numerous trusts with which the Society successively recognized and honored his great services. He was its Corresponding Secretary from 1827 to 1837, its Foreign Secretary in 1844, its Second Vice-President from 1850 to 1853, and President during the respective terms from 1864 to 1866, and from 1873 to the recent period of his death. His courteous manners and genial disposition were most happily displayed in his official relations with the Society, and his decisions as its presiding officer were characterized by accuracy and impartiality. His devotion to its interests, in which both the sympathy of the scholar and the activity of the associate were zealously manifested, gave him a hold on its affections which lasted to the close of his life. His gifts to it were many and important, and his personal efforts in increasing its collections in all departments will be held in remembrance as the offering of a genuine lover of history, art, and archæology.

On his retirement from the Presidency in 1867, the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Society, Mr. Bancroft, in paying a merited tribute to his services in its behalf, spoke as follows :

“I rise to offer a resolution expressive of the gratitude which this Society owes to its retiring President. No man living has done more than he, first, to restore life to the Society when it had fallen into a state of languor and decay, and then by persistent zeal to raise it from the condition of feebleness to established and ever-increasing prosperity. When, forty years ago, the Society invoked the aid of the Législature, Mr. de Peyster, then in the prime of life, was selected as its agent, and he discharged the laborious duty with patience, earnestness, and success. Those who witnessed his exertions at the time left their testimony that on a similar occasion ‘they would sooner have his assistance than that of any other person whom

they knew,' and the records of the Society show their grateful acknowledgment of his merits as their envoy. Having thus secured our continuance, he labored indefatigably as the chairman of a committee to raise funds for the purpose of erecting the beautiful structure in which we are now assembled, himself giving an example of liberality. He was the Chairman of our Building Committee at the time when this edifice was raised, and attended to the difficult business of supervision with exemplary fidelity. The original drawings of birds by Audubon form a principal gem in our collections, and Mr. de Peyster was chairman of the committee by whom they were secured to us. He was, too, a most efficient member of the committee by which the large and invaluable collection of Egyptian antiquities was brought under our roof and became our property. He has served us faithfully in various important offices, and finally, for a succession of years has filled the chair of President of our body with unwearied diligence and unquestioned impartiality. As he retires from that station he has the satisfaction of seeing that the Society has grown, under his administration, in dignity and in members, and he now transfers it to his successor in a state of progressive prosperity and of perfect harmony among its members."

Mr. Bancroft then submitted the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously :

"Resolved, That the thanks of the Society are eminently due and are hereby given to Frederic de Peyster, our retiring President, for the assiduity, courtesy, and fairness with which he has discharged the various duties of his office, and for the long and faithful career of services by which he has largely contributed to bring it to the high state of prosperity which it now enjoys."

Mr. de Peyster possessed a keen taste for historic investigation, and his numerous discourses and researches have won for him a reputable name among scholars and patrons of letters. Of his addresses before this Society there have been printed the anniversary addresses on "The Moral and Intellectual Influence of Libraries," in 1866 ; on "William the Third as a Reformer," in 1869 ; on "The Representative Men of the English Revolution," in 1876 ; and on "The Life and Administration of the Earl of Bellomont," in 1879. These works give evidence of careful research, much erudition, and a nice scholarly discrimination of the shades of historical criticism. His style is characterized by clearness in the conception of his subject, conciseness and vigor of expression, and a felicitous use of classical allusion which reveals the liberally educated gentleman of the old school.

Mr. de Peyster was twice married ; on May 15, 1820, to Mary Justina, daughter of John Watts, Esq., a lady of uncommon intelligence and rare personal attractions, whose death he was called upon to lament in 1821, and by whom he had issue, an only son, General John Watts de Peyster, of Tivoli, N. Y. Mr. de Peyster's second wife, to whom he was married on November 14, 1839, was Mrs. Maria Antoinette Hone, daughter of John Kane, Esq. This lady, whose memory is dear for her numerous graces of mind and person, died on October 30, 1849.

Besides the independent spirit, tenacity of purpose, and sterling integrity which



he inherited from his forefathers, Mr. de Peyster possessed in a large degree their domestic virtues. In social life he lived in an atmosphere of mental and moral culture, and attracted and retained the friendship of the eminent and cultivated men of his day. The intimacy which existed between him and his predecessor in the Presidency of this Society, Governor Clinton, and which was one founded on similarity of scholarly tastes as well as personal affection, lasted till the death of that distinguished statesman ; and by all who have been more recently honored with his venerable friendship, or have enjoyed the intimacies and refinements of his generous hospitality, his courtesy, congeniality, and instructive conversation will be often affectionately recalled.

Possessed of a vigorous and robust constitution, which prolonged his life beyond the usual span, his nature succumbed at last to the infirmities of age, and his career of honor and usefulness terminated in his death at Tivoli, in this State, on August 17, 1882, at the ripe age of eighty-six years.

It is fitting that this Society, with which he has been so closely identified during the greater portion of his life, with whose honorable aims he has had such a deep sympathy, and to whose success he has so largely contributed, should inscribe on its minutes its profound regret at his death. His name is eminently worthy to be associated in its grateful memory with those of the distinguished men who have preceded him in its Presidency. But not alone as of one thus connected with its history should his name be honored by us to-night, but as of one who, in the nearly four score and ten years of his life, served his generation well, whose purity of life and integrity of character were free from aspersion, whose tireless efforts to promote the humane, philanthropic, and intellectual interests of the community have contributed so largely to its character and prosperity. Unceasing and unpretentious in filling the full measure of his duties, his mission of good works was nobly fulfilled. The memory of the good citizen, the scholarly and Christian gentleman, will be affectionately cherished by his contemporaries, and his life and character should be venerated by the rising youth of our community as an incentive and an example.

## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE BEGINNINGS OF TRANSATLANTIC  
STEAM NAVIGATION

[This curious, interesting, and valuable communication was addressed to the father of Cyrus W. Field, who was at that time engaged in his plan to connect the Old World and the New by an agent even more subtle than steam.]

NEW YORK, January 3, 1844

DR. D. D. FIELD of Haddam

*My Dear Brother in Christ*—Yesterday I received your kind letter of 30<sup>th</sup> ultimo and nothing but the pleasure of seeing you could give me more pleasure. I do not think we have met since we graduated in 1802, and judging from what I have experienced since my return to my native land I do not suppose you would from personal appearance have the slightest recollections of me. My visit of pleasure is mingled with sorrow, and I cannot help at times feeling what the accomplished Mr. Addison calls "elegant distress." I am not like a permanent resident, called to mourn the loss of a dear Friend, or near Relative, here and there, and now and then, but I am called to mourn alone over a generation gone. Those who were my seniors are nearly all in the churchyard. Those who were my cotemporaries mostly are swept from the throngs that live, the few remaining all weak and withered of their force, just waiting upon the verge of Eternity.

I am happy to notice the sketch of your career and the blessings which God has shed around you, and in compliance with your request I hasten to give you some particulars of my own eventful life.

You are probably aware that I was

born on the 2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1780, in Plymouth, Connecticut. My Father, Major General David Smith, was born in Lebanon, near Norwich, December 2<sup>d</sup>, O. S., 1747. His Father Died when he was three or four years old, and as he had but one brother the particulars of our ancestry on my Father's side are lost.

My Mother, Ruth Hitchcock, Daughter of Captain Aaron Hitchcock, of Suffield, Connecticut, was born March 4<sup>th</sup>, O. S., 1750. They were married November 23<sup>d</sup>, 1769, O. S., and had four sons, Aaron, David, Junius and Lucius. My two oldest brothers have been dead some years. Lucius and myself survive.—My Grandfather Hitchcock held a captains Commission under Geo. III<sup>d</sup>, and served one campaign in Canada in the French war of 1760 or 56.

There were five Brothers of the Hitchcocks who come out from England with the Pilgrim Fathers to New England. They held the grant of a large tract of land in New England, but finding on arrival that it was in possession of hostile tribes of Indians, they abandoned their grant and joined the first settlement at Withersfield whence they spread up Connecticut River to Suffield and Springfield.—My Grandfather Hitchcock was living in Suffield when I went to Europe in 1805 and sustained great vigour of mind and body until near his Death, at the advanced age of ninety-four.

You are no doubt aware of the course of my education and of the events which preceded my earliest return for Europe. My Brother David was engaged in Commercial business in New Haven, and was in conjunction with Captain Elnathan Atwater and Captain Salt Peck of that

city owners of the ship Mohawk, engaged in the West India trade. She was captured by a British cruiser, sent into Tortola and condemned. I was then practising law in New Haven. They applied to me to go out to London and prosecute an Appeal in the High court of Admiralty. I accepted the invitation and embarked in the Ship Alexander, Captain Vose, at New York, on the 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1805.—At that time I had no idea of remaining in London longer than might be necessary to prosecute the Appeal. But the trial of cause was protracted for more than two years before I could get a hearing before the Lords of Appeal, but the decision of the Vice Admiralty court in Tortola was reversed and the avails of the Ship and cargo restored. In the mean time I became extensively engaged in Commerce, and connected as I was with the House of Tallmadge Smith & Co, New York, it was not an easy matter to quit my post. In 1810 I became acquainted with Sarah Allen, the second Daughter of Thomas Allen, Esquire, of Huddersfield, Yorkshire. She had been educated at the first schools in the Country, was an accomplished and elegant girl in every respect; and what is still more important was one of the best and most Spiritually minded women that adorned Great Britain.

My business required my attention in New York and I sailed the 19<sup>th</sup> of November of that year, leaving my delicate domestic affairs in a loose unsettled state; and yet I thought I should find my fair one single on my return. I arrived in New York about Christmass, remained until the ensuing Spring without hearing at all from Huddersfield, dissolved my

partnership and sailed for Liverpool in the Hercules, Captain Vose, in May, I arrived in June. At this time I had never been to Mr Allen's house as I met his Daughter in the Neighbourhood of perdin (*sic*) where she was stopping a few weeks upon a visit to her friends and my friends.—I soon learned that my views had been disclosed to the family. The idea of a Yankee desiring to such an intimate union with one of the family received a strong opposition,—But I also learned that two young Gentlemen of wealth, and just so far as wealth goes of respectability, had failed in their addresses to my fair one, although supported by the united strength of family influence. My mind was quite at ease and I knew what I had to do.

I immediately wrote to her father and gave him references of the first American merchants in London and Liverpool who knew me and gave him my address in Manchester and proceeded on my journey to Scotland. On my return no letter was received, and resolved to go to Huddersfield at once. I did so and sent a note from the George Hotel to inform Mr Allen that I was there, the following morning he called upon me and informed me that he had not made the enquiries which he should like to make &c., &c. I perceived the old gentleman did not intend to make any and was waiting the events of time to quash so undesirable a match. I told him that he was the natural guardian of his daughter her mother who was a Hague had been dead some years and that it was his unquestionable duty to see no improper person visit his house. I turned the conversation to the Military and Political wants of the day,

and he soon took leave in as kind a spirit as I could expect, but I had no idea of defeat and proceeded that evening to Leeds, sixteen miles from Huddersfield, waited upon some of the first commercial men in that place, (with whom I was doing a large business and who knew me well) and solicited letters to M<sup>r</sup> Allen. I also wrote to my friends in London and Liverpool, stating what I wanted, and requesting them to send letters for me to the "George" in Huddersfield. I waited in Leeds until I thought the letters would be in Huddersfield and then taking what I received from my friends in Leeds returned. I found a brave collection and bundling them all into one huge parcel, sent them to M<sup>r</sup> Allen at Greenhead where he resided. He came down to the inn almost immediately, took me by the hand and said he should be very happy to see me at his house, and I thought I should be very happy to be seen. We were married on the 9<sup>th</sup> April 1812.

By her I had one Daughter born in London, 11 Broad Street Buildings, Parish of Bishop's-gate.

She Married in June — 1840 M<sup>r</sup> Edward Knight Maddock, eldest son of Samuel Maddock, Vicar of Ropley, Hampshire. He was educated at Cambridge and took Orders in the established church. He was one of M<sup>r</sup> Blunt's curates in Steet-ham, a lovely village about eight miles from London. In October 1842 he was appointed by the East India Company, a Chaplain to the Army in India Bengal Tri-archivary (*sic*) and sailed from Portsmouth with his wife and little son then about two months old, in November of the same year from Calcutta. On his arrival he

was appointed Chaplain to the Court Station of Barrack Poor, about sixteen miles from Calcutta. In September last he was appointed chaplain to the important Station of Meerut which I perceive is a little North of Delhi and about seven hundred miles North by East of Bombay. My last accounts from my daughter are of 16<sup>th</sup> September. When the family was stopping with the Bishop of Calcutta, and making preparations for their voyage of three months up the Ganges, they expected to leave Calcutta the beginning of October and I trust are in Meerut by this time. I lost my wife in 1836, she fell asleep with all the tranquility of a child, and her memory is sweet to my soul. Thus you see after wandering upon a foreign strand for thirty-eight years, I return to my own my native land a solitary stranger. I continued my mercantile pursuits after my marriage sometimes in great prosperity and sometimes in great adversity, experiencing all the vicissitudes of this changeable fluctuating state of existence, the particulars of which would probably afford you little interest and would make too long a story for you to read, until 1832, when I visited this country with my wife and Daughter and commenced that great work of Atlantic Steam Navigation which has led to such important results in peace and war, and which I think, justifies me in claiming to have done more through the signal blessings of God, for the commerce of Europe and America than any man in existence.

You will excuse my entering upon this subject and noticing the details with a view of showing what great events are compassed by the most feeble means,

and that Providence in working out the mighty changes which have distinguished various periods of the worst history never wants agents just suited to the accomplishment of his purposes.

On the 12<sup>th</sup> of August 1832 I sailed from London with my little family in the British Barque, St. Leonard, Captain Rutherford for New York, I chartered the vessel for the voyage out and had one hundred and fifty passengers on board.

The passage was rough, tedious and protracted to fifty-seven days. The practicability of crossing the Atlantic by steam and the vast advantage which must result from that mode of conveyance occupied my thought and the more I considered the subject the more clearly it developed itself to my mind until I became perfectly convinced that it was not only practicable but that it was the best and most philosophical mode of navigating the Ocean.

Upon my arrival in New York I began to disclose my views upon this subject, and to argue the question with those of my friends who differed with me, in opinion, and who could see nothing but insuperable difficulties. The project was never out of my mind, and all the objections raised and all the difficulties foreseen only served to confirm my own opinions. I answered all objectors to my own satisfaction, and gathered strength in the combat, although I knew that they remained unconvinced, for their incredulity was visible upon every feature.

It was not a slight affair for an individual without fortune without influence, and without the co-operation of others, to devise, shape, and follow out measures which were to change to the structure of

commercial intercourse between Europe and America and to establish a system of navigation new in itself, against the combined interest of commercial and nautical men, against the uniform practice of all past ages, and the stubborn unbending prejudices of men who were like other animals in one volatory (*sic*) sphere of action.

Having maturely considered the undertaking in all its bearings, I determined previously to my leaving New York in December, 1832, to propose the scheme to some of the most influential merchants of that city, I waited upon M<sup>r</sup> Hone, Goodhue & Company, George Sutton and many others, whose names I do not recollect, and explained my object. The answer I received was characteristic if not national, "Try the experiment when you get back to London, and if it succeeds we will come in and join you." Not one favoured the plan upon independant grounds, I cannot say I was disappointed, for I did not entertain any very sanguine expectations that the Merchants of New York would lead the way.

I sailed from New York on the 20<sup>th</sup> December, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> January 1833 arrived in London. To enlist the public generally at that period in such an undertaking appeared to me an unlikely thing. The only chance of success seemed to be that of inducing those already engaged in the steam coasting trade, and who therefore had some experience in a small way to look favourably upon the project. With this view I called upon M<sup>r</sup> Jones, then a director in the London and Edinburgh Steam Navigation Company, whose steam vessels were then the largest afloat, explained to him views,

and solicited his co-operation in carrying into effect the plan of navigating the Atlantic by steam.

I soon found that the experience of one engaged in the coasting trade was little better than no experience at all.

He was totally unacquainted with foreign commerce, and was utterly lost if you attempted to carry his mind beyond Scotland. After two or three interviews he requested me to commit my ideas to writing, and he would lay them before the Board of Directors.

In compliance with that request I wrote the following letter. See N<sup>o</sup> 1 in the pamphlet accompanying this letter to Mr Jones and his answer N<sup>o</sup> 2.

The answer shut the door against all further communications in that quarter, and was sufficiently discouraging.

There was but one steam vessel in England besides those owned by the London and Edinburgh Steam Company, of sufficient size, or in any way adapted to the risk of a voyage across the Atlantic, and that belonged to London merchants.

This ship was then in the service of Don Pedro, in Portugal, but was expected home in the ensuing spring. I resolved to wait her return. In May, I think, 1883, she arrived at Blackwall, and I went down immediately to examine her. She was a strong, well built ship, in bad condition, miserably fitted up, and could not well be more filthy if a cargo of pigs instead of Don Pedro's soldiers had inhabited her.

Still I thought she might be put in condition to go the voyage, and accordingly applied to some one interested in the ship and offered to charter her for New York.

After some days spent in talking, I learned that there were sixteen owners and to induce sixteen owners of one vessel to listen to so preposterous a scheme as that of sending a steam vessel across the Atlantic, was entirely hopeless, and the sixteen owners together with the most exorbitant demands for freight, were abandoned.

I was now at sea again, and upon my own bottom. Seeing the difficulties which attended all my efforts to charter a ship and feeling at the same time a growing conviction of the unsuitableness of the ships themselves for so long a voyage, I turned my attention most seriously to the formation of a company for the purpose of building steam ships for Atlantic navigation.

The more I revolved this point in my mind the clearer I saw I was following the safest and most correct course and therefore was soon reconciled to former disappointments.

Not a single individual whom I consulted gave me the slightest encouragement, and as yet I had taken no steps to ascertain the bearing of public opinion. It became necessary that some step of that kind should be taken, for I felt that ultimate success must depend upon public support.

I knew London well. Few men had experienced more of the vicissitudes of commercial life than I had. The weight of personal influence of high standing of a titled name, so important in bringing forward and maturing any new enterprise in London I had not. It must therefore be the intrinsic merit of the thing itself that could, under my guidance, carry it forward to a successful result.

On the 1<sup>st</sup> June 1835 I published a prospectus of a joint stock Steam Navigation Company, in my own name, for in truth I could find no one to second me, proposing to raise £100,000 in two hundred and ten shares of £500 each, to construct steam ships for the New York trade. This prospectus was widely distributed, at a considerable expense of money and of labour. No person in the American trade was omitted, and most of the Public Companies and Public Officers were furnished with a Prospectus. I annex this Prospectus which I find my nephew M<sup>r</sup> Henry Smith of this city has preserved, to show the time when I first came before the public, and to show that the original plan was to combine American with British ships in the same line.

Not a single share was applied for, nor did I expect many applications, but the object I had in view was answered. From those employed in distributing the prospectus I learned that the feeling of the public was upon the subject. A few looked upon the scheme with some favour, and several gentlemen called upon me, to make enquiries. Generally, however, the plan was treated with Sarcasm, Slander, and Ridicule in the highest possible degree. Sly inuendoes, lies, open and insinuating, and every species of hostilities which interest and prejudice and ignorance could engender assailed me from every quarter.

But there were some thinking gentlemen whose private interests were not likely to be affected by a change of system that gave some attention to the proposal, lent an ear to my argument in its favor, thought it a bold legitimate enterprise, and encouraged me to form a Di-

rection and come before the public in a regular and more imposing way.

The storm raised by the shipping interest generally and all the American trade with one single exception against the plan was a fearful thing to contend against, and I took some time to consider and weigh the matter, for the expense was heavy, the labour immense, and the risk of defeat and consequent loss and disgrace, deserved some thought. At length I determined to leave the worst, hope for the best, and carry forward the undertaking with all the energy I could command. But my sanguine temperament prevented my seeing or anticipating a thousandth part of the trials and humiliations to which I was subjecting myself.

My Prospectus was revised and the stock capital raised to £500,000, and the name of it altered to the American and British Steam Navigation Company, but I had not secured a single Director. I called personally upon all the principal American houses to solicit their aid by becoming Directors, and every one declined. Now it was that I learned that if the company was formed at all it must be entirely independent of the shipping and American interest. This circumstance increased the difficulty tenfold. Those must be enlisted who were strangers in the field, entirely unacquainted with the American trade, and who must be argued into a belief that they could do what those concerned in the trade could not do. Having printed the prospectus *pro forma*, without a single name, I waited upon my own Bankers, Mess<sup>rs</sup> Puriott Grote & Co. M<sup>r</sup> Geo. Grote was then member of Parliament

for the city of London, a gentleman of a strong powerful mind. He saw the scope of the plan clearly, remarked that he thought it a fair, legitimate and noble enterprise, and no bubble, but he declined accepting either the Chair or a seat in the Direction, as being incompatible with their business as Bankers. But they all agreed that they had no objection to keep the Cash.

I was introduced by a friend to Sir John Ray Reed, of the house of Reed, Irving & Co. He was a Director in the Bank of England, a member of Parliament from Dover, and one who carries the manners of the Court into the Counting House.

I showed him my Prospectus and requested him to allow me to insert his name as Chairman of the Company. "I approve of the plan, sir, and have no doubt it will succeed, and as to raising the money, sir, it is nothing at all, sir; you will have no difficulty whatever." "But will you allow me to insert your name as Chairman?" "Why, sir, you know I am a member of Parliament for Dover. I have six hundred letters to answer every Session, am Director of the Bank of England, and have a large concern here to look after. I am afraid it will not be in my power to give my time to it. If I were to place my name to that Prospectus I should be overwhelmed with letters of application, for shares from all parts of the Kingdom." "You need not, sir John, give yourself the slightest trouble on that score. I will call every morning for any letters addressed to you on the business of the company and will answer them all myself." "Very well, I will consult with my partners and let you

know to morrow morning." "At what time?" "At three o'clock." The following day at three o'clock I called again, when Sir John informed me his partners did not think he could devote the requisite time to the object, and he must therefore decline the Chair. "But, sir, I think well of the plan, and will do all I can for you. You may use my name whenever you think proper, but I will tell you whom you ought to have for Directors." Here he enumerated the principal American Houses. "You ought to have one Director from each house." "You are quite right, Sir John, only you have omitted one. I want Sir John to be Chairman. I have called upon all the Gentlemen you have named and they all decline the Directorship. But I am here as a man of business, and I have one more question to ask. If I go forward and form this company will you take shares in it?" "Yes, I will." When the Company was formed, I sent him a Prospectus. He never took the slightest notice of it, or wrote for a single share. But at the Dinner given by the Directors at the Launch of the British Queen, in May 1837, when the Governor and Corporation of the Bank of England was given as a toast he did make a speech, in which lauded the Company, and remarked that he thought it would be not only of vast importance to the commerce of Great Britain and the United States, but of singular benefit to the institution with which he had the honour of being connected as Deputy Governor. All very courtly but very useless.

Some thought it would be impossible to take coal enough to steam across the Atlantic, others thought that a Steam



Ship could not live upon the high seas, and that the risk of such a voyage was too great for any one to hazard. Every body thought something, but nobody the right thing. The effect upon my mind of constantly and daily meeting objections and arguing the question was a full and perfect conviction that the thing was practicable, although I was checked by the lectures of Dr Lardner, delivered in Bristol, and other parts of the country, proving as he thought, and as most of his auditors thought, the utter impracticability of running a Steam Ship by steam from Portsmouth to New York. I made slow progress in procuring Directors, but had two or three upon my list. About this time I was introduced to M<sup>r</sup> Isaac Selby, then Chairman of the London and Birmingham Rail Road, Director of the Royal Exchange Insurance Company, London Dock Company, and as a gentleman likely to entertain my project. I was wholly unacquainted with him, but saw that he was a man of business, prompt and offhand. I explained my business. He entered into my views at once and requested me to call upon him the next day at three o'clock. I called accordingly. He soon came in his usual hasty half hop and jump way and sung out "I will be your Chairman." "I thank you, sir." That was all that passed upon the occasion. I felt a load drop from my mind, a bright gleam of hope refreshed my spirit—and gathering up my almost exhausted energies I looked forward with full confidence to the final consummation of my protracted labours.

The following day I called upon the Chairman. The main point considered was that of filling up the Direction. I

had not then issued to the public my second prospectus, and as the Chairman objected to one of the names on my list, I was obliged to undo what I had done and get rid of him in the most civil way I could. My list of Directors was slender but headed by Selby.

I thought delay might injure more than want of force. I therefore determined to come boldly before the Public, and on the 31<sup>st</sup> October 1835 issued my second Prospectus which I annex N<sup>o</sup> 2.

The way was a good deal cleared and the prospect opened out cheerfully. I felt that I had in M<sup>r</sup> Selby a gentleman of experience in Companies to consult with, and there was consequently some division of the weight and responsibility of the concern. Up to this time I laboured single handed, without the assistance of any one. Notwithstanding the weight which a most influential and respectable Chairman gave me, I still found it a most difficult matter to find suitable gentlemen willing to take the responsibility of Directors. One gentleman accepted and declined three times, another lent me his name just as he would a bag of gold, on my promise to withdraw it from the Direction so soon as I had sufficient strength to go on without him, which condition was punctually performed. The first board of Directors held on the 25<sup>th</sup> November 1835 was as nearly nominal as possible. One or two Directors attended once or twice, others never. The meetings were at my Counting House, M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Allen was a regular working Director, M<sup>r</sup> Selby was constant in attendance. I was not absent from the Board but once in two years.

My own clerks were constantly occu-

plied. Advertisements appeared on the 30<sup>th</sup> October 1835 in the *Times*, *Herald*, *Morning Chronicle*, and *Public Ledger*, daily journals, again on the 3<sup>d</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> November notifying the Public of the formation of the company and where to apply for shares. Applications poured in from all quarters and from all sorts of People. Many persons not worth a Shilling wrote for fifty or one hundred shares for the mere purpose of Speculation. Our proposed capital was at this time £500,000, and the subscription exceeded a million Sterling. In a City so vast as London it is a labourious task to find people at all unless well known. To gain a knowledge of a volume of subscribers scattered from one extremity of the metropolis to the other was a business of extraordinary labour and yet the character and stability of the Company rendered it an indispensable duty.

The secretary reached every subscriber and gathering information from the sources open to us, we rejected applications altogether from those whom we considered mere Speculators and reduced the number of Shares allowed to others of a doubtful character until we brought down the number actually issued to about two thousand.

Dr Lardner, whether influenced by the Valutia Halifax scheme, or by ideas and opinions picked up from others and thrown upon the public as his own, or by his native genius which permitted him to see to a certain distance but not one inch beyond it, exerted all his power to impugn the enterprise and to dissuade the public from embarking their capital in so inauspicious an enterprise. It was evident to practical and scientific men that the Doctor did not give birth to one single

original idea, and that he was wasting his strength upon an investigation for which he was totally incompetent. But his vagaries had some effect upon the incredulous and timid.

On the 28 and 29<sup>th</sup> December the Board of Directors informed the public through the daily journals that the shares in the Company would be allotted the first week in January 1836—and in the *Times* Newspaper as well as others on the 1<sup>st</sup> February the Directors gave notice that they were ready to receive tenders of plans and drawings of their Ships of not less than one thousand two hundred Tons calculated to Navigate the Atlantic Ocean.

In May 1836 we had some correspondence with individuals in Liverpool and Ireland connected with the S<sup>t</sup> Georges Steam Company carrying on trade with Great Britain and Ireland. After a short correspondence M<sup>r</sup> Perim of Liverpool M<sup>r</sup> Twigg of Dublin and M<sup>r</sup> Beale of Cork came to London. The result of the negotiation was the admission of those three Gentlemen to the board of Direction, the increase of the capital to one million Sterling and a resolution to have two lines of Steam Ships one from London and one from Liverpool to run to New York. Measures were immediately taken to carry those objects into execution. See prospectus annexed.

In October 1836 we concluded a Contract with Mess<sup>rs</sup> Gerding and Young Ship builders, London to construct a Steam Ship of two thousand and sixteen Tons burthen called the Victoria but upon the accession of her Gracious Majesty to the throne altered to the British Queen. The winter months were occupied in prepar-

ing and collecting the materials and the keel was laid on the 1<sup>st</sup> April 1837 in my presence.

The contract for the Steam Engines for the British Queen was unfortunately given to Mess<sup>rs</sup> Claud Girdwood & Company, Glasgow. After considerable progress had been made in their construction and we had advanced them £6,000 Sterling, they failed, and as no engineer could be found who would take the responsibility of their work and go on with the manufacture to completion we were obliged to make a new contract with Mess<sup>rs</sup> Napin & Company and lost nearly the whole of the money advanced. This was a most serious misfortune and threw us back twelve months in completing the British Queen. It was in consequence of this disappointment that we then chartered the Sirius a Steam Ship of about seven hundred Tons and despatched her for New York. She was the first Steam Ship that crossed the Atlantic by steam.

The subsequent events relating to the construction and sailing of the British Queen and President, the former from London the latter from Liverpool for New York are sufficiently well known to the public. But in case you should wish the very date and further particulars I will endeavour to furnish them.

I came out in the British Queen the first voyage she made, and previous to my leaving London on the 11<sup>th</sup> July 1839 I informed my friends that in case no accident happened to the machinery I intended to dine at my house in Sydenham seven miles from London on the 15<sup>th</sup> August. On the 12<sup>th</sup> I embarked at Portsmouth with one hundred and fifty

passengers. At one-half past twelve O'clock PM the Queen was under Steam and shooting out to sea from Spithead the Eastern extremity of the Isle of Wight. We had a most delightful run and at two O'clock Sunday morning the 28<sup>th</sup> of July were at Sandy Hook, waiting a Pilot, thus making our passage in fourteen and one-fourth days.

At two O'clock on the 1<sup>st</sup> August Thursday we hauled out of Dock and proceeded down the Narrows, cheered by innumerable spectators who thronged the wharves, shipping, and batteries and every place that offered a chance of seeing the Ship, and accompanied by several Steam boats gaily decorated, and crowded with Ladies and Gentlemen. On the 14<sup>th</sup> we took a lower Pilot one-quarter past four O'clock, twelve days and nineteen hours from Pilot to Pilot and thirteen and one-half days from New York to Portsmouth. I was in London at four O'clock PM on the 15<sup>th</sup> took Croyden Rail Road at five and was at my house precisely at the time I had fixed before leaving England and dined at my house. I was absent from England thirty-two days, going and returning in the same Ship.

I do not know that it is necessary for me to extend my remark. Should you feel desirous of any further particulars please to name them. My life has been an active one, and to go into all particulars of which may be interesting to me, but cannot be so to others, would require a volume.

Yours truly and affectionately,

JUNIUS SMITH <sup>1</sup> (signed).

NEW YORK 8<sup>th</sup> January 1844.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Smith died at Astoria, N. Y., January 23, 1853.

## NOTES

COLONEL VARICK'S PORTRAIT—The frontispiece of the present number of THE MAGAZINE is engraved from the original painting in the City Hall, the artist's name not appearing. The full-length portrait of Colonel Varick in the reception room of the Bible Society was taken in his later years; in this he wears the badge of the Cincinnati Society. We understand that there is another portrait of the Colonel in the possession of one of his collateral descendants, painted also after the war.

THE DOLLAR-MARK—In the Historical Record, edited by Dr. Benson J. Lossing, can be found several communications concerning the query [VIII. 637-706] relative to "the dollar-mark." On pp. 271, 500, Vol. II., there are explanations by W. T. R. Saffell; on p. 407, Vol. II., one by E. P. Fulton; and short notes on p. 227, Vol. II., and pp. 174, 177, Vol. III.

E. H. Goss

PRESCOTT'S THOROUGHNESS—The fourth volume of the "Calendar of State Papers and MSS. relating to English Affairs," contains original matter upon the Spanish invasion of France in 1556-57. In its notice of the work the London *Notes and Queries* says: "Prescott's narrative of the Duke of Alva's campaign in the Roman Campagna . . . was mainly derived from the despatches of Navagero, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, which are all abstracted in this volume; and the historian did his work so thoroughly that the contemporary reports from the ambassadors in France and Spain add little to our knowledge."

A LINE FROM PENN—*Apropos* of Penn's Bi-Centenary, and as an indication of his prandial tastes, the closing lines of a brief note from him containing his "regrets" and making another appointment for dinner may be of interest. The original is in the British Museum, viz.:

"Esteemed Friend 19 9<sup>th</sup> 98

"The weather being rude, I send this to excuse my coming, & to settle our dinner upon a hanch of a Dow, y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Instant, call'd wensday.

"I am

"Thy assured

"Fr<sup>d</sup>

"W<sup>m</sup> PENN."

The note is addressed to "Sq<sup>r</sup> Ellis at the Secretary's office in Whithall."

MEMORIAL STONES—Mr. J. R. Simms, in company with others, recently placed a couple of marble memorial stones to mark the site of the old Block-house at Fort Plain. Mr. Simms writes that they were "designed to mark the places where a military post of importance stood when the patriotic citizens of what was then Western New York were battling for freedom. It became necessary to set two stones for this reason: In 1776 a military post was here established which consisted of a palisaded enclosure of less than half an acre of ground, with bastions or block-houses in two diagonal corners, each intended to guard two sides of the enclosure from an approaching foe. As several defences were established within a few miles of the one here, the small enclosure answered until the autumn of 1780, in which season so many citizens of the vicinity had been burned out that the people set about building what became

known as the Block-house—a building three stories high, the second and third projecting. This identical building is figured in the back part of Webster's large dictionary, page 1724 of my edition.

“Colonel Willett was in command of Fort Plain in 1780 and 1781, when the block-house was erected. It was begun in the fall of 1780 and was brought into use in the spring of 1781, and stood twenty-five or thirty rods from the fort as its adjunct.

“The head carpenter was allowed to name the defence, and he called it Fort Plain, not because of the extent of level ground on its site, but for its fine prospective view. The little marble columns were lettered, ‘Site of Fort Plain, 1776,’ and Site of Block-house, 1781.’”

[Many Notes, Queries, Replies, and Literary Notices, intended for this number, have been crowded out.]

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### QUERIES

A BOSTON RIOT—Can any reader of THE MAGAZINE give me the date and particulars of a riot that occurred in Boston about the year 1778? Tradition runs that an attack was made by citizens on the French sailors under the Admiral, Count D’Estaing. The “Memorial History of Boston” gives no information on this point, and I have consulted in vain those works of reference at my command.

GOSHEN

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER—Will the readers of THE MAGAZINE look over such of their primers as may have been printed during the 17th century, and report the earliest dates? PRIME

### REPLIES

FORT LEE—[VIII. 706] Washington himself seems to have suggested the site for this work, afterward called Fort Constitution. In his statement of expenditures during the war he makes this entry under date of July 15, 1776: “To my own & parties expenses laying out Fort Lee on the Jersey side of the N<sup>o</sup> River—£8. 15.” In the party was, doubtless, the Chief Engineer, Colonel Rufus Putnam. How much work was done upon it during the remainder of the summer does not appear, but after the evacuation of New York City it was hurried to completion. General Greene took command there, and his orders of September 30th detail Major Box with the engineers on that side “to oversee and forward the fortifications at Fort Constitution.” October 6th there was a party of four hundred men set to work upon them. This Major Box was an old English drill-sergeant, who became an officer in the Rhode Island line and assisted in laying out works in front of Boston in 1775, and around Brooklyn, Long Island, in the following spring and summer. (See L. I. Hist. Soc. Memoirs, vol. iii., part ii., pp. 141–144.)

LOVEWELL’S FIGHT—In a note in the September number [VIII. 636] Mr. Bryant says he has made an unsuccessful search for Longfellow’s first printed poem, entitled “Lovewell’s Fight.” The “Fryeburg Webster Memorial,” recently printed, containing Daniel Webster’s lately discovered oration, delivered at Fryeburg, July 4, 1802, also has this poem, which Mr. Longfellow himself long sought for but could not find. It was written for the Centennial Celebration of Lovewell’s

Fight, May 19, 1825, and sung to the air of Bruce's Address. Mr. Longfellow was present on the occasion. The poem has six stanzas, the last of which is :

“And the glory of that day  
Shall not pass from earth away,  
Nor the blighting of decay  
Waste our liberty;  
But, within the river's sweep,  
Long in peace our vale shall sleep,  
And free hearts the record keep  
Of this *Jubilee*.”

The lines quoted by Mr. Bryant, but do not appear in either of them.

E. H. Goss

*Melrose, October 2, 1882.*

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## SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—  
The Society met in its hall, Tuesday evening, October 3d, the first Vice-President, the Hon. Hamilton Fish, in the chair. After the reading of the minutes, Mr. Fish, in a feeling manner, announced the decease of the late President of the Society, speaking as follows :

“Before proceeding to the regular order of business, I must refer to the sad cause of my occupancy of the chair this evening.

“I have to announce, formally, to the Society what its members have already learned, with most profound regret, the death of their venerated, long-time President, Frederic de Peyster.

“He died calmly and tranquilly at the beautiful residence of his son, General John Watts de Peyster, at Tivoli, on the Hudson River, on the 17th of August, in his eighty-sixth year.

“His death is a great loss to the Society, over which for so long a period he

presided with watchful care and interest, and with so much ability and usefulness. To many of its members it brings a deep sense of personal grief and loss. To myself I recognize it profoundly as such. A family intimacy extending through several generations had associated his ancestry and family with mine in relations of friendship and close social intercourse for more than two centuries.

“My personal acquaintance with Mr. de Peyster and his family began in my early childhood, before any period that I can fix in memory.

“My intimacy with him began shortly before my early manhood, more than fifty years ago, while I was a student of law and he a Master in Chancery. It continued, close, warm, and uninterrupted for more than half a century. In his death I recognize the loss of a long-cherished friend.

“A memoir has been prepared by our valued Librarian, who had so many opportunities to know and to appreciate his character, his life, his services, which at the request of your Executive Committee I now present to the Society.”

After the reading of the memorial sketch, which may be found in the present number of THE MAGAZINE, on motion of Dr. George H. Moore, it was voted that the paper, with the remarks of Mr. Fish, be entered upon the minutes of the Society, and that a copy be sent to the family of the deceased.

The Librarian, Mr. Jacob B. Moore, read his report showing donations since the last meeting from many sources, including one hundred and sixty-eight volumes of books and eight parcels of manuscripts from Mrs. Ellen O'Callaghan, who

received the special thanks of the Society for her valuable gift.

The records and proceedings of the meeting furnish the following noticeable necrology :

*James R. Wood*, M.D., a resident member since 1853, died May 4, 1882, in the 66th year of his age.

*Major-General John G. Barnard*, U. S. A., a corresponding member since 1862, died at Detroit, Michigan, May 14, 1882, in the 67th year of his age.

*Moses Taylor*, a life member since 1857, died May 23, 1882, in the 73d year of his age.

*Colonel Joseph L. Chester*, LL.D., a corresponding member since 1871, died at London, England, May 28, 1882, aged 61.

*John F. Gray*, M.D., a resident member since 1844, died June 5, 1882, in the 78th year of his age.

*John C. Hamilton*, a life member since 1817 (senior member of the Society), died at Long Branch, N. J., July 25, 1882, in the 90th year of his age.

*Moses Augustus Field*, a life member since 1857, died August 1, 1882, in the 52d year of his age.

*Frederic de Peyster*, LL.D., President of the Society, a life member since 1824, died at Tivoli, N. Y., August 17, 1882, in the 86th year of his age.

*James Lorimer Graham*, a life member since 1857, died August 31, 1882, in the 79th year of his age.

*Dr. James W. G. Clements*, a life member since 1857, died at Phoenicia, N. Y., September 14, 1882, in the 67th year of his age.

*Adam Norrie*, a life member since 1850, died June 6, 1882, in the 87th year of his age.

*Blaise Lorillard Harsell*, a life member since 1879, died June 7, 1882, in the 41st year of his age.

*William R. Garrison*, a resident member since 1870, died at Long Branch, N. J., July 1, 1882, aged 48 years.

*Gilbert F. Davis*, a resident member since 1877, died July 9, 1882, in the 63d year of his age.

*Mortimer Porter*, a life member since 1857, died at Alexandria Bay, N. Y., July 16, 1882.

*George P. Marsh*, United States Minister to Italy, an honorary member since 1848, died at Vallambrosa, Italy, July 24, 1882, in the 82d year of his age.

*Sylvester R. Comstock*, a life member since 1859, died September 22, 1882.

The paper of the evening was read by the Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, of Boston, on "The Origin and Method of History." The speaker received the warm greeting always accorded to the brethren of the historic guild from New England, and was heard with deep interest to the end. The paper was the genial product of an able and cheerful Christian optimist, fully alive to all the historic and scientific inquiries of the age. It abounded with solid instruction illuminated with touches of humor. Dr. Ellis is not a Darwinian, though he recognizes the great results achieved in studying Darwin's theory of evolution, declaring that no fact had yet been adduced showing a connection between man and the lower orders. He also illustrated the interest that pertains to American history, which is sometimes said to be wanting in the picturesque and romantic. Rev. Dr. Dix moved a vote of thanks, and the members then adjourned to the refectory.

## LITERARY NOTICES

POINTS OF HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By JOHN LORD, LL.D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., pp. 293.

Dr. Lord's "Points of History" is an excellent work, both in design and execution, and one that will be found useful not only to the young, but to all students of history as a book of reference. It is an effort to compress within less than two thousand questions and answers the salient points of the history of the world, and with remarkable success. After some introductory questions giving an epitome of the Bible history and the origin of religions and races, it takes up the great nations of antiquity, Greece and Rome, and follows these with a succinct account of Europe, and especially of England and France, from the earliest times to our own day. The final chapter is devoted to the history of our own country from the time of the Revolutionary War to the administration of President Hayes. To the student who wishes to review his historical studies, or to fix an important fact or date in his mind, or to refer to such fact or date, no book can be more useful; it is, as it were, a universal index, while at the same time it has a good index of its own. As we have gone through its chapters we have missed some things that might have had place in such a volume, and have found some things that might have been omitted; we have had occasion here and there to correct a date or fact, the error perhaps of the proof-reader, but as a whole we commend the volume most cordially. It lays both teachers and scholars under obligations to the publishers, and deserves to be made a text-book in all our colleges and schools. It gathers up in one the threads of all that is taught in the department of history, that science which has been well called "philosophy teaching by example."

AMERICA: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, DOMINION OF CANADA, SOUTH AMERICA, ETC. By ROBERT MACKENZIE. New York: Harper & Bros., Svo, pp. 88.

For a comprehensive history of the New World since its discovery, the general reader, with limited time for such pursuits, will not find this work amiss, and the Harpers do him a favor in putting it in cheap form in their "Franklin Square Library" series. While the author runs into occasional misstatements, no glaring errors or omissions appear, and his clear narrative style is a positive attraction. We welcome all such honest efforts to furnish information respecting America to the million, and call attention to the fact that it treats of both the Northern and Southern continents in due proportion, giving a very fair

account of the rise and present condition of Chili, Peru, Brazil, etc., the Central American States and Mexico, as well as of Canada in the North. These countries of the New World receive but little notice in the generality of our histories. Nor is the work a mere condensed repetition of hackneyed facts, but fresh and intelligent in description and views expressed.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NEW JERSEY. Topographical Map. By GEORGE H. COOK, State Geologist.

The handsome map of Northern New Jersey, surveyed and executed under the direction of Prof. Cook, of New Brunswick, assisted by Mr. John C. Smock, appears, upon close inspection, to be a most elaborate piece of work, the elevations being expressed by contour lines. Staten Island, New York harbor, and Manhattan Island are also included within the chart. Size, three feet square.

ANNOUNCEMENT. — Mrs. Martha J. Lamb is preparing a new historical work, to be entitled "New York Biography." It will be, as foreshadowed in the preface to the second volume of her great work, a sequel or companion volume, and of similar size and equal elegance. It will be devoted to the prominent characters and events of the last fifty years. The period has been one of extraordinary progress, and the affairs of New York have touched the interests of the whole continent. Mrs. Lamb necessarily excluded, for want of space, a vast amount of interesting material from her history, that is, such material as related more directly to contemporary record, which will now be given to the reading public in connection with the results of her later studies and biographical researches. The new work will include personal sketches of railroad projectors, merchant princes, political magnates, journalists, scientists, men of letters, educators, clergymen, dramatists, artists, poets, City Fathers, philanthropists, and indeed of all leading contributors to New York's present greatness; and it will at the same time review the part taken by New York in public enterprises of magnitude and great national dramas. This work will in no sense take the threadbare cyclopedia form, but will be alive with all the incidents and elements of delightful reading. It will be published by A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.

## WANTED

An imperfect copy of "Gardner's Anecdotes of the Revolution," first series, original edition of 1822. Any portion of the book having the leaves containing pages 127 and 128, 325 and 326, 353 and 354, complete, will be acceptable.

Address, J. H. OSBORNE, Auburn, N. Y.







JOHN SMITH

*Commander of the Virginia Company*

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## PLYMOUTH ROCK RESTORED

### I.

THE removal of Plymouth Rock from its private burial-yard in front of Pilgrim Hall, where it had lain for nearly fifty years, to its old bed-rock near the quickening, world-uniting sea, has suggested an attempt to restore this ancient stepping-stone to its historical connection with other Pilgrim landing-places, upon Clark's Island and Cape Cod, together with a brief review of other restorations now in progress at Plymouth through the generous aid of J. Henry Stickney, of Baltimore, to whom the credit of restoring Plymouth Rock belongs.

Popular tradition, the celebration for more than a century of Forefather's Day with its splendid oratory, the influence of churches in New England, the press, pictorial art, poetic imagination—all these influences, and many more besides, have contributed to the development of the now almost universal idea among Americans and foreigners, that the Pilgrim Fathers first landed upon Plymouth Rock. The world is very willing to believe this pleasing tradition, and there is no reason for supposing that the world will ever renounce it, if indeed such apostasy were desirable. The world likes general and comprehensive ideas, and Plymouth Rock stands very properly for the first permanent landing of the Pilgrim Fathers at New Plymouth. The Rock well typifies the historic idea that they had come to stay in that vicinity. It is impossible for a modern pilgrim to contemplate that low-lying wharf by the sea, with Cole's Hill rising above it—Cole's Hill, the first burying-ground of the Pilgrims—without the conviction stealing over him that this traditional and actual landing-place is different from all others. Here, after the explorers had landed from the Mayflower, they "came to a conclusion by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared;" here at Plymouth all finally, but gradually, disembarked, men, women, and children;

here they settled ; here they lived ; here they died, and here they were buried. "No New Englander," said President Dwight, of Yale College, in his "Travels," written nearly a century ago, "No New Englander who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten." This is the voice of a popular sentiment which will never die.

But with all reverence for popular sentiment and current tradition, it is nevertheless the duty of the rising generation of American students to discriminate between emotion and fact. Without disturbing popular or individual affection for Plymouth Rock and for "the ancient Towne of Plymouth," which affection indeed can never be moved, it is nevertheless possible and desirable for all fair-minded, open-hearted readers of Plymouth history to examine its preface, which, if rightly understood, will only add intelligent interest to the volume itself. It is not intended, in this article, to attempt any historical restorations by the manufacture of new materials, but simply to point out the historic relation of a few old facts, and to join them together, as Mr. Stickney has at last reunited Plymouth Rock, which had been sundered for more than a hundred years.

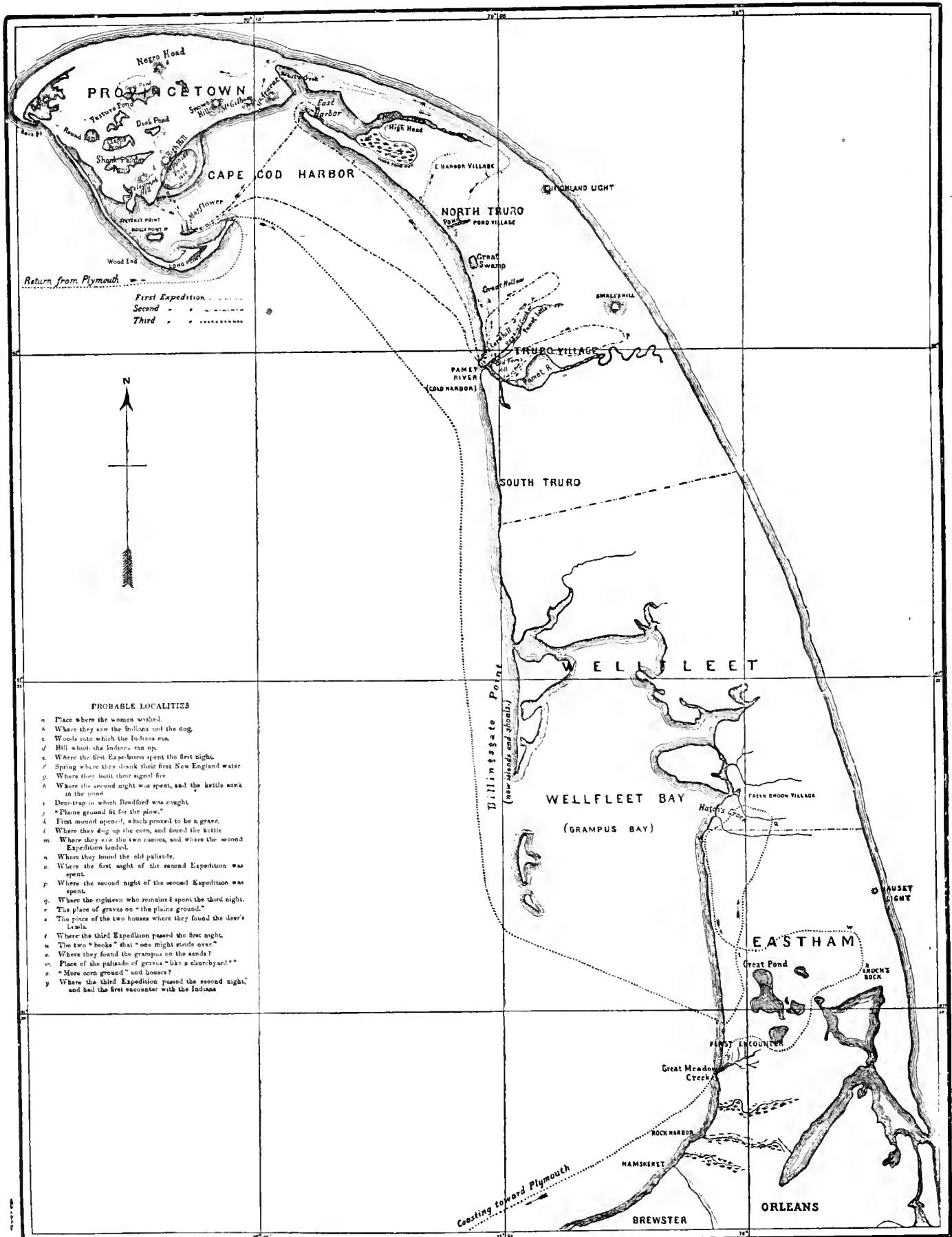
Germany, England, and New England have been stepping-stones for the Aryan race in its colonial progress westward. Britain was peopled by immigrating Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, who settled in self-governing village communities ; the Celtic land became Teutonic land ; a new Germany was reproduced. This process was repeated by the English in a New World. Pilgrims and Puritans, imbued with the same old English spirit of independence and self-government in religious forms, peopled a New England with Teutonic village life, strengthened by English parish experience. But the Pilgrim Fathers did not come to America straight from their mother country ; they first went back to their older Fatherland, which then appeared to be a land of greater liberty ; after a sojourn in Holland they returned upon their footsteps and made England the stepping-stone to a New England. While the Pilgrims were actuated by a great hope and inward zeal "of laying some good foundation," though they themselves should prove but "stepping-stones unto others," it should nevertheless be remembered that it was English liberty, English independence of character, English colonial enterprise, English capital, English maritime experience, an English ship, manned by English sailors familiar with the New England coast, that brought the Pilgrims safely from old Plymouth to New Plymouth. Such facts are

historic islands indicating the relation of divided lands. "May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say," with William Bradford, the original historian of Plymouth Plantation, "*Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean*"?

It was on November 19th, new style, that the Pilgrims who sailed from Plymouth, England, on September 16, 1620, first sighted Cape Cod. Bradford explains how this cape, named by Gosnold in 1602, "retains ye former name amongst sea-men," although Captain John Smith called it Cape James. Upon November 21st, just one month before the first landing of explorers at Plymouth, the Mayflower came to anchor in the bay of Cape Cod, "wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride." The same day, before any men were allowed to go ashore, the famous Pilgrims' Compact was drawn up and signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, not for the sake of instituting government *de novo*, but for the purpose of restraining certain adventurers who threatened to "use their owne libertie" after landing, inasmuch as the Pilgrim patent was for lands in Virginia and not for lands in New England. The fundamental idea of this famous document was that of a *contract*, based upon the *common law* of England. Men who professed themselves "loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord King IAMES," men who had undertaken to plant an English colony in English dominions, were founding government upon a very ancient basis.

After signing the compact, upon the very same day, sixteen men, well armed, were set ashore in the long boat to spy out the land, and others were sent with them "to fetch wood." This was the first landing of the Pilgrims in New England. The exploring party ranged across that narrow neck of land at the end of Cape Cod, and perhaps from Long Point to Race Point. They found sand-hills which reminded them of "the Downes in Holland," although the former were far better, for the surface was often of "excellent blacke earth" of a spade's depth. Moreover the land was well wooded, down to the very sea, and without underbrush, so that they could easily make their way beneath the forest trees. Evidently, in those times, the land's end of Cape Cod was not the barren, sandy tract which the modern pilgrim finds it to be as he makes his toilsome way in a "tip-cart" or on foot across the dunes from Provincetown village to Race Point. The surviving name, "Wood End," indicates that a forest-growth once flourished upon the southwest side of Cape Cod. The desolation of Sahara has been brought upon this region by cutting off the timber, thus allowing the sand to drift in from the beach.

The above exploring party returned at night to the Mayflower with their boat full of juniper, "which smelled very sweet," and which the Pil-



Return from Plymouth

First Expedition - - - - -  
 Second - - - - -  
 Third - - - - -



**PROBABLE LOCALITIES**

- a Place where the women washed.
- A Where they saw the Indians and the dog.
- c Woods into which the Indians ran.
- d Hill which the Indians ran up.
- e Where the first Expedition spent the first night.
- f Spring where they drank their first New England water.
- g Where they built their signal fire.
- A Where the second night was spent, and the kettle sunk in the pond.
- i Deer-trap in which Redford was caught.
- j "Plains ground fit for the grave."
- k First mound opened, which proved to be a grave.
- l Where they dug up the corn, and found the kettle.
- m Where they saw the two canoes, and where the second Expedition landed.
- n Where they found the old palisade.
- o Where the first night of the second Expedition was spent.
- p Where the second night of the second Expedition was spent.
- q Where the eighteen who remained spent the third night.
- r The place of graves on "the plains ground."
- s The place of the two houses where they found the deer's track.
- t Where the third Expedition passed the first night.
- u The two "becks" that "one might stoop over."
- v Where they found the grampus on the sands?
- w Place of the palisade of graves "like a churchyard."
- x "More corn ground" and houses?
- y Where the third Expedition passed the second night and had the first encounter with the Indians.

grims used for fuel. The next day was Sunday. On Monday, November 23d, the shallop was unshipped and drawn ashore for repairs, which occupied more than a fortnight; but on this day occurred also the first general landing from the Mayflower. Mourt's "Relation" says: "Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash"! There is apparently very little poetry about this event, but the landing itself must have been almost as striking as the traditional disembarkation of men, women, and little children upon "the ice-clad rock of Plymouth." It is not likely that all the women and children were taken ashore at Cape Cod, but it is reasonably certain that those who were taken ashore were carried in the arms of the Pilgrim Fathers; for there is abundant evidence that "our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather." It was a hardy, manly, womanly, self-forgetful landing. This reckless exposure of health and comfort, this intrepid courage of English men and English women (however plain and poor), this dauntless energy, this power of doing what needs to be done without a question or a thought of what may happen to the doer, these are rocks of character upon which Old England and New England were built. This old English energy, this *gritrock*, crops out everywhere to-day among the common people of both countries, for the English race is equal to itself in all times and in all lands. But there is a tragic interest attached to this bold stalking through the sea at Cape Cod. Such landings peopled no town like Plymouth, but they peopled Cole's Hill, and led to the discovery of an unseen city. Such landings "brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather proving sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed." Bradford says: "Halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts."

On November 25th, sixteen armed men, "every man his Musket, Sword, and Corslet, vnder the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish," were again set ashore for another exploration. This was the "First Expedition," the route of which is represented in the accompanying map, reprinted from Dr. Dexter's edition of Mourt's "Relation." The men marched in single file through the region of what is now Provincetown Village, where they caught sight of half a dozen Indians "with a Dogge." The savages ran into the woods "and whisled the Dogge after them." The English, having already set out in this general direction, and being naturally curious to discover where the natives lived, followed their tracks for "about ten miles," for the Indians returned the same way they came, and, at one point

in their course, ascended a hill in order to see if they were pursued. Night falling, the English encamped around a watch-fire and stationed "three Sentinells." In the morning, as soon as the trail was visible, pursuit was resumed, and it was found that the Indians had plunged into a dense wood; but the English boldly followed after. Their journal says: "We marched thorow



MILES STANDISH.

boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water." The explorers had brought with them no "Beere," only a "little Bottle of *aquavite*," with biscuit and Holland cheese; but finally they found a spring and drank with great delight their "first New England water."

Pushing on, the explorers soon discovered Indian graves, corn fields, buried baskets of "faire Indian Corne," a ship's iron kettle "brought out of Europe," the remains of an old house, and of an old fort or palisade "made

by some Christians," a deer-trap wherein William Bradford was caught in a noose of rope made as skilfully "as any Roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be." It is impossible in this connection to give further details of the First Expedition, or to follow out the devious windings of their route, which are sufficiently indicated upon Dr. Dexter's map, and have been traced out with great minuteness not only by him, but by Dr. Young in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," and by Mr. Freeman in his great work upon the "History of Cape Cod"—the story of the English Conquest of New England by an historian living, not at Somerleaze, in Somerset, but at Sandwich, in Barnstable, whom the writer of this article made a pilgrimage to see, and whom he now remembers as resembling the English historian who bears the Freeman name. The world is full of doubles and survivals, but Cape Cod is Old English to the backbone. Its town names are nearly all Old English—Sandwich, Falmouth, Barnstable, Yarmouth, Harwich, Chatham, Eastham, Wellfleet, Truro, and the very town-end of the English Province of Massachusetts Bay, Provincetown. The writer has followed on foot the historic track of those first Pilgrim explorers through the region of those Old English "villages" in Truro, and he has returned upon their course to Provincetown, where they "came neare the ship" and "shot



off" their guns, and "the long Boat came to fetch vs." The expedition was out three days and two nights.

The author of "Footprints of Miles Standish," who has followed the route of this first expedition with a perfect knowledge of local topography, and sketched it in a picturesque way with an artist's skill, concludes his account as follows: "Thus the expedition ended with success, and a good report was brought concerning the land, encouraging the Pilgrims to make larger efforts to discover a suitable spot for the establishment of their colony. It was therefore not without an important bearing upon all that followed, and formed a link in the chain of Providences which led to the permanent occupation of the country. Few persons ever consider how largely Plymouth Rock is indebted to the sands of Cape Cod."

Two other exploring expeditions were afterward sent by sea, and the discoveries made by each were more interesting than those which had preceded. The routes and the main objective points are clearly indicated upon Dr. Dexter's map. The second expedition was made by twenty-four Pilgrims and ten sailors. The Pilgrims chose Master Jones, of the *Mayflower*, their leader, "to gratifie his kindnes." They set out December 7th, just ten days after the return of the first expedition, and went in the shallop and long boat to East Harbor, where again some of the Pilgrims landed. "It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and frose withall: some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here." Thus also is the landing at East Harbor connected with Plymouth Rock and Cole's Hill. The next day the shallop met the explorers and they sailed to the mouth of Pamet River, which they had discovered on the first expedition. This estuary they called "Cold Harbour," which they found good for boats, but not for shlips. Here, "betweene the two creekes," some of the party landed and marched up Pamet River four or five miles, as they thought, and in snow six inches deep, the shallop following the course of the stream. They camped "vnder a few Pine trees," having secured "three fat Geese, and six Ducks to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks." The next day, December 9th, dissatisfied with the hilly country, they marched over to the other creek, or the Little Pamet, to the place they called Cornhill, in the vicinity of which they found more Indian corn, altogether about ten bushels, of which "we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine—if we had not made our first Iourney; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Toolles." Thus are the first expedition and the landings in Truro closely connected

with the planting of Plymouth, just as seed-time is connected with harvest. That day sixteen men, broken down with fatigue and cold, returned in the shallop to the Mayflower. The rest "lodged there" by Cornhill, and the next day continued explorations, following certain broad, beaten paths into the woods for five or six miles, supposing the track to lead "into some Towne." But they found only graves, "no more Corne, nor any things els but graues," full of "odd knackes." The journal says naïvely, "we brought sundry of the pretiest things away with vs." After the return of the shallop a few Indian wigwams were found, lately occupied, and full of mats, wooden bowls, trays, dishes, pots, and baskets, "also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares." After many such curious discoveries, the explorers returned that night, the 10th of December, to the Mayflower.

There was much talk on board of settling near Corn Hill, where there was land already cleared, a place "healthfull, secure, and defensible," with a fair harbor for boats although not for ships. The place was, however, near Cape Cod Harbor, where was "good fishing," and where they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil and bone; but, it was argued, there might be better fishing, better ground, and a better harbor not far away. The whole matter turned upon the authority of Robert Coppin, the English pilot, who said there was a good harbor beyond the next headland (Manomet Point), over against Cape Cod. He said he had been there and knew the place as Thievish Harbor, for once while "trucking" in that region with the natives, the latter had stolen one of their ship's harpoons. And so, on December 16th, the third expedition set out in the shallop to go to this excellent harbor, the idea of which led to the founding of Plymouth. This expedition, the most important of all, for it was this party which first landed at Plymouth on Forefathers' Day, was composed of ten Pilgrims, mentioned in "Mourt's Relation" in the following order: Captain Standish, Mr. Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Howland, "and three of London"—Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Doten; also, "two of our Sea-men"—John Allerton and Thomas English; and "of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master Clarke and Master Copin, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers."

The modern excursionists, sailing in pleasant summer weather toward Truro or Plymouth, can obtain no idea of what that voyage must have been in the middle of December, 1620. Edward Tilley nearly swooned with cold; "it was very cold," says the journal, "for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron." The voyagers

were delayed by contrary winds, but, early that evening, they reached the vicinity of Eastham, where they put in and landed. Coasting along the region of Wellfleet, they had spied ten or a dozen Indians on shore, "busie about a blacke thing," which proved to be a grampus. The Indians ran away, but that night the Pilgrims from their camp saw the distant light of the Indians' fire. In the morning the explorers divided their company, eight remaining in the shallop while the rest proceeded to spy out the land. They went toward Wellfleet, where they had seen the Indians, but found only the grampus, which name they gave to Wellfleet Bay. They found an Indian "burying-place, one part whereof was incompassed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard." They discovered four or five "Indian-houses," but they met no people. When the sun was low, they came out of the woods and hailed the shallop, which came to them, and they encamped as before with a barricade and sentinels. In the middle of the night "a great and hideous cry" was heard, "and our Sentinell called *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred ourselues and shot off a couple of muskets, and noyse ceased." They concluded it was nothing but wolves or foxes. But in the morning at "brek-fast" they heard a great and strange cry, and one of the company came running in and called out, "They are men, *Indians, Indians!*" Captain Miles Standish had his gun ready and fired a shot, and after him another. The Captain told his men not to shoot until they could take good aim. There was one Indian "a lustie man," who seemed to be "*their* Captaine," who, from behind a tree, shot arrows at the Pilgrims. They fired at him three times without effect, but at last they "made ye barke or splinters of ye tree fly about his ears," whereupon he gave an extraordinary yell and ran away, with all his following. This place the Pilgrims called "The First Encounter." Thence they intended to sail "to the aforesayd theeuish Harbour," if they found no better. They coasted along all that day, December 18th, but found no river or creek. It began to be bad weather; the wind increased, and the sea grew rough. "Anon Master Coppin bad vs be of good cheere he saw the Harbour." This was the entry to Plymouth.

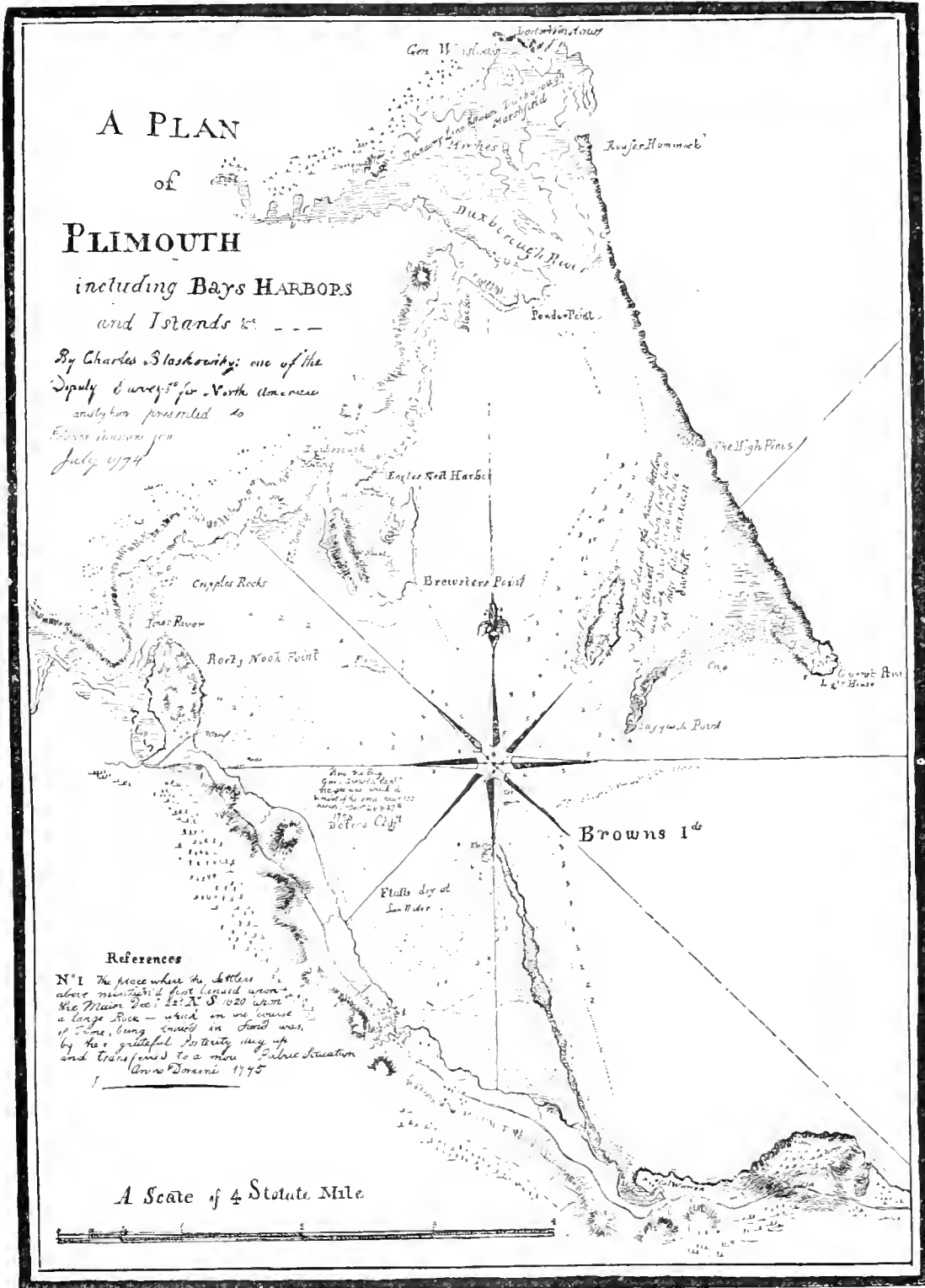
In the possession of the Russell family of Plymouth, through intermarriage with the Winslows of Marshfield, is an ancient "Plan of Plimouth including Bays, Harbors, and Islands &c. By Charles Blaskowitz; one of the Deputy Survey<sup>rs</sup> for North America and by him presented to Edward Winslow Jun. 1774." A few years ago, while visiting the town of Plymouth and investigating its antiquities, the writer enjoyed the privilege, through the kind offices of Arthur Lord, Esq., of examining this old English map, with other articles of historical interest, old English plate and

furniture, which had been handed down in the Winslow family. And by the courtesy of the Russells the writer was made the owner of a lithograph copy of the above chart, engraved fifteen years or more ago by a nephew of Mrs. Mary Winslow Russell, Dr. Nathan Hayward, for his own amusement and for the gratification of personal friends. A few impressions only of this engraving were struck off, and the plate is no longer known to exist. The family conjecture that it was destroyed in the Boston fire in 1873.

In 1876, Mr. Henry Mitchell, of the United States Coast Survey, who was then stationed at Plymouth, and whom the writer afterward had the good fortune to meet, made a partial sketch of the original Blaskowitz map, still in an excellent state of preservation, for the sake of making a scientific record of its early information upon Plymouth Harbor, its channels, soundings, etc., as they existed before the American Revolution. Mr. Mitchell, in his official report, said, "In its topographical features the original plotting made by Blaskowitz from his survey of Plymouth is remarkable for accuracy and beauty;" but Mr. Mitchell says of his own sketch, "I omit the strictly topographical details, although they are admirably executed upon the original with pen and brush." For the immediate purposes of the coast survey, harbor measurements were more important; but Mr. Mitchell forwarded to Washington a copy of the lithograph above mentioned, and it is to be regretted that it was not published by the Coast Survey, for he pronounces it "generally faithful," although "it omits the line of soundings in the main ship channel, which happens, from our point of view," says Mr. Mitchell, "to be the most important part of the testimony." Mr. Mitchell's observations upon the Blaskowitz map, and his own partial sketch of the same, were published by the United States Coast Survey in the report of 1876 (Appendix 9), together with a copy of Champlain's sketch, drawn in 1605, representing the outer roadstead of Plymouth, with its "high promontory" now known as Manomet Point, Plymouth Beach, and approximate notions of Gurnet Head, the Saquish, and Clark's Island. Upon the same sheet was printed the United States Coast Survey map of 1875, showing the harbors of Plymouth, Kingston, and Duxbury, with full details regarding soundings, channels, harbor currents, and sand-banks, in which latter the "stern and rock-bound coast" of the poet's imagination more especially abounds.

This grouping upon one large sheet of actual soundings and other observations of Plymouth Harbor, made in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, by Champlain, Blaskowitz, and Mitchell respectively, is a most valuable contribution to the historical geography of Plymouth. Such a comparative coast survey not only affords an excellent basis for calculating

by what courses the Pilgrim shallop and the Mayflower itself first entered Plymouth Harbor, but for elucidating that passage in "Mourt's Relation"



where the Pilgrim explorers observe, in a very significant way, "we sounded the Harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping." Naturally

sailors, with line and plummet, seeking a channel by which the *Mayflower* might approach as conveniently near shore and shelter as possible, would have felt their way up Plymouth Harbor, behind Long Beach, following the line of deepest soundings, and not contenting themselves with the sandy flats around Clark's Island, or toward Duxbury or Kingston, according to the plausible theory of shorter distance lately suggested by Sidney Howard Gay in his entertaining article in the *Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1881), entitled, "When did the Pilgrim Fathers land at Plymouth?" on which point a word or two will be said in another connection.

The Blaskowitz map, aside from its valuable suggestions touching the harbor route toward Plymouth, bears also upon its face certain manuscript notes upon points of Plymouth history in their relation to Plymouth geography. Inasmuch as the map has never yet been published, these notes are known only to those who know the map, and, in point of fact, not many persons, even in Plymouth, have seen the original. Mr. William S. Russell, author of "Pilgrim Memorials and Guide to Plymouth," was probably one of the first, if not the very first, to recognize this ancient chart as a bit of documentary evidence touching the landing of the Pilgrims upon Plymouth Rock. Mr. Russell thought the manuscript notes upon the map were made by young Edward Winslow, to whom the map was given by Blaskowitz. This question could be settled by comparing the notes with an authentic scrap of young Edward Winslow's writing, if such a scrap could be found in Plymouth; but there is certain presumptive evidence in favor of Mr. Russell's view from the special designation upon the map of "Gen. Winslow's" and "Dr. Winslow's" estates in Marshfield. Such mention, the only reference to homesteads upon the Blaskowitz map, would indicate annotation by some member of the Winslow family. Whatever the date, these manuscript notes are at least interesting and suggestive from their very association with such an ancient map, and with the name of Edward Winslow, Jr., who was of Pilgrim descent. He was born in 1746, and graduated from Harvard College in 1765, as appears from the triennial catalogue. In 1770 he delivered before the Old Colony Club, which was founded the year before, the first oration ever spoken in memory of the landing of the Pilgrims. He was thus the pioneer in that field of oratory which was afterward entered by John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Richard S. Storrs, Lyman Beecher, Daniel Huntington, and Robert C. Winthrop. It is, therefore, not without historic interest to find mentioned upon a map owned by Plymouth's first orator, an historical point like this: "On this Island the pious Settlers of this Ancient Town first landed Dec. 8, O.S. 1620, and here kept their first Christian Sabbath."

The above note is written upon the chart by the side of "Clark's or Watson's Island." The earliest mention of Clark's Island that the writer has been able to find is in the Plymouth Colony Records (i., 95, 109), where "Liberty is granted to William Maycumber, cooper, to fetch tymber to make hoops for vessels for the colonies use at Clark's Iland & Sagaquash" (September 3, 1638), and where (January 7, 1638-9) "The Court hath graunted that Clarke's Iland, the Eele Riuer beach, Sagaquash, & Gournettes Nose shial be & remayne vnto the towne of Plymouth, w<sup>th</sup> the woods therevpon." It appears from the Town Records of Plymouth that Clark's Island was long administered as common land, the town occasionally granting privileges to individuals, for example to Mr. John Jenney, who wished to set up salt-works there. But in various cases the land reverted to the town. In 1690 the island was purchased by three men, of whom Elkanah Watson was one, and finally it came entirely into the hands of the Watson family. When the term "Watson's Island" first came into use as synonymous with Clark's Island, it would be difficult to say. The latter is now the prevailing name. It is said to have been derived from John Clark, the first mate of the Mayflower, who is supposed to have been the first man to land from the shallop that dark and rainy Friday night, December 18, 1620, N. S., when, after battling for hours with a high sea, rain, snow, and wind, mast and rudder broken; when, after narrowly escaping shipwreck in a cove full of breakers, driven by the wind; when, after weathering the Saquish rocks, the oarsmen at last "gott under the lee of a smalle iland." Bradford says they did not know it was an island until morning, and consequently some, fearing the Indians, preferred to stay in the shallop, which rode safely all that night in shallow water over sandy ground; but others were so cold and wet and weary that they "got a shore" and made a fire, although with much difficulty, "all things being so wett." Mourt says they kept their watch all night in the rain upon that island. Bradford says, after midnight the wind shifted to the northwest, which brought freezing cold, and those in the boat were glad to come on shore.

This is the story of the first landing in Plymouth Harbor, upon Clark's Island, a tract of land which belongs to the ancient town of Plymouth, and which was one of the historic stepping-stones to Plymouth Rock. It is a landing which has never been celebrated in history; it has never asserted any priority over other landings upon Cape Cod and elsewhere; probably no question of precedence was ever raised by John Clark or his family as to the honor of first landing upon a wet shore from a wet boat and building a fire with "all things wett;" but this dismal landing actually occurred as above described, according to the trustworthy testimony of original sources.

“ On this Island the pious Settlers of this Ancient Town first landed Dec<sup>r</sup> 8 O. S. 1620.” This is an event worthy of note, not only upon a local map by a local chronicler, but upon the map of history by all who cherish the memory of brave and significant deeds.

For three nights and two days the explorers remained upon Clark's Island before they sounded the harbor and “ marched also into the land,” where they tarried but one day. There was good reason for their island sojourn. Friday had been a hard day, as Bradford well says, “ a day & night of much trouble & danger ;” but the dawn of Saturday brought comfort and refreshing. It was “ a faire sunshining day,” and the Pilgrims were enabled to dry their clothes, fix their guns, and “ rest themselves.” First, however, they marched around the island, and found it secure from Indians ; then they determined to stay there over Sunday. “ Mourt's Relation ” contains the following simple record of that day : “ 10. of December, on the Sabbath day wee rested.” It was an idea of grand simplicity for the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop to suggest, in his Plymouth oration, on the occasion of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, that this plain sentence be inscribed upon the rock of Clark's Island. “ I know of no monument,” he said, “ on the face of the earth, ancient or modern, which would appeal more forcibly to the hearts of all who reverence an implicit and heroic obedience to the commandments of God, than would an unadorned stone on yonder Clark's Island, with the simple inscription, ‘ 20 Dec. 1620—On the Sabbath day we rested.’ ” This inscription, with historic orthography, was accordingly engraved upon an immense boulder lying upon Clark's Island, a boulder designated upon the Blaskowitz map as “ Election Rock,” so called, says Mr. Russell, because pleasure parties from Plymouth used to spend election holidays there. This monumental stone has now become the historic companion of Plymouth Rock.

Decidedly the most interesting and suggestive note upon the Blaskowitz map is that referring to “ the place where the Settlers above mention'd first landed upon the Main, Decr 22d N. S. 1620 upon a large Rock—which in the course of Time being buried in Sand was, by the'r grateful Posterity dug up and transported to a more Public Situation Anno Domini 1775.” This is a definite chronological statement, by a local annalist, of the first introduction of Plymouth Rock to a conspicuous place in American history. But before inquiring why this buried boulder was “ dug up ” from the sands of Time, one or two historic points demand consideration. It should be noted, in the first place, that the settlers above mentioned are the same “ pious Settlers of this Ancient Town ” who “ first landed Dec<sup>r</sup> 8 O. S. ” (December 18, N. S.) upon Clark's Island, where they “ kept the'r



first Christian Sabbath," December 20th, N. S. This is the recorded view of an Old Colony man of the last century, possibly of the man who delivered the first Pilgrim oration before the Old Colony Club in 1770; at any rate, of a man imbued with historical as well as revolutionary spirit, and testifying whereof he had seen in the digging up and removal of the rock from its grave of sand, and speaking whereof he knew as regards the men who "first landed upon the Main, Decr 22 N. S. 1620." Unmistakably he was speaking of the Pilgrims who came in the shallop.

It was primarily the landing of this Pilgrim band that the Old Colony Club meant to celebrate on December 22, 1769, which date in their own local records is spoken of as "Old Colony Day,—in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place." The idea which determined the choice of that particular day must have been the same idea as that which actuated the annotator of the Blaskowitz map when, with the gathered memories of repeated celebrations of Old Colony or Forefathers' Day, he faithfully designated "the place where the Settlers above mention'd first landed upon the Main, Decr 22, N. S. 1620." This matter-of-fact statement would seem to settle the question raised by a contributor to the *Nation*, July 6, 1882, on the "Landing of the Pilgrims—Forefathers' Day," an article wherein the view is advanced that this consecrated day was fixed upon with "no change of date for anniversary purposes conformable to the new style," but in commemoration of "the idea of a general landing of men, women, and children" from the Mayflower upon Plymouth Rock, on December 22, O. S., 1620. The *Nation* is undoubtedly right in maintaining that December 22d is the true Forefathers' Day, in the sense that this is the day originally celebrated and historically consecrated by "oration, sermon, song, drama, painting, and print;" but the *Nation* is surely wrong in urging that "the landing on Plymouth Rock on the day now known as Forefathers' Day was not made by the exploring party of the shallop on the 11th of December, and that it was made some days later by the whole body of Pilgrims from the Mayflower."

The historic case of the Shallop *vs.* the Mayflower is briefly and clearly stated in the simple note upon the Blaskowitz map. The case has been judged by various historical specialists in the Plymouth field: by Dr. Henry M. Dexter, editor of "Mourt's Relation," in a communication to the *Nation*, July 20, 1882, on the "Landing of the Pilgrims;" by Mr. Charles Deane, editor of "Bradford's History," in the *Nation*, August 24, 1882; by Mr. John A. Goodwin, in the *Vox Populi*, Lowell, Massachusetts, December 30, 1881; by the same forcible writer, in the *Old Colony Memorial*, June 1, 1882, July 27, 1882; and by Mr. W. T. Davis, in the *Old*

*Colony Memorial* of the date last named. It is interesting to note in this connection that the discussion of the true anniversary of Forefathers' Day, like the discussion of the Stamp Act and of American Independence was begun in local circles before it was taken up by the *Nation*, and the views asserted by the *Nation* were afterward reasserted by a contributor to the *Old Colony Memorial*. But Dr. Dexter says that "to us who have all our lives been studying this history on the ground, it is clear that nobody in Plymouth ever undertook to celebrate any event which was supposed to have taken place on December 22d, old style. What the Old Colony Club, on December 22, 1769, supposed itself to be especially commemorating was what happened in Plymouth Harbor on December 11, 1620, old style. They made a mistake of one day. . . . But what they had in mind was the landing from the shallop, and not any imagined later landing from the ship."

Mr. Deane sustains this judgment, and cites the authority of most eminent Plymouth antiquaries, Dr. James Thacher and Judge John Davis, both of whom regarded the landing from the shallop as the event originally commemorated, and both of whom explained, as a very natural mistake, the choice of December 22d by the Old Colony Club, instead of the 21st, which latter date is the true equivalent, new style, for December 11th, old style. The new calendar had been in vogue only seventeen years in Great Britain and her colonies, and the Plymouth people naturally supposed that eleven days, the standard of difference for the eighteenth century was equally good and valid for the seventeenth, which required only ten days for the adjustment of old style to new. "We see here how the celebration of the 22d of December came about," says Mr. Deane. "There was a landing of the Plymouth fathers on the 11th (21st) of December, 1620; and any one who wishes to celebrate the day may be sure of its genuineness. There was no landing there on the 22d, old style or new style, of which there is any record." On December 22d, new style, the Pilgrim explorers, satisfied with what they had found upon the main land—the present site of Plymouth, "a place very good for scituation" with "divers corne fields, and little running brookes;" were, in all probability, on their way back to their ship in Cape Cod Harbor, "with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." On December 22d, old style (or January 1st, new style), the Mayflower was anchored in Plymouth Harbor; but according to "Mourt's Relation," "Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard."

This statement and the above facts have, of course, been familiar to students of Plymouth history for many years. As far back as May 27, 1850,

the Pilgrim Society, after listening to the report of a committee, of whom James Savage was chairman, voted unanimously, "That this Society will hereafter regard the twenty-first day of December as the true anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims." After passing this very sensible vote, and after struggling for many years and with considerable success to introduce the new style of celebrating Forefathers' Day, it was thought best by the Society to adopt a middle course, which should vindicate the truth of history, and at the same time preserve the ancient associations of Forefathers' Day. Accordingly, at the last annual meeting of the Pilgrim Society, May 29, 1882, the following resolution was adopted:

"That while we recognize the historical fact that the passengers on the shallop of the Mayflower landed on Plymouth Rock on the 11th of December, 1620, and that the 21st of the new style corresponds to the day of the landing, yet, in view of the fact that the 22d has been hallowed by an observance during a period of over one hundred years, and consecrated by the words of Winslow, Webster, Everett, Adams, Seward, and other eminent orators of our land, it is hereby resolved that hereafter the 22d of December be observed by the Pilgrim Society as the Anniversary of the Landing."

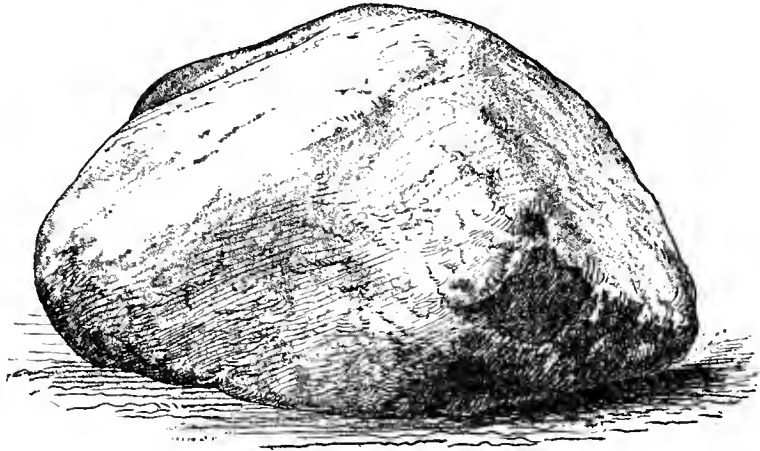
Out of respect to Seward, Adams, Everett, Webster, and other great orators, the Pilgrim Society has, of course, the natural right to reverse its own previous action, to counteract its own influence, and to ignore the recommendations of such critical scholars as James Savage, Dr. Dexter, and Charles Deane, as to the day that should be celebrated in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims. Out of respect to the Fathers, and in view of the fact that the Julian calendar was "hallowed by an observance" of many hundred years, the Pilgrim Society might even go back to the old style of computing its reckoning, and celebrate Forefathers' Day on December 11th. But this course would be hardly worthy of the progressive spirit of the nineteenth century, when truth and reform advance more swiftly in popular favor than did the Gregorian calendar. "We can afford," says Mr. Deane, "to let the facts that have an historical basis stand. Why introduce an element of myth into Plymouth history where the facts are clear?"

But after all, the exact date on which men celebrate Forefathers' Day is not a fundamental matter in the history of Plymouth. It is of much more importance for the friends of truth to remember that Clark's Island, Eastham, Truro, and Provincetown are all stepping-stones toward the final landing; that the first landing at Provincetown on November 21st is historically inseparable from the first landing at Plymouth upon December 21st; that the three exploring expeditions are made up of a continuous chain of events

and causes which finally led the Mayflower from its anchorage in Cape Cod Harbor to its winter station in the harbor of Plymouth; that just, as on a clear day, from the "high ground" where the Pilgrims actually settled one can look straight across the Bay to the sands of Cape Cod, so in the clear light of history the student can look across the sea from New England to Old England and restore to his consciousness the various landing-places of his Teutonic forefathers.

HERBERT B. ADAMS

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, November 6, 1882.



PLYMOUTH ROCK AS IT IS.

## PLYMOUTH BEFORE THE PILGRIMS

In the year 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold sailed to New England, entering Cape Cod Bay, and coasting around the Cape to the Island of Cuttyhunk, where he loaded his vessel with cedar and sassafras, afterwards returning home, only to be prosecuted by Sir Walter Raleigh for making an unauthorized voyage. He was followed by Martin Pring in 1603, that year being signalized by the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James, while at about this time Raleigh's public career paled. Before, however, the great cloud settled down over his life, the arrangements for the new voyage were made. This voyage was inaugurated by Hakluyt. Pring, in his narrative, given in the *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (iv., 1654), says: "Vpon many probable and reasonable inducements, vsed vnto sundry of the chiefest Merchants of *Bristoll*, by Master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebendary of Saint *Augustines* the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolued to set forth a Voyage for the Discouerie of the North part of *Virginia*." Taught by the experience of the previous year, they first sent a deputation, consisting of "the said Master *Hakluyt* accompanied with one Master *John Angell*, and Master *Robert Saltern* (which had beene in the said Discouerie the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from *Queene Elizabeth*) to entermeddle and deal in that action." Permission was thus obtained "vnder his hand and Seale." Salterne, who afterward took Orders in the Church of England, was appointed the "Chief agent."

The expedition was composed of two vessels, "the Speed-well" of fifty tons, manned by thirty men and boys, and "the Discouerer," with thirteen men and boys. Pring himself commanded the large vessel, while Edmund Jones had charge of the smaller one.

Leaving Milford Haven April 10th, Pring took a direct course for New England, instead of sailing by the way of Newfoundland, and without even stopping at the Azores, sighted a multitude of islands in the latitude of 43° N., upon an unknown day in June, "which Ilands were found very pleasant to behold." Passing through the islands he reached the main, where "we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, wee ran vp into it fие miles, and

for a certaine space found very good depth, and comming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted vpon two other Inlets, which vpon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed vp ten or twelue miles." No Indians were found, but the remains of their camp fires were abundant.

It has been supposed very generally that one of the inlets explored was the Piscataqua, but it must be observed that when the exploration of this region had been concluded they laid their course southward for "Savage Rock," at Cape Neddock, so named by Gosnold the previous year, this place being some miles northeast of the Piscataqua. Writers have placed Savage Rock near Cape Ann, overlooking the fact that Gosnold, when he left that place at three o'clock in the afternoon with a fair breeze, did not find himself inside of Cape Cod until morning; whereas, if he had sailed from Cape Ann, he might have sighted Cape Cod before sunset. Making Cape Neddock his point of departure, the sailing time and distance are adjusted, though this reckoning throws Pring's exploration east of the Piscataqua.

Upon reaching Savage Rock, Pring found no sassafras, and concluded not to delay. Accordingly he "bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine *Gosnold* ouer-shot the yeere before, coasting and finding no people on the North side thereof." But, says Pring, "not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes, where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worshipfull Master *John Whitson*, then Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, and one of the chiefe Adventurers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth* for Master *Robert Aldworth's* sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as well with his Purse as with his trauell. Here," it is added, "we had a sufficient quantity of Sassafras."

There should be no difficulty in identifying the situation of "*Whitson Bay*," since the description is so clear, it being on the *south* side of the gulf overshoot by Gosnold. Nevertheless, writers have blindly followed Belknap, who, in the face of the record, points out the harbor of Edgartown, at Martha's Vineyard, as the place occupied by Pring; and on the ground that the harbor is said to be in latitude  $41^{\circ} 25'$ . Assuming Pring's reckoning to be correct, he interpreted the phrase "south side" to mean southward from the gulf, which the context does not justify, and which the general description of the harbor also positively forbids. With respect to latitudes, it may be observed that it was a common experience, even in the seventeenth century, for the navigator to be in error to the extent of half a

degree, as we shall prove to have been the case with Pring, whose narrative supplies the means of correcting the error.

It may be noted, however, that if Pring had gone to the same region that was visited by Gosnold, he unquestionably would have made some reference to the fact; but, alluding to the extent of the voyage, Salterne teaches the contrary, saying, "in this voyage for the *most* part they followed the course of Captain Gosnold," which proves that they did *not* follow him altogether. Pring could not have sailed among the dangerous shoals around Cape Cod without at least a passing reference to the achievement, nor would he have lived seven weeks upon Martha's Vineyard without alluding to its *insular* character. But, on the other hand, what is said is consonant only with the idea that they were on the *main land*, as it is observed that one of their company went six miles into "the countrey," which was full of all kinds of wild animals. Certain other statements conclusively settle the question, and indicate the harbor of Plymouth as the place visited by Pring.

First of all, it is said that on reaching the south side of this "great gulfe" they entered a "Bay," showing that the harbor, unlike that of Edgartown, was *spacious*. At the entrance they found twenty fathoms of water. There was also a "pleasant hill thereto adjoining." Again, on one occasion they passed up a *river* from the harbor. Now, at the entrance of Edgartown there is no *bay*, no *deep water*, no *sightly hill*, and no *river*. Edgartown meets only a *single* condition, where it is said that Pring's vessel lay land-locked in seven fathoms. On the other hand, the twenty fathoms at the entrance of the harbor will be sought in vain, five fathoms being the deepest. Indeed, no twenty fathoms are found anywhere in this region. But at the entrance to Plymouth Harbor, by which is meant the approach, there is any depth of water desired. Twenty fathoms is quickly reached on going out; while this depth was reached sooner in 1603 than now, since the coast survey of 1876 (p. 143) shows the water has shoaled by filling up to the extent of nearly five fathoms, or about twenty eight and one-half feet. In fact, the soundings given by Pring apply to no other place. The description is sharply drawn, it being an "excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof we found twentie fathoms water, and rode at our ease in seuen fathoms being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile." The phrase ride at our *ease* is significant, and could never have been written of Edgartown, where in the narrow anchorage the ship would be subject to attack even from the arrows of the savages. The peculiar form of Plymouth, compared to a snail, is indicated in *Mourt's Relation*, where it is described as "in fashion like a sickle, or fishhook."

There is nothing in this account, except the latitude, which when ap-

plied to Plymouth needs to be excused. The "pleasant hill" was what is now known as the "Captain's Hill," or, possibly Manomet, mentioned by Champlain. The probabilities are in favor of the "Captain's Hill," which, in a small way, as has been frequently observed, forms part of a view that suggests the Bay of Naples. The prospect from this hill is commanding, as it overlooks "Whitson Bay" and the sea. Mr. Winsor, the author of the "History of Duxbury" (p. 23), says that in early times there was a hill known as "Allerton's," as he suggests, called after one of the Pilgrims. It is not known to-day what hill this was, possibly, however, the "Aldworth," the name given by Pring was perpetuated, and afterward confounded with Allerton, who, however, did not live on the Duxbury side of the bay. His name was also spelled "Alderton," and was given to the well known point at the entrance of Boston Harbor (Young's "Chronicles," 195 *n.*). Champlain says of Manomet, a "Promontoire assez haut qui paroist de 4 à 5 lieux à la mer" (p. 63).

When the Pilgrims first reached the harbor they did not notice the river up which Pring sailed, but the day following they found a "very pleasant river," and called it "Jones' River," in honor of the Captain of the Mayflower.

As regards the products of the land, there is also an entire agreement. Pring says, "here we had sufficient quantitie of sassafras." Further argument, therefore, seems needless, as the situation, at the end of two centuries and a half, is identified. Nor is the correction devoid of interest, giving, as it does, the venerated site of Plymouth some place in history prior to Champlain and the advent of the Pilgrims of Leyden. Let us, therefore, return and conclude the account of Pring's adventures, now that we are assured that we are treading on what is esteemed classic ground.

The first thing done on going ashore and viewing the people and place, was to build a "small baricado to keep diligent watch and worde in," while the most of the party were engaged among the woods. Hither the Indians came in large numbers, where a favorite New England dish appears to have been inaugurated, for they "did eat Pease and Beanes with our men."

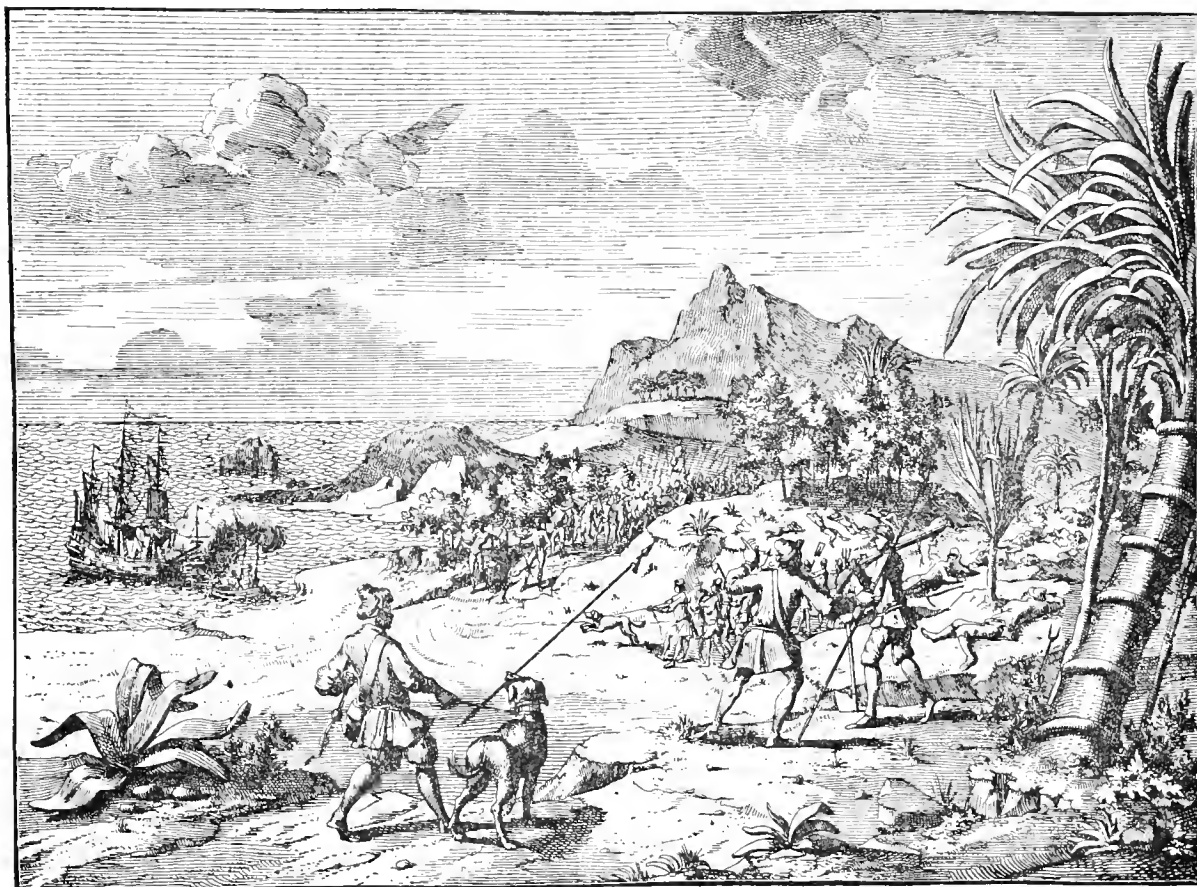
In Pring's company there was a young man who could play the "Gitterne," or guitar, and in this "homely Musicke" the savages took great delight, rewarding the performer with tobacco and pipes, adding thereto "snake skinnes of sixe foote long," which they used for belts. Upon their breasts they wore large plates of "brasse." They were exceedingly afraid of the mastiffs that Pring brought over, and with these dogs a man was safe miles away from the ship. Their boats were made of bark, being generally of logs; yet it was at this place that Champlain noted the bark canoe.

Speaking of the Indian women, our journalist says, that he saw "not



past two of them," Brereton saying the year before in his narrative of Gosnold's voyage that he saw only "three in all." With regard to the disposition of the men, he takes his suggestion from Verrazano. In describing the people, he colors his language from both Brereton and Verrazano, as will be seen, by a comparison of the narratives; he also borrows his description of the peculiar arrangement of the aboriginal dress from the Florentine.

According to their instructions, they "pared and digged vp the Earth with Shouels and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of



PRING'S HARBOR FROM VANDER AA.

Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode, being about seven Weeks, although they were late sowne, came vp very well."

By the end of July, Pring had loaded the smaller of the two vessels with "as much Sassafrass as we thought sufficient," and then the Discoverer "was despatched to England." This done, they "bestired" themselves to load the ship. But in the meantime they came near falling into serious trouble. Says Pring: "On a day about noone-tide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafrass in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about seven

score Savages armed with their Bowes and Arrowes, and environed our House or Barricado, wherein were four of our men alone with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to have come down vnto them, which they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard." At this point their dogs proved very serviceable, and while a gun was fired from the ship, "*Foole and Gallant*, their great and fearful Mastives," one of which was trained to carry a half pike in his mouth, charged upon the savages and put them to rout. After this the Indians made sport of the matter and pretended that what they had done was in jest.

In the Dutch abstract of the voyage by Gottfried, published by Vander Aa, there is a curious copper-plate engraving, intended to illustrate this episode in the early history of Plymouth. This fancy sketch, with a palmetto tree in one corner, is given on page 811 simply to show how the Dutch interpreted the narrative.

After this the English were still more guarded, and refused to hold any intercourse with the natives, about two hundred of whom came down to the shore together, affecting a friendly disposition. Of this, however, they gave a poor proof the day before the ship sailed, by setting the woods on fire, which, Pring says, "wee did behold to burn for a mile space," though, of course, he could not speak exactly with respect to the extent of the conflagration; yet it is a fact that the Pilgrims, soon after landing, found that in one place the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, while to-day a plain commences two miles out of Plymouth, and extends five or six miles, the scar possibly of the ancient conflagration, kindled, as it were, to light Pring upon his homeward way.<sup>1</sup>

About the ninth of August, he left this "excellent Hauen" for England, entering Kingrode October 2d. In concluding, Pring remarks, that it is "not to be forgotten" that the captain "fell so much to the Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Hauens are, which," it is added, "fell out to his expectation;" an observation which proves that Pring did not sail for the low region where Gosnold obtained his sassafras. It was in sight of the lofty "Manomet" that he found the "Excellent Hauen" which met his expectations.

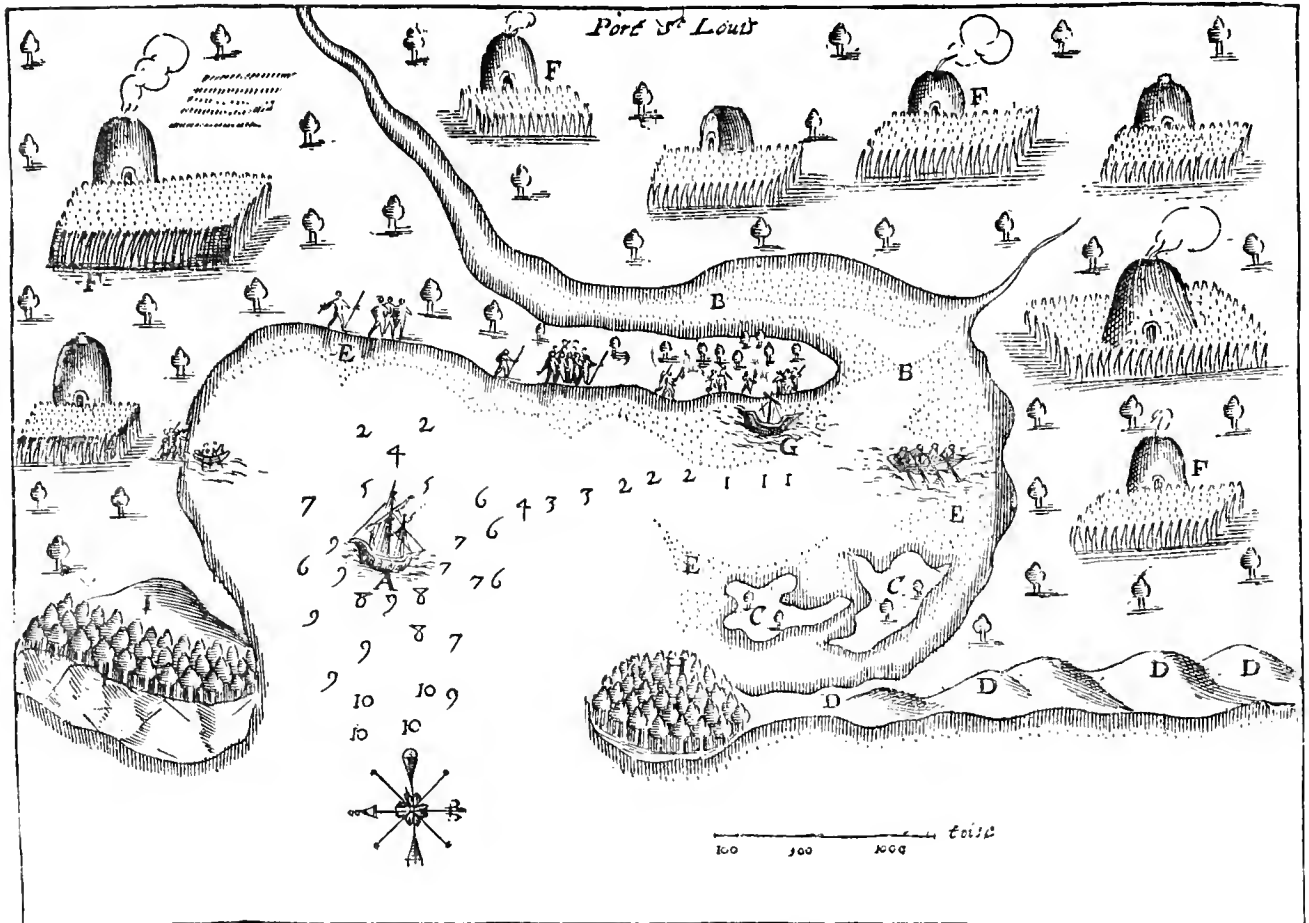
Robert Salterne was in this company as "chief agent." It is said that they found "a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red peate-plum with a crown or knop on top," a "plant wherof carefully wrapped up in Earth, Master *Robert Salterne* brought to Bristoll." We have already seen that he wrote an account of the voyage, which was in the possession of Captain John Smith. There is no notice of any of the religious services probably performed here by this embryo clergyman, and it is therefore to be hoped

that the plant with its fruit like a "peate-plum" carried to old England from Plymouth proved more prosperous than any of the great truths that he may have taught under the shadow of Mount Aldworth while employing the venerable forms of the English Church.

The next voyager who appeared at Plymouth was Champlain, who, June 18, 1605, under De Mont, left St. Croix in a pinnace with "some gentlemen," twenty sailors, and the Indian Panounias as guide. Champlain was the historiographer, though it is evident that valuable notes were made by others, and that they were used by Lescarbot in his "*Nouvelle France*" of 1609. The object of the expedition was to find a better site for the colony than that upon the Island of St. Croix. After glancing at Mount Desert, DeMont passed on to the Kennebec, and then went to Saco, called "Chacouet;" afterward ranging the coast to Cape Ann, where the savages drew rude sketches of the region with charcoal. In this place Champlain observed that the Indians, unlike those farther north, make their canoes all of one piece (*tout d'une piece*), and describes the method of burning them out of logs, as practised in the time of Verrazano.

From Cape Ann, ruled by "Monabetha," they sailed to Boston Bay, and, supposing it the mouth of a river, called it River "du Gas," that being one of DeMont's names. To Brandt Point, on the south shore, he gave the name of "Cape St. Louis." Plymouth harbor was next reached. This place, named "Whitson Bay" by Pring, he called "Port St. Louis." The natives here executed a dance and received in reward a few "bagatelles." Anchoring within the harbor, called a *cul-de-sac*, Champlain took soundings and made a plan of the port, showing the river mentioned by Pring. He also points out the two islands referred to in Mourt's "Relation," and indicates the height called "Manomet." Champlain says, that after leaving Cape St. Louis, "We sailed this day two leagues of sandy coast, and going on thence we saw a quantity of cabins and gardens. The wind being contrary we entered into a little *cul-de-sac* to wait for fair weather in order to pursue our route. There came to us two or three canoes that came from the fishery of cod and other fish, which they take in considerable quantity, as they fish with a hook made of a bit of wood to which they fasten a bone which they make in the shape of a harpoon, and tie it very securely because not strong; all being in the form of a little barb (*crochet*). The cord attached is of the bark of a tree. They gave me one which I took out of curiosity, the bone of which was attached with hemp, in my opinion, like that of France; and they told me that they gathered the grass in their country without cultivating it. The said canoe returned to the land to give notice to those of their habitation who raised a smoke, and we

perceived 18 or 20 savages, who came to the edge of the shore and began to dance. Our canoe was sent ashore to give them some trifles with which they were very well contented. Some approached and requested us to enter their river. We raised the anchor to do this, but were not able to enter on account of the lack of water we found, it being low tide, and we



*Les chiffres montrent les brasses d'eau.*

A Montre le lieu où posent  
les vaisseaux.  
B L'achenal.  
C Deux isles.  
D Dunes de sable.  
E Basses.

F Cabannes où les sauvages  
labourent la terre.  
G Le lieu où nous fûmes  
eschouer nostre barque.  
H vne maniere d'isle rem-

plie de bois tenant aux dunes  
de sable.  
I Promontoire assez haut qui  
paroist de 4. a 5. lieux à la  
mer.

CHAMPLAIN'S PLAN OF PLYMOUTH HARBOR.

were obliged to anchor at the entrance. I landed where I saw a number of others, who received us very graciously, and where the river was seen, which appears only an arm of water which extends a little within the lands that are deserts in part; within which there is only a brook which is not able to float boats, except at full sea. This place is only about a league in

circumference. One of the entrances, in a manner an island covered with wood, principally of pine, joins to a coast of sandy hills which is very long; the other side is very high land. There are two islets within the said bay, which one does not see if he is not within, where the sea around becomes almost dry at low tide. This place is very noticeable from the sea, though the coast is very low, except the cape at the entrance of the bay, which we named the Port of Cape St. Louis."

This extract is translated from Champlain's "Voyages" of 1613 (p. 78). The old French appears to have been misprinted, *icelle* being put by an error for *isle*. This error is repeated in the editions of 1623 and 1830. In the description of the plan of the harbor, however, *isle* appears instead of *icelle*, and enables one to make the needed correction.

The sketch of Champlain gives a more graphic description of the place than his letter-press. Saquish Head is a wood-crowned hill; "Manomet" rises clothed with forests; the round-topped wigwams, plumed with smoke, stand in fields of tall corn; the savages are seen paddling their canoes, or, bow and arrow in hand, gesticulate to the French and invite them to land; while the bark of De Mont lies safely at anchor in the middle of the harbor, where, fifteen years later, the Mayflower furled her torn sails. This is the earliest known pictorial representation of Plymouth.

The Indians received the French "graciously," but were practising the tactics that they tried with Pring. They succeeded in decoying the French nearly to the mouth of Jones' River, where the vessel grounded.

This harbor contains only one island now. There has, however, always been a tradition of "Brown's Island," supposed to be an island outside of the harbor. Winthrop, in his "History of New England" (i., p. 169), says that on "October 6, 1663, two shallops going, laden with goods, to Connecticut, were taken with an easterly storm and cast away upon Brown's Island." Mourt's "Relation" (p. 60) speaks of "two fine islands" in the harbor, corresponding to those of Champlain. The present island is called "Clark's Island." The exact locality of Champlain's second island may be shown by the Coast Survey Map, where, in the spot corresponding to the island in the French plan, is a place which at low tide has only six inches of water, but is surrounded by a channel with from seven to twenty feet.<sup>2</sup>

In the report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey for 1876 (p. 143), it is suggested that by the two islands Champlain meant "Saquish and Clark's Island," quoting Champlain, to the effect that there are two islands "which are not seen unless one is within, around which the sea runs nearly dry at low tide." It may be replied, however, that Champlain renders this interpretation of his words impossible by his map, which

shows two distinct islands, and Saquish Head besides, "in the manner of an island;" while the two islands "around which the sea runs nearly dry at low tide" must have had at high tide from eight to fourteen feet of water, which is not and never was the case with Saquish. The island now wanting probably lost the trees or shrubs growing upon it, and, being nothing but sand, was cut down by the wind and washed away during some storm adding strength to the spring tide, which here often rises fourteen feet.

DeMont does not appear to have favored the spot for a colony; and with the change of the wind he sailed into Cape Cod Bay, afterward going to the neighborhood of Mallebarre.

The Dutch appear to have been the next visitors at Plymouth. Mr. Brodhead, in his "History of New York" (vol. i., p. 58), inclines to the belief that, in 1614, Adrian Block, in the *Onrest*, sailed as far east as Marblehead and Nahant. At all events, the well-known Dutch "Figurative Map" of about 1614 indicates that the Dutch had explored Plymouth Harbor, called "Crane Bay," and which contains two islands, like the map of Champlain.

The next to appear upon the scene was the famous Captain John Smith. It will not, however, be necessary to go over the history of this individual. He says, in opening his "Description of New-England:" "In the moneth of Aprill, 1614, with two Ships from *London*, of a few Merchants, I chanced to ariue in *New-England*, a parte of *America*, at the Ile of *Monahiggan*, in  $43\frac{1}{2}$  of Northerly latitude: our plot was there to take Whales and make tryalls of a Myne of Gold and Copper. If those failed, Fish and Furres was then our refuge, to make ourselue sauers howeuer." The whaling was a failure, and the trade in peltries was poor, but a quantity of fish was taken; and while the sailors fished Smith ranged the coast in a boat from Cape Cod to the Penobscot, and wrote a general description of the country, which was published in 1616. The following is his description of this region, beginning with Salem, or "Naimkeck:"

"*Naimkeck* though it be more rockie ground (for *Angoam* is Sandie) not much inferior; neither for the harbor, nor anything I could perceiue, but the multitude of people. From hence doth stretch into the Sea the faire headland *Tragabigsanda*, fronted with three Iles called the three *Turks Heads*: to the North of this, doth enter a great Bay, where wee founde some habitations and corne fields: they report a great Riuer and at least thirtie habitations, doo possess this Countrie. But because the *French* had got their Trade, I had no leasure to discouer it. The Iles of *Mattahunts* are on the West side of this Bay, where are many Iles, and questionlesse good harbors: and then the country of the *Massachusetts*,

which is the Paradise of all those parts : for here are many Iles all planted with corne ; groues, mulberies, saluage gardens, and good harbors. The Sea Coast as you passe shews you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people : but the *French* hauing remained heere neere sixe weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, *viz* if there be neer three thousand people vpon these Iles ; and that the Riuer doth pearce many daies iournies the intralles of that Countrey. We found the people in these parts verie kinde ; but in their furie no less valiant. For vpon a quarrel with one of them, hee onlely with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahassit to certaine rocks whereby we must passe ; and these let fly their arrows for our shot, till wee were out of danger."

Such was the description of the region of Boston, called "Massachusetts." His next point is "Accomack," or Plymouth. Smith says : "Then come you to *Accomack*, an excellent good harbor, good land ; and no want of any thing but industrious people." In the map which accompanies his description the harbor is shown in a careless way, indicating one large island and two small ones, probably thrown in from recollection, the larger standing for Gurnet Point and Saquish. A house stands by the side of the harbor with the word "Plimouth," the name, as Smith shows us, having been selected by Prince Charles.

Here at Plymouth, as was the case with Pring, they had trouble with the Indians, who showed the same changeable character exhibited in 1603. Smith says : "After much kindness, vpon a small occasion, wee fought also with fortie or fiftie of those : though some were hurt, and some slaine ; yet within an houre after they became friendes." He then goes on to describe Cape Cod.

The next year Smith prepared to come out to New England, but his customary ill-fortune pursued him. He writes as follows in "New England Trialls," published in Force's Tracts :

"I being at Plimmoth prouided with 3 good ships, yet but fifteen men to stay with me in the country, was Windbound three moneths, as was many a hundred saile more, so that the season being past, ships went for New-foundland, whereby my designe was frustrate, which was to me and my friends no small losse, in regard whereof here the Westernne Commissioners, in the behalfe of themselues ; and the rest of the Companie, contracted with me by articles indented vnder our hands, to be Admirall of that Country during my life, and in the renewing of their Letters pattents so to be nominated, halfe the fruits of their endeouours theirs, the rest our owne ; being thus ingaged : now the businesse doth prosper," he adds, writ-



ing in 1622, "some of them would willingly forget me; but I am not the first they have deceived."

One can hardly withhold sympathy from Smith, especially as he was fitted above any man of his time to lead in the work of colonization. But for an unfortunate head wind he would have gone to New England in 1617, and undertaken a permanent work. Possibly he might have selected Plymouth or "Massachusetts" as the site of a colony and thus made the country essentially unlike what it proved to be.

The next person known to have appeared at Plymouth was Captain Thomas Dermer, engaged in the services of the North Virginia Company. In 1619, having finished the business he had undertaken at Monhegan, Dermer embarked in his pinnace to explore the coast, putting his surplus provisions on board the "Samson," a Virginia fishing vessel about to sail for the Southern Colony. At the end of forty leagues, near Nahant, the pinnace was beached in a storm; but, getting off with the loss of many much-needed supplies, and leaving behind his Indian guide, he sailed around Cape Cod, where, at "Sutcliffe's Inlet," he was taken prisoner but miraculously escaped. At Martha's Vineyard he met the crafty Epenow, with whom he conversed, and thence sailed through Long Island Sound and passed Hell Gate, called a "dangerous cataract," where the savages saluted him with showers of arrows. In New York Bay the natives were peaceable, and undertook to show him a strait to the West, but he was baffled by the wind and sailed southward, missing Delaware Bay, and anchoring in the Chesapeake. When the weather changed he sailed to Virginia and there passed the winter. He made a map of the coast, which he would not "part with for fear of danger." The most important act performed was the peace made with the Indians. This is not mentioned in Dermer's letter, given in the New York Collections (s. i., vol. i., p. 350), but it was alluded to in his report made to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, which report was referred to in the "Briefe Relation in Purchas" (iv., 1831), and likewise in Bradford's "History." The latter says (p. 95), speaking of the year 1620: "This M<sup>r</sup> Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him bearing date June 30, An<sup>o</sup>: 1620." Bradford quotes this relation as saying: "I will first begin w<sup>th</sup> that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; w<sup>ch</sup> in Cap. *Smith's Mape* is called *Plimoth*: and I would that Plimoth had y<sup>e</sup> like comodities. I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of 50 persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton, because ther ye savages are lese to be feared." Charlton appears on Smith's map as near the present Charles River, and the Indian Squanto, who belonged at Plymouth, had been car-



ried away, as Bradford says, "with diverce others by one Hunt, a m<sup>r</sup> of a ship," but was returned "hither in to these parts by one M<sup>r</sup> *Dermer*, a gentleman imployed by S<sup>r</sup> Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts." Whether or not Hunt visited Plymouth Harbor we cannot say. Bradford further says in the "Relation" it is mentioned that "he made y<sup>e</sup> peace betweene y<sup>e</sup> Salvages of these parts and y<sup>e</sup> English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had y<sup>e</sup> benefite. But," he adds, unwilling that Dermer should have any credit, "what a peace it was may apeare by what befell him and his men." The "Briefe Relation" says of Dermer, "after he had made the peace betweene vs and the Sauages, that so much abhorred our Nation for the wrongs done them by others, as you haue heard: but the fruit of his labour in that behalfe wee as yet receiue to our great commoditie, who haue a peaceable Plantation yet at this present among them, where our people both prosper and liue in good liking, and assurednesse of their neighbors, that had beene formerly so much exasperated against vs, as will more at large apeare hereafter."

This was the testimony put on record in 1622 respecting the value of Dermer's work at Plymouth; but to show that the peace was of no value at Plymouth, or rather, "what a peace it was," Bradford refers to an attack made upon Dermer by the Indians in another part of the country; while Nathaniel Norton, in his "New England's Memorial," taking the hint from Bradford, also tries in the same fashion to undervalue Dermer's work. It will nevertheless be admitted by all candid minds, that any treatment ignoring Dermer must be regarded as unhistorical.

B. F. DE COSTA

<sup>1</sup> In Dexter's edition of Mourt's Relation, which is the edition generally referred to in THE MAGAZINE, we read at page 75: "They trauailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the space of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even." Dr. Dexter says: "This very accurately describes the characteristics of the country for several miles around Great South Pond as a centre, four or five miles S. of Plymouth Rock."

<sup>2</sup> The Relation says, page 76: "In the after-noone, it pleased God from an high Hill they discovered the two Iles in the Bay." Dr. Dexter suggests "Pinnacle Hill," west of South Pond, as the "high Hill." With such references as these to the two islands in the bay, it seems idle to confound them with Saquish Head.

## SAMOSET AND NEW ENGLAND COLONIZAT

A full and accurate narrative of the planting of the Leyden Pilgrims on the shore of New England would show that the well known Indian Chief "Samoset" of Plymouth was the "Sa-maa-set" of Maine. The latter was the spelling and pronunciation of the name as it appears in the earliest records of the Pemaquid country.

One day in the month of March, 1621, Samoset appeared suddenly among the few huts that then stood on the shore of Plymouth, saluting the Pilgrims in English, bidding them "Welcome." He is described as "starke naked, onely a leather about his wast, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a bow and 2 arrowes, the one headed and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely short before, none on his face at all."

According to Mourt's "Relation," in which narrative the foregoing picture is found, this Samoset, whose appearance at Plymouth caused so much unfounded alarm, was a savage lord of the eastern coast, distant "a dayes sayle with a great wind, and fue dayes by land," near "Monchiggon," or Monhegan. This isle of Monhegan fixes the place of Samoset's home in the Pemaquid Country. The eastern Indians called this island "Men-ahan-k-egan," meaning "island of the sea coast." The French embodied the Indian sounds as expressed in "Emtinic," of the Indian word "*Men-ahan*" island, and "*auk*," place, which soon, by later French writers, was transformed into "Pem-cuit," and by the English hardened into "Pemaquid;" the island thereby giving a name to its nearest main-land point, which, stretching out into the sea toward it, in a narrow peninsula, four or five miles, showed to the voyager, touching at this notable landmark, the nearest shore shelter on the main. The base of the Pemaquid peninsula on the east shore is carved into headlands and harbors of refuge, and affords outlets for streams from the interior fur-bearing fresh waters. One of these interior waters is a pond, called by the Indians "Mus-congus," near which is a remarkable land-locked basin called "Round Pond," and near New Harbor of Pemaquid, in the town of Bristol, Maine.

Across its mouth, half a mile distant, and parallel to the coast, is an island, long and narrow, of triangular shape. Its northern extremity forms a sand spit, which, by the washings of Muscongus Bay, is shown to have been an ancient Indian burial-ground; and, on the main opposite, is a little,

sheltered, sunny cove, with overlooking headlands, still a way station for the Penobscot Indians travelling west, and by them, and in tradition, known and called "Sa-maa-sets" Cove. The island in early records is "Samasits," or "Sommarset" Island, and sometimes Muscongun. There is a deed extant, discovered by the late J. Wingate Thornton, signed in 1653, in which "Sommarset" records himself as of Muscongun. Here, then, under Monhegan, near the Ponds of Pemaquid, Samoset had his home, and here, too, settlements and commerce of the English race, in 1621, had been established.

The incident we have noted in opening was an unexpected greeting. Only a foothold at Plymouth had as yet been obtained. The wild and inhospitable surroundings had rendered it most uncertain ground. The explorers who threaded the shores of Cape Cod in search of a resting-place had been greeted with "a great and hideous cry" from among the hills and out of the thickets, supplemented by a cloud of arrows. Pilgrim fire-locks answered back. The drama was thus opened, and after ninety days of adventure the Pilgrims of Plymouth still stood in the midst of inauspicious surroundings, notwithstanding the work of Captain Dermer, who, as well known, visited Plymouth in 1619 and made a peace with the Indians. Everything goes to prove that they were fickle at times. Now, therefore, they were far from being safe, and in this emergency a welcome came from the wilds of Pemaquid in the person of this tall, straight chief. The forlorn strangers were revived by this welcome. "Free in speech," as well as "of a seemely carriage," Samoset described the new country, enumerated the several chieftains, and showed their strength and prowess in war.

Won by his address, and moved to pity by his destitution, the Pilgrims gave him "a horseman's coat." Familiar with the English beverage, he asked for "some beere." They gave him "strong water and biskit and butter and cheese and pudding and a piece of a mallard." He liked it all. Doubtless he had eaten and learned to relish English beer, at English tables, at Popham's Port, in "ye easterne partes." They found him able to give the names of the most of the ship-masters and commanders on the coast of Maine. He also warned the colonists of the hostility of the neighboring tribes, telling them that eight months ago they had killed three Englishmen who were of "Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men," and that two others had barely escaped with their lives to Monhegan.

He himself had been in the Cape Cod country "eight months." He must then have left Monhegan with Dermer, who landed him at the Cape. This fact gives us the thread unravelling the mystery of his presence at Plymouth. He came with Thomas Dermer, the agent of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' estab-

lishment at Monhegan, in his search for the recreant Rocrift, who had abused his trusts and abandoned Gorges' interests there, having illegally seized a French trader and started on a coast voyage in her.

Having informed his new-made friends of everything necessary to their welfare, Samoset wore out the day, and also determined to spend the night. Distrustful of the chief, the Pilgrims yielded with reluctance, and would have quartered him in the hold of the *Mayflower*, which still lay at anchor in the bay, but actually lodged him under guard in the house of Stephen Hopkins.

The next day at early dawn he departed, and within forty-eight hours returned with five other Indians. Friendly greetings were interchanged, and the five savages were sent to bring their king. Samoset remained for three days longer the guest of the Pilgrims, and received a "hat, stockings, and shoes, and a shirt." Massasoit, the King of Plymouth, at length came in while Samoset was with the Pilgrims. He tendered his good offices in negotiating a treaty of amity and peace, which was concluded between Massasoit and the colonists. The king with sixty braves was received by Governor Carver, Captain Miles Standish, Mr. Williamson, and six musketeers, heralded with drum and trumpet.

The conclusion of the negotiations was celebrated in "kissing, drinking, and feasting," his majesty trembling and sweating under draughts of "strong-water." The repose and success of the Plymouth colonial adventure having thus been assured, Samoset, in the climax of a successful and beneficent agency in shaping the incidents of the embryo life and infancy of a new commonwealth, passes forever from Plymouth scenes, leaving the Pilgrims well informed of the country, their environments of danger, and especially of the eastern coast, where he lived. No incident could have diffused greater joy than the intervention of Samoset at this juncture in Plymouth affairs.

Thirteen years prior to these events portions of the coast of Maine had become points to which English commerce and industry had been directed, and there Providence seems to have prepared Samoset for the very work he did at Plymouth for the Pilgrims in March, 1621. Popham's Port and ships had there a business growth of more than seven years.

Samoset, at his own home, had enjoyed opportunities of English association, hearing English speech and observing the courtesies of life with the English race, and the form, force, and effect of an English welcome. However broken may have been that welcome by him extended to the Pilgrims, it was alike honorable, generous, and fortunate. Thereafter Samoset appears only in Maine at and near Pemaquid.

The western landfall of Pemaquid had early been occupied for trade in furs and fish. Three years after the Plymouth welcome, nine ships made Cape-ne-wagen (now Southport) their place of trade, where the "Indian Town" medicinal gardens have been long known to tradition. Here Captain Christopher Levett (1623-4) cast anchor. A man named Coke was a leading resident and trader. It was in one of the thoroughfares of Booth-bay Harbor.

Here we next meet Samoset. Captain Levett was under the commission of Governor Thomas Gorges, and in search of an Eastern settlement and homestead. Four days were consumed at this point in his search, in and about the harbor, where he learned of the pre-occupancy of Pemaquid, and the ship *Eagle*, Witherage master, of Barnstable, England, then taking in freight under special license of the Plymouth Company. Thus Captain Levett looked no farther east. During his stay, a flotilla of Indian canoes, laden with beaver coats and women and children, came into the harbor, being bound to Pemaquid. Samoset was among them. Levett addressed himself to this chief, as a leading personage of paramount authority, and records of him honorable mention, "as one who had been found very faithful to the English, having saved many lives of the English Nation, some from starving, some from killing." Samoset's Plymouth mission and services, seem to have been well known in England.

The beaver coats and peltries of the Indians were too tempting to the Booth-bay traders, and a conspiracy was at once set on foot to secure the rich cargoes, and divert the trade from Pemaquid. Gorges seems to have been well known and highly esteemed by the natives of Maine. Samoset, with Cogawesco, Men-a-wor-met, and other chieftains spoke of him to Levett as "*their cousin*;" and, at the instance of traders, Levett's relation to Gorges was used with the savage boatmen to influence their trade. This fact overcame the reluctance of the chiefs to trade this side of Pemaquid, Samoset's intervention having been secured in behalf of Captain Levett. He ended the controversy "by swearing that none of the furs should be carried out of the harbor, but his cousin Levett should have all."

His word prevailed, and the entire stock of peltries were sold at Booth-bay, except some "beaver coats" pledged at Pemaquid to discharge an old debt there, and these were stolen during the night, and the honest intent of the Indians defeated. During Levett's stay, a son was born to Samoset, which, the captain was asked to name, Samoset declaring there should be "*mouch-i-ke lega-matche*," *i.e.*, *great friendship*, between Levett's son and his own, until "Tanto should take them up to his wig-wam," *i.e.*, to the heavenly home. The transactions at Booth-bay, the ancient

Cape Newagen, in 1623 show that the Plymouth Company was in title and possession at Pemaquid, where the Eagle was loading under the license of this corporation, which had projected and executed the colonial planting at Sabino, of Sagadahoc in 1607 ; and that at Pemaquid in 1623, as in 1614, the trade of the region was still absorbed as a settled and established perquisite of its port.

The next appearances of Samoset is at Pemaquid proper, two years later, before a civil magistrate there, in acknowledgment as grantor (with another savage) of the earliest record of land titles in New England, in a deed, according to the formularies of the English common law, and in consideration of fifty beaver skins, paid by " John Brown, a Mason," of New Harbor, parted with twelve thousand acres of his Pemaquid territory, which transaction opened the era of the acquisition of landed estate, to private individuals, in New England, which was in 1624 and 1625. This John Brown was brother-in-law of John Pierce, and related to the Pierce family of Muscongus, who settled there, it is believed, in 1621 ; while Brown was doubtless an old resident of the ancient Popham Port of 1614, the lands about which, at the date of the transfer described, had acquired a marketable value from the influx of English immigration.

No more is heard of Samoset till 1653, when he again put his sign manual to another grant of a thousand acres in favor of one William Parnell, Thomas Way, and William England. At this date his hand showed the tremor of age and the decay of life ; and probably he died soon after and was buried with his kindred in the soil of his island homestead near " Round Pond," in the town of Bristol. A monument to his name should tell coming generations where lie the ashes of a noble savage, a foster father to English colonization and the Pilgrim refugees of Plymouth.

In 1673 his remembrance was fresh and honored by his race. Says Jocelyn, among the Eastern Indians he was remembered as a " famous Sachem," and to the English in New England he was well known under various names, " Somnarsset," " Samaaset," " Somersset ;" and in Plymouth " Samosset." " *Sa-maas-et*," of the Penobscot tongue, is without doubt the true sound of his native name.

His last act seems to have been for the benefit of English immigrants, who had gathered and been fostered near his homestead ; and it seems to have been in sympathy with his life and conduct, as a faithful friend to the English race to the end of his days. His relations to the English race were eminent, and with Gorges and the pioneers of English colonization in New England, intimate and enduring prior to as well as at the date of the Plymouth and Pilgrim immigration.

Contemporary with Gorges, of Maine, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, and Standish, of Plymouth; and Abraham Shurt and Thomas Dermer, of Monhegan and Pemaquid, Samaaset, of the Wa-wenocks, their peer in virtue, stands out in heroic eminence in the beginnings of New England.

Whatever of interest in history attaches to Samoset as a beneficent agent in the successful planting of New England with English law, religion, and civilization, and the organization of civil life and liberty, since unfolded in the intelligence and virtue of the land, Maine is entitled to credit for the cradling. It was a son of her forests and soil who befriended the embryo colony of Plymouth which grew to a giant manhood. It was Maine, in the person of her Samoset, that met the tempest-tossed, forlorn and despairing Pilgrims, as they stood shivering on Plymouth Rock, with outstretched arms and friendly greetings to new homes, and gave effete civilization, religion, and law a fresh departure in the new world.

### RUFUS KING SEWALL

NOTE.—“*Samoset* (*Sameset*, *Summusset*, *Sommerset*, *Summersaut*) was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Me. He seems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's ship at Monhegan, when he was on his way to these shores, with Squanto, on his pacific mission, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>9</sup>, and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the shipwrecked Frenchmen from their savage captors. This was only six months before the *Mayflower* arrived; and the Pemaquid chief still lingered among his new friends—delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the use of interpreter, to which he was now put. He was at ‘Capmanwogen’ (Southport, Me.) when Levett was there two years later;  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>5</sup> July, 1625, with Unonngoit, he executed the first deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown, of New Harbor. July, 1653, he sold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's War. [Thornton's ‘Ancient Pemaquid,’ *Me. Hist. Coll.*, v., 186-193; Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, 102.]” Dexter's “Mourt's Relation,” p. 83 *n*.

“The conveyance from Somerset, and acquisition by Brown, marks the distinct legal boundary between barbarism and civility. . . . Thus the life of the Pemaquid chief, Samoset or Somerset, must ever awaken the most tender and interesting reflections; and the generosity, the genuine nobility of soul, displayed by this son of the forest, must be allowed as a fairer index to the true character of the aborigines than their deeds of resentment or cruelty in after-days, when goaded to madness by the cunning, cupidity, and treachery of the European. Only the humanity of an Eliot, or the Christian zeal of a Mayhew, can be shown by us as a parallel to the generous and ingenuous Somerset.”—Thornton's “Ancient Pemaquid,” p. 193.

## EVACUATION OF CHARLESTON, S. C., 1782

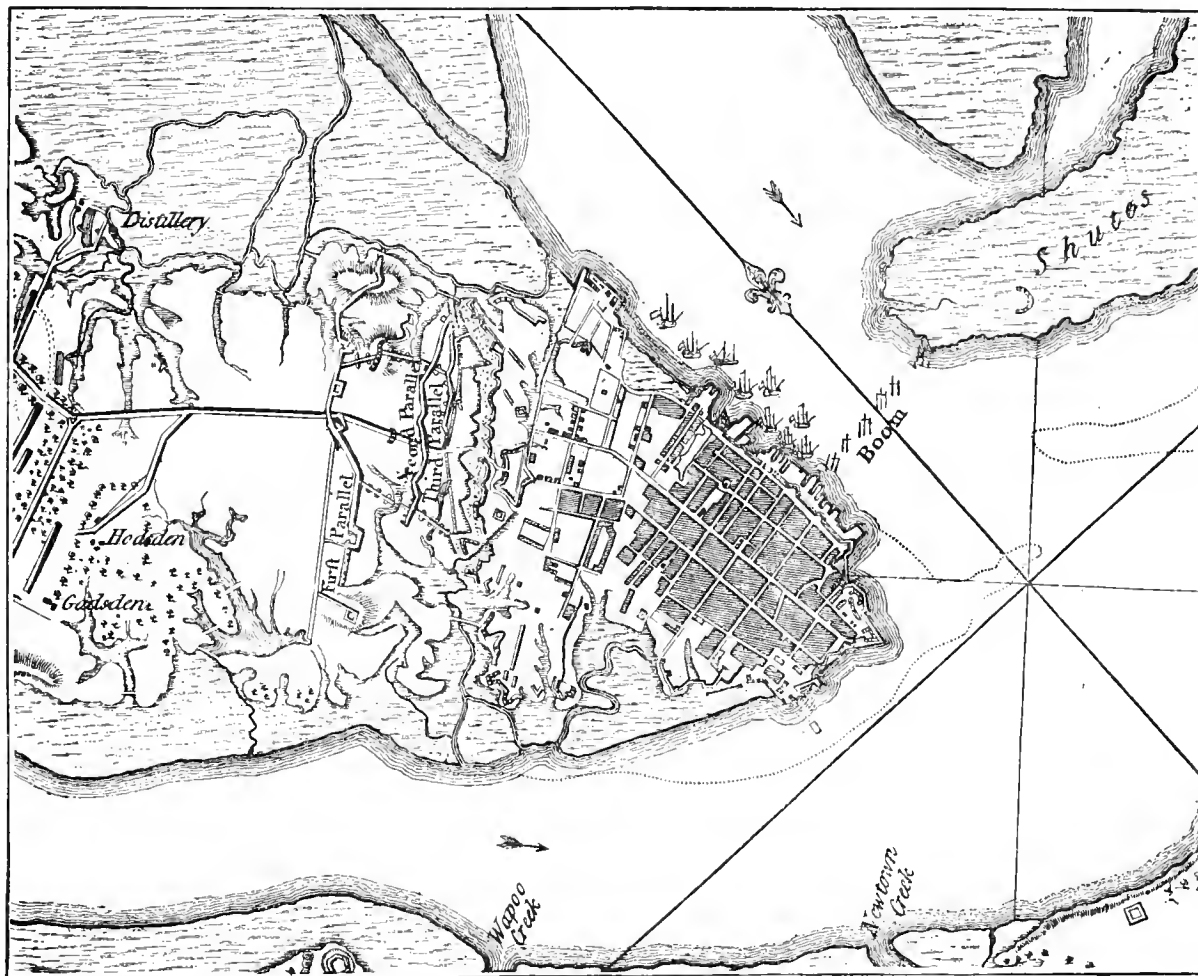
The closing event of the Revolution in the Southern field was the evacuation of Charleston, South Carolina, by the British on December 14, 1782. Its centenary follows apace and fittingly upon those of Fort Moultrie, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and Yorktown. That event meant deliverance and peace for a sorely-stricken section of the country, and it was hailed with tears of joy.

The South in that struggle suffered materially far more than the North. With a more compact population and readier resources, the New England and Middle States were able in most instances to repel expeditions of the enemy intended to plunder towns and destroy stores, as in the affairs of Lexington and Bennington. Washington's army, ever on the alert, and a tolerably well-embodied militia compelled the British to hug the sea-coast ; or, at best, when they moved into the interior it was in solid masses which never attempted extensive devastation. No free riders like Tarleton and Simcoe ventured to penetrate inland as they did in the Carolinas and Virginia. The South, with its open area, great distances and scattered settlements, invited invasion, and, despite much heroic resistance, felt the weight and distresses of the war far toward her western frontier. Hence the many tales of fields laid waste, houses burned, families robbed and made homeless, slaves and property seized, and whatever is common and cruel in partisan warfare. It was, indeed, a merciful dispensation to the Southern States when peace came.

Upon the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, the British held three points at the South. Wilmington, North Carolina, was garrisoned by a part of the Eighty-second Regiment of Foot, under Major Craig—the same regiment to which Captain Moore, later to become the Sir John Moore of Peninsula fame, belonged. He was then with the other wing of the Eighty-second at Halifax, having, in 1779, taken part in the defence of Penobscot against the Boston expedition. At Charleston, South Carolina, the second point, General Leslie was firmly established, and below, General Clarke occupied Savannah. Washington had hoped to follow up the Yorktown blow by a combined expedition against Charleston, but the anxiety of DeGrasse, the French admiral, to return to the West Indies prevented. American interests in the Southern field remained in the hands of the skilful and vigilant Greene, and that he might be able to continue his successes there, Washington reinforced him with the Pennsylvania and



Maryland troops, under Generals St. Clair, Wayne, and Gist, from the Yorktown army. But there was little more fighting to be done in that direction, as the enemy shut themselves up within their fortified lines, and Greene contented himself with going into camp on the west bank of the Ashley River, some sixteen miles above Charleston. Wayne was dispatched to Georgia with a small force, where he had the satisfaction of occupying Savannah, which the enemy evacuated on July 11, 1782. This was the first step in the general move by which America was relinquished.



CHARLESTON DURING THE BRITISH SIEGE IN 1780. [OFFICIAL PLAN.]

Greene's little army upon the Ashley, composed of troops from North and South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, found camp life in the summer of 1782 as fatal as the battle-field. Fevers proved sharper than the sword. "Our camp is very thin," writes Lieutenant Denny, a Pennsylvania officer; "not more than three relieves of officers and men for the ordinary duties. Hospitals crowded, and great many sick in camp; deaths so frequent the funeral ceremony dispensed with." The Ashley River was low and "full of alligators." Food and water were alike unfit.

No wonder the soldiers longed for a release from such service, and when word came that a speedy peace was probable, and that Charleston was to be evacuated, the visions of home seemed to become something more than dreams. Long delays occurred on the part of the British, and it was not until December 14th that they took their final leave. By mutual agreement the transfer of the city to the Americans was to be effected quietly, and as Leslie moved out Greene moved in. The letters of several of the leading officers present unite in describing the orderly progress of the evacuation and occupation. General Moultrie, especially—the hero of Fort Moultrie, off Charleston, in 1776—is full in his particulars. In the forenoon, as the last of the British marched to their boats at the docks, Wayne, now returned from Savannah, marched in with three hundred Light Infantry, the Legion Cavalry, and twenty artillerists, the rest of the army remaining in camp. Guards were posted and order observed. At three in the afternoon came a procession—Greene, on horseback, with Governor Matthews and his council, thirty of Harry Lee's dragoons, Generals Moultrie and Gist, and then officers and citizens. On the following day the civil police was established, and the day after the town opened for business. "I cannot forget," says Moultrie, "that happy day when we marched into Charleston with the American troops; it was a proud day to me, and I felt myself much elated at seeing the balconies, the doors, and windows crowded with the patriotic fair, the aged citizens, and others, congratulating us on our return home, saying, 'God bless you, gentlemen! You are welcome, gentlemen!' Both citizens and soldiers shed tears of mutual joy."

The British sailed off in three hundred ships, taking with them over thirteen thousand Tory inhabitants and captured slaves from South Carolina and Georgia. We give here the order of the evacuation from a document preserved among the manuscripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society:

12<sup>TH</sup> DEC. 1782.

FIRST EMBARKATION OF HIS MAJESTY'S TROOPS FROM CHARLESTON ON FRIDAY AT ONE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

Regiments or Corps.	Number		Where to embark from.
	Officers	Non Comm <sup>d</sup> Offrs Privates & Servants.	
Royal Artillery . . . . .	6	75	Eveleighs Wharf. Fish Market ditto.
Regiment de Dittfourth . . . . .	25	478	
Ditto . . . de Benning . . . . .	22	432	
Ditto . . . de Angeteli & Detachment de Bose . . . . .	9	424	Beef Market ditto.
Total . . . . .	62	1,509	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT THREE O'CLOCK THE AFTERNOON.

New York Volunteers & Prince of Wales Am <sup>n</sup> Regim <sup>t</sup> .....	43	406	Eveleighs Wharf.
King's Am <sup>n</sup> Regiment & 2 <sup>nd</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> Br Gen <sup>l</sup> Skinners.....	37	417	
1 <sup>st</sup> Batt <sup>n</sup> De Lanceys.....	24	226	Fish Market ditto.
			Beef Market ditto.
Total.....	106	1,049	
Total to embark this day.....	174	2,258	

FIRST EMBARKATION ON SATURDAY MORNING AT SEVEN O'CLOCK.

60 <sup>th</sup> 3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> Battalions.....	25	431	} Roses Wharf.
General Stewarts command in Town (except the 63 <sup>d</sup> Regiment).....	50	391	
Total.....	75	882	

SECOND EMBARKATION AT NINE O'CLOCK THE FORENOON, CONSISTING OF THE REAR GUARD.

Detachment of Artillery.....	3	45	} Gadsons Wharf.
Jagers.....	2	70	
Detachm <sup>t</sup> 60 <sup>th</sup> 3 <sup>d</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> Batt <sup>ns</sup> .....	6	160	
63 <sup>rd</sup> Regiment.....	19	193	
Total.....	30	468	
Total to Embark this day.....	105	1,290	
Total Embarkation.....	279	3,848	

	Officers.	Men.
N. B.—The Buffs to embark from Fort Arbuthnot, consisting of.....	24	296
The detachments of the 17 <sup>th</sup> , 23 <sup>d</sup> , 33 <sup>d</sup> , thirteen Jagers, and a detachment of one Captain, two Subalters, Six Non-Commissioned Officers, and Sixty men from different corps in the Garrison at Fort Johnston, Making in all.....	20	334
	44	630

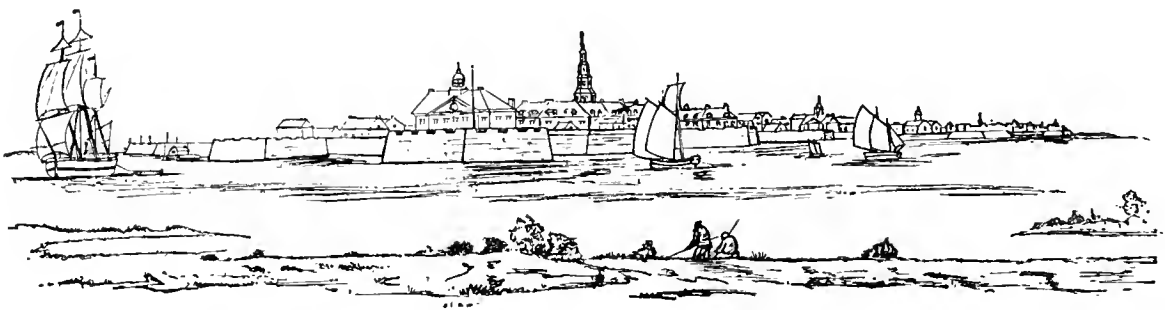
JNO. STAPLETON,

A. D. A. G<sup>l</sup>.

The following reference to the event from an original Hessian account also has its place here :

“Toward the fall of 1782 word came that we were again to leave the Southern parts for the North, and go back to New York, and this talk became stronger and stronger, until finally it went so far, that Georgia and South Carolina were to be entirely given up by the Hessians and English. It was at first posted up at Charleston that in case the English and Hessians should go to sea and abandon the City, no citizen should open a door or a window in three days, much less should one let himself be seen on the street on pain of punishment until the end. Moreover if any one transgresses in other respects by firing guns and other excesses during the out-march to the water, he will be at once taken in custody and sent to Nova Scotia upon a wild, wild island, where there is no wood. Early in the morning an alarm was struck and when we had moved out of camp and stood in the street under arms, we were notified of going upon the water. Although every soldier had packed up everything in his quarters, one had forgotten this, another that. It happened so also in the beginning, but many remained behind and forgot to come back. The subordinate officers were therefore obliged to bring in all that were to be found, and then we went forward. When we came to the water, some small vessels lay there on which we proceeded to the big ships and then departed from the city up the harbor.”

General Leslie and suite reached New York about January 1st following, and as Major Craig had previously sailed away from Wilmington, N. C., every point upon the coast within the limits of the thirteen States was free from the presence of the enemy, New York excepted. The evacuation of the latter city was not to occur until nearly a year after, on November 25, 1783. With that move the complete autonomy of the United States was established.



VIEW OF CHARLESTON IN 1776 FROM THE SOUTH SHORE OF THE ASHLEY RIVER. [FROM THE *Atlantic Neptune*, 1777.]

## SUMNER'S "ANDREW JACKSON" 1

The rude political career of Andrew Jackson offers a subject not apparently the most congenial to a writer who has shown himself fond of logical analysis and skilled in applying the more delicate tests and nice balances of political and economic science. Professor Sumner, however, while somewhat summary with Jackson himself, writes *con amore* and at large of the questions touched by his administration, and makes a book which, whether its estimate of the central figure be fully accepted or not, will be regarded as a valuable addition to the growing literature of American political education.

The episodal portions of the book are not its least significant or attractive feature. In their appropriate connection occur quite a series of distinct sketches, frequently furnishing elucidation of obscurely involved points in the political and economic history of the country. Thus a brief and luminous exposition is given of the origin and development of the "American System," showing how it changed front and was radically transformed in the course of development; an account of party policies as to the disposition of the public lands exhibits the interweaving of this question with that of the tariff. The chapter on the "Relief System of Kentucky" is of especial value. Necessarily the affairs of the United States Bank undergo a considerable and careful examination, which Professor Sumner knows how to conduct without presenting the facts in a form too desiccated for the relish of the unstatistical reader. Touches even of graphic style occur in his treatment of the subject. Thus he describes the "public deposits" as on two or three occasions "banging about the money market like a cannon-ball loose in the hold of a ship in a high wind." Incidentally the author finds occasion to inculcate a favorite and needed lesson: the folly of mixing up politics and president-making with fiscal arrangements. With a well-timed occasional discursiveness also, and as if not sorry to look away now and then from the monotonous features of the "old hero," the author affords many interesting views of the times and of the characteristics of public men even in the remoter distances.

The execution of the task directly proposed in the book is conducted with sufficient vigor. The interest, however, appears to centre less in the person than in the lesson; the book seems shaped to exhibit the evil of arbitrary interference with the natural process of changes in public affairs and the especial mischief attending the reign of the "plain man" in poli-

tics, when he applies his "common sense" to the off-hand settlement of all questions. The lesson is most important, and is plainly deducible from great portions, at least, of Jackson's administrative career.

While Jackson's errors and failures are strikingly set forth in this volume, the not denied objective merits of his administration are left quite in the background. And even the credit which might seem to accrue to him from these is taken away by an analysis of Jackson's mind and motive, which presents him as incapable of any sort of administrative greatness. Yet the scholar in politics, while he could hardly have made such a record of magnificent opportunities misused or neglected as Jackson did, might have proved unequal to exigencies which Jackson seemed born for. Goethe's profound saying, that "Thought expands but lames; action animates but narrows," finds illustration in the different bearing at similar crises in our national history of Andrew Jackson and of William H. Seward. Seward's many-sidedness proved worth less than Jackson's narrow force of apprehension in the crises of nullification and secession.

Professor Sumner's presentation of Jackson's errors and estimate of damages referable to his administration will not in the main be disputed. There is much truth in the statement that Jackson "left behind him discontented and discordant elements of good and ill, just fit to produce turmoil and disaster in the future." His errors lived after him, as if endowed with his own unique vitality, producing their full logical consequence of ill results all along through a period reaching down to the present. Chief among these, perhaps, was the unfortunate influence he exercised on the development of the constitutional law through action on its constituted organs. His appointments "introduced the mode of action by the Executive through the selection of the judges, on the interpretation of the constitution by the Supreme Court." "The climax of the tendency which Jackson inaugurated was reached when the court went to pieces on the Dred-Scott case, trying to reach a decision which should be politically expedient rather than one which should be legally sound. A later and similar instance is furnished by the legal tender cases."

Jackson's consolidation of the accepted definitions and limitations of official authority, his profession of responsibility not to the law but to the people, his fast and loose interpretations of the constitution, his actual evasions of law, wrought subtle and far-reaching damage. His habitual method in such matters was signally calculated to encourage contempt for the rigor of constitutional forms and the roundaboutness of legal procedure. If, as Mr. Bagehot affirms, the "patronage of favored forms" is one of the main causes which change national character, and men are guided by type, not by argu-

ment, the popularity of the Jackson "type" must have caused deterioration in the American character in respect of law-abidingness. Professor Sumner notices the prevalence of mob-violence during Jackson's second term, commenting that "the fashion of the time seemed to be to pass at once from the feeling to the act. That Jackson's character and example had done something to set this fashion is hardly to be denied." Von Holst speaks more strongly, affirming that it was the "curse of Jackson's administration," that it "systematically undermined the public consciousness of right and diminished the respect of the people for their government." Little less than this indeed might be expected as the probable result of elevating to the Presidency the man who could from the field write exultingly of his soldiers' freedom from "constitutional scruples;" who, even by Kendall's admission, "never learned any law and never to the end of his life had a legal mind;" who, above all, knew of but one proper path for his will to its ends, and that the shortest.

One legacy of evil from Jackson's administration has assumed at length proportions so alarming that the public mind is stirred, and leaders of opposite parties, in terms at least, recognize the emergency of the issue of "civil service reform." The martial law which the Indian fighter introduced on the arena of national party management has become the method of the machine; the extension and systemization of the Jacksonian policy of appointments and removals in the civil service has been found to furnish all the apparatus needful for conducting an oligarchical government by political "rings" under the forms of popular government by election of representatives. Mr. Herbert Spencer's impression of the political situation, as reported, is "that the 'sovereign people' is fast becoming a puppet which moves and speaks as wire-pullers determine." Could Jackson revisit us he might indeed be loath to "take the responsibility" for the existence of the modern boss, but a steady look would enable him to recognize the features of that identical though hugely grown Genius of the box which his own hand fished up from the troubled waters of New York politics and let loose upon the land. A deliberate proposal to organize by the use of patronage an army of janizaries to control elections and suppress the genuine manifestation of the popular will would have evoked one of his storms of mighty wrath from Jackson, yet such a policy has naturally enough evolved itself from Jacksonian principles and methods. The principle that political opponents are enemies to be fought with all the means at disposal of political power, affords the selfish manipulator of politics reasons enough to go on in his most crooked lines of action. The notion that the public offices constitute a kind of bonanza in which the peo-

ple have a right to share in turn, is a fruitful source not only of interferences with the efficiency of the public service, but of constant turmoil and intrigue in politics. Benton puts forth this notion ingenuously enough, in defence of his chief, declaring that "General Jackson acted upon the rule of Mr. Jefferson as to appointments, etc., but no doubt was often misled into departures from the rule, but never to the extent of giving to the party more than their *due proportion of office, according to numbers.*" With a little farther extension, the notion seems to require change of administrations for the sake of rotation in office. Such crude and bad ideas, foreign to the traditions of the republic and possessing a merely local and tolerated circulation, received from Jackson the stamp of the realm. Thus he debased the coin of political thinking, and to his influence is largely attributable the subsequent progressive degeneration of party politics.

The tremendous warfare waged by him against the United States Bank furnishes, in the view of his admirers, one of Jackson's main titles to fame, and others who believe they find, in the later developments at least, evidence of all that promise and potency of ill which Jackson ascribed to the Bank, naturally credit him with a great service to his country in divorcing the Federal administration and national politics from the business of banking. Professor Sumner, whose opinion on this point is entitled to great respect, sets down the attack, and all the steps of the warfare upon the Bank, in the chapter of errors of this administration, and attributes to it damage to material interests far beyond that of which so abundant complaint was made at the time. The financial and commercial storm which broke upon the succeeding administration is viewed as one which "had been gathering for two or three years, the accumulated result of rash ignorance and violent self-will acting upon some of the most delicate social interests." Professor Sumner contrasts the good and uniform condition of the currency in 1829 with the confusion and uncertainty into which the currency and banking of the country were subsequently thrown. He does not, however, accept the favorable results to the Bank of the investigation of 1832 as absolutely conclusive as to its condition and policy, but makes the guarded statement that "the student of the evidence and reports of 1832, *if he believes the Bank's statements in the evidence*, will say that the bank was triumphantly vindicated." He suggests a decided doubt as to Biddle's sincerity. But he does not believe that Jackson's administration had a case against the Bank, or that the charges against it were proven. General Jackson seems to have made suspicion or intuition the basis of summary attack on a great financial institution which, as in operation and performing its functions enduringly, had "a great presumption in its favor." Under such circumstances "the



only reasonable question for statesman or financier is that of slow and careful correction and improvement." Whether the final result of the anti-Bank movement was beneficial or not, the force of Professor Sumner's criticism at this point is undeniable; that "the man who sets out to overturn and destroy in obedience to a 'principle,' especially if he shows that he does not know the possible scope of his own action, or what he intends to construct afterward, assumes a responsibility which no public man has any right to take." Von Holst, while holding that the continuance of the bank was not desirable, reasons that that alone is not the question. "The credit Jackson deserves for destroying it is more than counterbalanced by the manner in which he brought about its destruction. Besides, Jackson proved himself entirely incompetent to put anything in its place." On the whole, the case against Jackson's administrative wisdom in the Bank controversy seems a strong one as Professor Sumner puts it; while the warrior-President's conduct of the strife does afford splendid illustration of his élan in action and his ability to maintain his convictions against all odds, and to impress them upon even reluctant adherents.

Professor Sumner's arraignment of Jackson's administration certainly convicts it of the commission of the gravest errors and the infliction of harm upon great public interests; the moral damage being, however, far more clear than the material. Looking at his record from this side only, the critical historian would necessarily come "to bury" Jackson, "not to praise him."

But there is an obverse side to the record, the significance of which cannot be ignored, however difficult it may be to reconcile it altogether with the idea of the man naturally suggested by his tremendous mistakes and misdoings.

The peaceful success of his foreign policy in the settlement of a series of important and difficult questions, constituted an achievement at once brilliant and unexpected. Benton says that those who dreaded the election of Jackson apprehended from no part of his administration more harm than from his intercourse with foreign nations. "From his military character they feared embroilments; from his want of experience as a diplomatist they feared mistakes and blunders in our foreign intercourse." Yet most important and long-desired results were secured during his administration by peaceful negotiation, and in a manner which greatly enhanced respect for America abroad. Professor Sumner, speaking of the vantage ground which Jackson occupied in the contest for re-election, says that he "had the credit of recovering the West India trade, settling the spoliation claims, and placing all foreign relations on a good footing." Benton's account of the situa-

tion is, of course, glowing. Jackson's success in this direction was, at any rate, of a kind to make a great impression on the country and to win him support in quarters previously hostile.

The greatest mark of his political career was made however by his splendid bearing and his firm and well-measured action at the critical period of nullification. Gen. Jackson's figure appears truly colossal as seen athwart that storm. He did not care for Clay's compromise, and would have preferred to crush the treason *directly*.

Professor Sumner does not concede him unqualified credit for his action with regard to nullification, since "if Jackson had done his duty in regard to Georgia and the Indians, nullification would have never attained any strength." Be this as it may, Jackson's previous sympathy with States rights views rendered all the more effective when it came the famous utterance, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved;" and the hand which had been stayed in the case of Georgia recalcitrant on a lesser issue, was perhaps all the stronger for that delay when it was raised in defence of the existence of the Union.

Jackson carried out consistently and boldly his policy of reducing the public burdens. He paid off the debt and reduced the taxes. His policy as to internal improvements, whether approved or not, was vigorous and consistent. It would seem to indicate some administrative capacity in the man that, as our author finds, "he educated his party, for that generation at least, up to a position of party hostility to special legislation of every kind." The policy of selling the public lands to actual settlers only, and at the bare cost of selling, Mr. Parton believes to have been the President's own idea. His veto of the distribution act, accompanied with objections "strong and pertinent," was one of the instances in which Jackson's use of the veto power was abundantly justified. In his issue of the "specie circular" we find at least one financial measure of Jackson which was as sound as vigorous, since it turned back some tens of millions, says Benton, of bank-paper, not of specie value, which was on its way to the land offices to be changed into land. The good which Jackson did does not fail to secure recognition, as to its objective value, at the hands of our author, though it is rarely set in a light of advantage. But when it is brought under examination it proves to yield no evidence of any kind of greatness. We quote here a passage which seems to gather up the book's answer to its proposed problem, What Jackson was, and what he did with his chances: "It came in his way to do some good, to check some bad tendencies, and to strengthen some good ones, but the moment the historian tries to analyze these acts and to bring them for purposes of generalization into relations with the standpoint or

doctrine by which Jackson acted, that moment he perceives that Jackson acted from spite, pique, instinct, prejudice, or emotion, and the influence he exerted sinks to the level of an incident or an accident." Much the same view of Jackson's inner springs of action is taken by Von Holst, though he concedes to him in a rather casual way the possession of "great parts."

The elements yielded by our author's psychological analysis of the man are all there, and a recognition of their influence is essential to any explanation of his actions and character. But on the logical principle of sufficient reason something more than the operation of these fitful elements would seem to be required in explanation of the influence which Jackson exerted on his time. The man who could so triumphantly ride the storm his daring measures had excited against him, who could confront successfully such a triumvirate of opposition as that formed by Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, who could fight down the thirty-five-million dollar power of the Bank must have possessed in no ordinary degree some kind of mental ability, and must have acted from some basis of coherent and vigorous conceptions. Passion and will were fused with all his intellectual operations, and his ideas apparently wrought themselves clear in action. He did his thinking as he went along. Ignorant, apparently, of introspection, and reaching no results by connected logical process, he was one of those

"Whose life was work ; whose language rife  
With rugged maxims hewn from life."

His political career abounded in inconsistencies, yet certain governing ideas seem to have animated it from first to last. His mind had grasped the crude, barbaric idea of natural liberty with a force which seemed to render it impermeable to the conception of institutional liberty. Feeling intensely his own life and the life of the fellow-beings around him, he strove to reach by the shortest path the ends which seemed to him desirable for and desired by the people. His idea of popular freedom would appear to find its realization in a state of affairs which Mr. Bagehot represents as desiderated by many modern reformers—"that is, when an eager, absolute man might do exactly what other eager men wished and do it immediately." Such seems to have been Jackson's conception of what is involved in the real supremacy of the popular will. It led him into most singular assumptions as to his function in respect to the other departments of government, with reference to which he assumed to represent in a more immediate and direct fashion the will of the people ; the representative of the American people seems in his view to occupy an independent position as an author-

ized administrator of the common thought. Webster divined clearly the attitude of the President's mind, and appears to address himself to it directly in the exposition of the nature of constitutional liberty contained in his speech on the Presidential Protest. "Liberty," he urged, in memorable language, "is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and divisions of power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. . . . The spirit of liberty is indeed a bold and fearless spirit, but is also a sharp-sighted spirit. . . . It demands checks; it seeks for guards; it insists on securities. . . . It will not permit power to overstep its prescribed limits, though benevolence, good intent, and patriotic purpose come along with it." But the idea of institutional liberty, as thus expressed, while incorporated into our institutions, was so far from having been assimilated by the mind of Jackson that he habitually and sincerely acted upon a very different conception, which became more intense after the ratification of his course implied in his re-election.

Jackson was consistent in his adherence to his far better and not less favorite ideas of economy and of "simplicity" in government, and doubtless his loyalty to these was a source of much of his power with the masses. His "plain system" was earnestly carried out. His vetoes of bills for internal improvements saved the Government from great expenditures.

He was devoted to the reserved rights of the states, yet no less concerned for the Union when its existence seemed to him to be actually endangered.

Jackson was thus a man of fixed ideas in certain directions; not as to these, at least, the instrument of others' views operating through his prejudices and passions. The enthusiasm of a Cobbett would hardly claim for General Jackson the possession of a many-sided intellect, and in no instance of his life was action ever "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." But in regard to many matters, and after a vigorous fashion of his own, he would appear to have done his own thinking. Benton describes those members of Congress who "confided in the sagacity and provident foresight of Jackson," as "by no means inconsiderable, either in number or judgment." Parton credits him with a "swift intuition."

Data seem to be wanting for a full and conclusive judgment as to what Jackson "was," since his public papers were inspired rather than actually composed by him, while there is reason to believe that his public acts frequently reflected directly the motives and purposes of others who possessed his confidence. Yet certain massive lineaments of mind and character seem to stand out distinguishably, accounting for some part, at least, of the wonderful influence which this man exercised upon his time. Deduct-

ing all that must evidently be deducted from the popular contemporary estimate of his greatness, the colossal figure, though shattered and diminished, is not wrecked.

While some parts of Professor Sumner's criticism of a once popular idol may seem to be conducted in an iconoclastic spirit, any exceptions which may reasonably be taken will not materially affect the force of the illustration afforded of the evils inevitable upon intrusting to unskilled hands the highest political powers. The unique value of this book, however, is found in its philosophical exhibition of the forces, political, economic, and social, which influenced the political development of the period referred to, and its explanation of the tortuous ways of party by the interworking of these forces, modified by the aims and efforts of individuals. New light is thus cast upon more than one unclear passage in our history. And the book is one which will effectually serve the cause of education in political and economic science, to the advancement of which Professor Sumner has so ably and variously contributed by tongue and pen.

GEORGE B. NEWCOMB

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Jackson as a Public Man: What he was, what chances he had, and what he did with them. By William Graham Sumner, Professor of Political and Social Science in Yale College. [American Statesmen Series.] 16mo, pp. 402. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

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THE CONFEDERATION PERIOD.—In a lecture before the Rhode Island Historical Society on this period of the Republic, Professor Gammell, after tracing the course of Alexander Hamilton, says: "In its political aspects it is the dreariest period of American history. It fully justifies the words of Mr. Hamilton, 'A nation without a national government is an awful spectacle.' But the political condition of a people is always a reflection of their moral and social condition, and the testimony of contemporaries abundantly proves how true this was of the confederation period. Washington writes of it thus: 'From the high ground we stood upon, from the plain path which invited our footsteps, to be so fallen, so lost, is really mortifying; but virtue, I fear, has, in a great degree, taken its departure from our land, and the want of a disposition to do justice is the source of the national embarrassments.' This certainly was not the heroic age of American history. The age of the early colonists, of Captain John Smith and the settlers at Jamestown, of the Pilgrim Fathers, of Miles Standish and John Eliot and Roger Williams, better deserves the name. And so do those recent days which we all remember, which witnessed the great uprising of the people in defence of the perilled Republic. The astonishing fact is that, with such a government, and with ideas so narrow as its basis, national independence was secured at all, and that, when secured, it was not immediately lost."

## REPRINTS

*A Voyage set out from the Citie of Bristoll at the charge of the chiefeft Merchants and Inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discoverie of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. under the command of me MARTIN PRINGE.*



PON many probable and reasonable inducements, vsed vnto sundry of the chiefeft Merchants of *Bristoll*, by Master *Richard Hakluyt* Prebendary of Saint *Augustines* the Cathedrall Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discoverie of the North part of *Virginia*. And first they sent the said Master *Hakluyt* accompanied with

M. Salterne yet liueth neither is his z-eale dead to this action. He is now a Minister and hath both by word and writing to mee testified his affection to *Virginia*.

one Master *John Angell*, and Master *Robert Saltern* (which had beene in the said Discoverie the yeere before with Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of Sir *Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from *Queene Elizabeth*) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leane being obtained of him vnder his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the *Speed-well* in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for Master and chiefe Commander in the Voyage one *Martin Pring*, a man very sufficient for his place, and *Edmund Jones* his Mate, and *Robert Salterne* aboue mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the *Discoverer*, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for Master *William Browne*, and *Samuell Kirkland* his Mate, both good and skilfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with slight Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey, as Hats of diuers colours, Greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kersie and Canuasse readie made, Stockings and Shooes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shouels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nailes, Chissels, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasses, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Threed, and such like. They set saile from *Kingrode* the twentieth day of March.

M. Pring whose Voyage to the East Indies are in the former Tome.

April 10. 1603.

We set saile from *Milford Hauen* (where the winds had stayed vs a fortnight, in which space we heard of *Queen Elizabeths* death) the tenth of April 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the *Açores*, had first sight of the *Pike*, and afterward of the Iland of *Cuerno* and *Flores*, and after we had runne some five hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of *Virginia*, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of Iune, which Ilands wee found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heere wee found an excellent fishing for Cods, which are better then those of *New-found-land*, and withall we saw good and Rockie ground fit to drie them vpon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may bee

They discover many Ilands.

Good fishing place.

made in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We sayled to the South-west end of these Ilands, and there rode with our ships vnder one of the greatest. One of them we named *Foxe Iland*, because we found those kind of beasts thereon. So *Foxe Iland.* passing through rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very safe riding among them, in sixe, seuen, eight, ten and twelue fathomes. At length coming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Inlets, the most Easterly whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, wee rann vp into it fiue miles, and for a certain space found very good depth, and coming out againe, as we sailed South-westward, wee lighted vpon two other Inlets, which vpon our search we found to pierce not farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which we rowed vp ten or twelue miles.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had beene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groues and Woods replenished with tall Okes, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hasels, Wichhasels and Maples. We saw here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deere, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and Dogges with sharpe noses. But meeting with no Sassafras, we left these places with all the foresaid Ilands, shaping our course for *Sauage Rocke*, discovered the yeere *Sauage Rocke.* before by Captaine *Gosnold*, where going vpon the Mayne we found people, with *People.* whom we had no long conuersation, because here also we could find no Sassafras. Departing hence we bare into that greate Gulfe which Captaine *Gosnold* ouer-shot the *Great Gulfe.* yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we left them and sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and odde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worship- *Whitson Bay.* full Master *John Whitson* then Maior of the Citie of *Bristoll*, and one of the chiefe Aduenturers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, wee called it *Mount Aldworth*, for Master *Robert Aldworths* sake a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as *M. Aldworth.* well with his Purse as with his trauell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of Sassafras.

At our going on shore, vpon view of the people and sight of the place, wee thought it conuenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the aduertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, the people of the Countrey came to our men some- *The people visit them.* times ten, twentie, fortie or threescore, and at one time one hundred and twentie at once. We vsed them kindly, and gaue them diuers sorts of our meanest Merchandize. They did eat Pease and Beanes with our men. Their own victuals were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play vpon a Gitterne, in whose *The Sauages* homely Musicke they tooke great delight, and would giue him many things, as *take great de-* *light in musick.* Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinned of sixe foot long, which they vse for Girdies,

Dances. Fawnes skinned, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the midst of them, vsing many Sauage gestures, singing *Io, Ia, Io, Ia, Ia, Io*, : him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out vpon. Some few of them had plates of Brasse a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of fve or sixe foot long of Witchhasell, painted blacke and yellow, the strings of three twists of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-strings. Their arrows are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, but of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quiuers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rushes wrought about two handfuls broad aboue, and one handful beneath with prettie workes and compartiments, Diamant wise of red and other colours.

The great vse of Mastiues. We carried with vs from *Bristoll* two excellent Mastiues, of whom the *Indians* were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Mastiues would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one Master *Thomas Bridges* a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed sixe miles alone in the Countrey hauing lost his fellowes, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Sauages company wee would let loose the Mastiues, and suddenly with out-cryes they would flee away. These people in colour are inclined to a swart, tawnie, or Chestnut colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire brayded in foure parts, and trussed vp about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire of theirs they sticke many feathers and toyes for brauerie and pleasure. They couer their priuities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twists and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to bee somewhat ielous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skinne like an *Irish* Mantle ouer one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and giuen to treacherie, as in the end we perceined.

Ornaments. Their Boats, whereof we brought one to *Bristoll*, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the Riuer of *Thames*, seunteene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of *England*: it was sowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the seames couered ouer with Rozen or Turpentine little inferiour in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made trial by burning a little thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, sauing that the beake was a little bending rounding vpward. And though it carried nine men standing vpriight, yet it weighed not at the most aboue sixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacitie thereof. Their Oares were flat at the end like an Ouen peepe, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing vp a Riuer we saw certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Sauages, and not farre off we beheld

The fashion of their Boats. Excellent sweet Rozen and Turpentine.



their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumpers and such like ; and some of the people had Maiz or *Indian* Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Pease, Strawber-  
Their Gardens.  
 Corne and  
 plants.

Hauing spent three Weekes vpon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our lading, according to our instructions giuen vs in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged vp the Earth with shouels, and sowed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Pease, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about seuen Weeks, although they were late sowne, came vp very well, giuing certain testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle, And it seemeth that Oade, Hempt, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in diuers places here we found grasse about knee deepe.

As for Trees the Country yeeldeth Sassafras a plant of souereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late haue learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maladies ; Vines, Cedars, Okes, Ashes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherie trees bearing fruit whereof wee did eate, Hasels, Wich-hasels, the best wood of all other to make Sope-ashes withall, Walnut-trees, Maples, holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a small red Peare-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped vp in earth, Master *Robert Salterne* brought to Bristoll). We found also low trees bearing fair Cherries. There were likewise a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripeness. With diuers other sorts of trees to vs unknowne.

The Beasts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolues, Foxes, Lusernes, and (some say) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with sharpe and long noses, with many other sorts of wild beasts, whose Cases and Fures being hereafter purchased by exchange may yeeld no smal gaine to vs. Since as we are certainly informed, the *Frenchmen* brought from *Canada* the value of thirtie thousand Crownes in the yeere 1604, almost in Beuers and Otters skinnes only. The most vsual Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crowes, Gulls, and great store of other Riuer and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good blessings, so is the Sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, as Cods sufficient to lade many ships, which we found vpon the Coast in the moneth of Iune, Seales to make Oil withall, Mulletts, Turbutts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobsters, Creuises, and Muscles with ragged Pearles in them.

By the end of Iuly we had laded our small Barke called the *Discouerer*, with as much Sassafras as we thought sufficient, and sent her home into *England* before, to giue some speedie contentment to the Aduenturers: who arriued safely in *Kingrode*  
Barke sent  
 home.

about a fortnight before vs. After their departure we so bestirred our selues, that our shippe also had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noonetide while our men which vsed to cut downe Sassafras in the Woods were asleepe, as they vsed to doe for two houres in the heat of the

Danger of the  
Sauages.

day, there came downe about seuen score Sauages armed with their Bowes and Ar-  
rowes, and enuironed our House or Barricado, wherein were foure of our men alone  
with their Muskets to keepe Centinell, whom they sought to haue come downe vnto  
them, which they vtterly refused, and stood vpon their guard. Our Master likewise  
being very carefull and circumspect hauing not past two with him in the shippe put  
the same in the best defence he could, lest they should haue inuaded the same, and  
caused a piece of great Ordnance to bee shot off, to giue terrour to the *Indians*, and  
warning to our men which were fast asleepe in the Woods: at the noyse of which  
Peece they were a little awaked, and begame a little to call for *Foole* and *Gallant*,  
their great and fearefull Mastiues, and full quietly laid themselves downe againe, but  
beeing quickned vp eftsoones againe with a second shot they rowsed vp themselues,  
betooke them to their weapons and with their Mastiues, great *Foole* with an halfe  
Pike in his mouth drew downe to their ship: whom when the *Indians* beheld afarre  
off, with the Mastiue which they most feared, in dissembling manner they turned all  
to a iest and sport, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, euen  
the day before our departure, they set fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which  
wee did behold to burne for a mile space, and the very same day that wee weighed  
Anchor, they came downe to the shoare in greater number, to wit, very neere two  
hundred by our estimation, and some of them came in their Boates to our ship, and  
would haue had vs come in again: but we sent them backe, and would none of their  
entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of August wee left this excellent Hauen at the entrance  
whereof we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our ease in seuen fathomes  
being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compasse like the shell of a Snaile, and it  
is in latitude of one and forty degrees and five and twentie minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell so much to the  
Northward because he would find high grounds, where commonly the best Hauens  
are: which also fell out to his expectation. We also obserued that we could find no  
Sassafras but in sandie ground. In our returne we brought our selues into the lati-  
tude of eight and thirtie degrees about the *Açores* for certaine causes, and within five  
weekes space came from our Port of *Virginia*, into the Soundings of *England*, but  
there being long encountered with Easterly winds, we came at length into *Kingrode*,  
the second of October 1603. The Discouerer was out five moneths and an halfe.  
The *Speedwell* was out sixe moneths vpon the Voyage.

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[NOTE—The foregoing relation is now reprinted, possibly, for the first time.  
The title and initial-letter are in *fac simile*; this piece being considered essential to  
a full understanding of the voyage. From "Purchas his Pilgrim," Vol. IV.]

ARTICLES FROM THE CHURCH OF  
LEYDEN

[These articles, after having slumbered for about two centuries, were contributed by the Hon. George Bancroft to the Collections of the New York Historical Society (S. 2., vol. iii., part I., p. 301). Since they were printed by the above Society they have had but little attention]:

1617.

[S. P. O. Am<sup>a</sup> & W. Ind. Virg.]

SEVEN Artikes which y<sup>e</sup> Church of Leyden sent to y<sup>e</sup> Counsell of England to bee considered of in respeckt of their judgments occasioned about their going to Virginia Anno 1618.

1. To y<sup>e</sup> confession of fayth published in y<sup>e</sup> name of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England & to every artikell thereof wee do w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> reformed churches wheer wee live & also els where assent wholly.

2. As wee do acknolidg y<sup>e</sup> docktryne of fayth their tawght so do wee y<sup>e</sup> fruites and effectks of y<sup>e</sup> same docktryne to y<sup>e</sup> begetting of saving fayth in thousands in y<sup>e</sup> land (conformistes & reformistes) as y<sup>e</sup> ar called w<sup>th</sup> whom also as w<sup>th</sup> our bretheren wee do desyer to keepe sperituall communion in peace and will practis in our parts all lawfull thinges.

3. The King's Majesty wee acknolidg for Supreame Governer in his Dominion in all causes and over all parsons, and y none maye decklyne or apeale from his authority or judgment in any cause whatsoever, but y in all thinges obedience is dewe unto him, ether active, if y<sup>e</sup> thing commanded be not agaynst God's woord, or passive yf itt be, except pardon can bee obtayned.

4. Wee judg itt lawfull for his Majesty to apoynt bishops, civill overseers, or officers in awthority onder hime, in y<sup>e</sup> severall provinces, dioses, congregations or parrishes to oversee y<sup>e</sup> Churches and governe them civilly according to y<sup>e</sup> Lawes of y<sup>e</sup> Land, untto whom y<sup>e</sup> ar in all thinges to geve an account & by them to bee ordered according to Godlynes.

5. The authority of y<sup>e</sup> present bishops in y<sup>e</sup> Land wee do acknolidg so far forth as y<sup>e</sup> same is indeed derived from his Majesty untto them and as y<sup>e</sup> proseed in his name, whom wee will also therein honor in all things and hime in them.

6. Wee beleeve y<sup>t</sup> no sinod, classes, convocation or assembly of Ecclesiasticall Officers hath any power or awthority att all but as y<sup>e</sup> same by y<sup>e</sup> Majestraet geven unto them.

7. Lastly, wee desyer to geve untto all Superiors dew honnor to preserve y<sup>e</sup> unity of y<sup>e</sup> speritt w<sup>th</sup> all y feare God, to have peace w<sup>th</sup> all men what in us lyeth & wheerein wee err to bee instructed by any. Subscribed by

JOHN ROBINSON,

and

WILLYAM BRUSTER

## WHY DID THE PILGRIMS LEAVE HOLLAND FOR AMERICA?

[The question is fully answered by Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of Plymouth Colony, in his "New Englands Memorial: or, A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New England in America; With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, Called New-Plimouth;" printed at Cambridge "by S. G. and M. J. for

John Usher of Boston, 1669." The preliminary address "To the Reader," signed by John Higginson and Thomas Thacher, bears the date of March 26, 1669, and states that "It is much to be desired that there might be extant *A Compleate History of the United Colonies of New England*, that God may have the praise of his goodness to his People here, and that the present and future Generations may have the benefit thereof. This being not attainable for the present, nor suddenly to be expected, it is very expedient, that (while sundry of the Eldest Planters are yet living) *Records* and *Memorials* of *Remarkable Providences* be preserved and published, that the true Originals of these Plantations may not be lost; that New-England, in all time to come, may remember the day of her smallest things; and that there may be a furniture of Materials for a true and full history in after times." To this they add that, "For these and such like Reasons we are willing to Recommend unto the Reader this present Narrative as a Useful Piece. The Author is an approved godly man, and one of the first Planters at *Plimouth*." Morton says (p. 2), "Although this church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into *America* with common consent; the Proposition of removing thither being set on foot and prosecuted by the Elders upon just and weighty grounds: for, although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their Church-liberties under the *States*, yet they foresaw that *Holland* would be no place for their Church and Posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to finde abroad; and that for these Reasons following,

which I shall recite as received from themselves." He then gives the reasons in their order]:

—  
First, Because themselves were of a different Language from the *Dutch*, where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whiles their Church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of Observation of the Lords-day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss amongst them.

Secondly, Because their Countrymen, who came over to joyn with them, by reason of the hardness of the Country, soon spent their Estates, and were then forced either to return back to *England*, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly, That many of their Children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their Parents burthens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their Spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigour of Nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be born, was, that many by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of Youth in that Country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their Parents: Some became Souldiers, others took upon them farre Voyages by Sea, and other—some worse tending to dis-

soluteness, and the destruction of their Souls, to the great grief of their Parents, and the dishonor of God; and that the place being a place of great licentiousness and liberty to Children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their Neighbours.

Fourthly, That their Posterity would in few generations become *Dutch*, and so lose their interest in the *English* Nation, they being desirous rather to enlarge His Majesties Dominions, and to live under their Naturall PRINCE.

Fifthly and lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward Zeal they had of laying some good Foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdome of Christ in those remote parts of the World; yea although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a Work.

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#### THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

["Mourt's Relation" (p. 5) says, "Before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction, it was thought good that there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word"]:

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IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord

King JAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine, France, and Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vndertaken for the Glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plante the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of *God* and of one another, covenant and combine ourselues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In wittenesse whereof we haue herevnder subscribed our names, *Cape Cod* 11. of *November*, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord King JAMES, of *England, France, and Ireland* 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domini* 1620.

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[The author of the compact probably made an innocent departure in saying that this was the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, as, also, in saying that the voyage was undertaken for the purpose of settling there. The original destination was the region of the Hudson. The disaffected persons may have included Stephen Hopkins the Londoner, if he was the person who intrigued at Bermuda in 1609, though afterward pardoned. In regard to the disaffection which led to the compact, Bradford (p.

89), after observing that it did not originate with the Leyden men, says that the "strangers" threatened, "that when they came ashore they would use their own libertie; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another Government, with which y<sup>e</sup> Virginia company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." In this argument one may discover characteristics of Hopkins.]

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## ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

### ORIGINAL LETTER ON PENN'S PATENT

Though written two hundred years ago, there is a touch of freshness in the following letter announcing Penn's success in acquiring the territory of Pennsylvania. The writer's name does not appear, but that he was some official in the English Government may be inferred from a remark at the close of the document, and the fact that it was addressed to Mr. Lewin, who was then in New York as a commissioner to investigate the revenues of that province. We are favored with a duplicate of a copy of the original preserved in the British Museum, as follows:

[LONDON, — 1681.]

"At the distance you are settled at present from this place I imagine you are not vnwilling to hear what news is stirring here, especially what may relate to the Government of New Yorke, and therefore I would not let pass this opportunity

to give you an account of a Patent that is lately passd for the Government and Propriety of a Tract of Land now to be called Pensilvania bordering vpon New Jersey and Maryland and otherwise bounded according to the Latitude and Longitude described in the inclosed Paper.

"It was in the month of June last that M<sup>r</sup> Penn petitioned His Ma<sup>ty</sup> for this Grant in consideration of his Father's merits and several Debts which are due to him from y<sup>e</sup> Crown. And the examination of his pretensions was then referred to the Lords of the Committee for Trade and fforeign Plantations who proceeded with all possible circumspection to prevent any encroachment that might be made vpon any Neighboring Colony. And therefore the first step they made was to send copies of the petition vnto my Lord Baltimore's Agents, and to Sir John Werden as Secr<sup>y</sup> to His Royal Highness. And M<sup>r</sup> Penn did alsoe apply himselfe to the Duke in order to satisfy him concerning the intended Boundaries; and several months passd before any further progress was made in this business. But at length as well S<sup>r</sup> John Werden as an Agent for my Lord Baltimore attended the Committee and were fully heard as to the interest of each party. And altho their Lo<sup>ps</sup> had before consulted M<sup>r</sup> Attorney General touching the legality of the Grant desired by M<sup>r</sup> Penn and y<sup>e</sup> Draught presented by him, yet that all things might be finally adjusted and explained to the satisfaction of every one concerned in the passing of the patent, my Lord Cheif Justice North who is alsoe one of the Committee was desired by the Board to take particular care in y<sup>e</sup> right

stating and settlement of the Boundaries with due respect to the Neighboring Plantations and for the better effecting hereof Sir John Werden and my Lord Baltimore's Agent attended my Lord Cheif Justice North at his Chamber, and vpon laying before his Lo<sup>p</sup> their respective interests, and both of them acquiescing in y<sup>e</sup> Bounds as they stand now described in M<sup>r</sup> Penn's Patent they were presented to the Committee and agreed on by their Lo<sup>ps</sup>. And after a Report offerd in Council in pursuance of the first Reference in June last, His Ma<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to order the Draught of a Patent which had been settled by the Committee to pass the Great Seale in the usual forms. And thereupon M<sup>r</sup> Penn on the fourth of March last became Absolute Proprietary of Pensilvania soe named by the King himselfe.

"M<sup>r</sup> Penn has besides obtained from His Ma<sup>ty</sup> a Letter of Recommendation to my Lord Baltimore directing him to give order for the setting of Landmarks between Maryland and this New Province; together with a Declaration to such Persons as are already settled in it requiring them to give all due obedience to M<sup>r</sup> Penn according to the powers of his Patent.

"Sir I have perhaps detained you too long w<sup>th</sup> this Narrative but knowing well by the experience my Station gives mee, how welcome a right Information of things is to fforeign Governors, I thought I could not lay hold of a better occasion to court your correspondency which I will endeavor to render as vselfe to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe as it will bee gratefull vnto mee.

"The King has thought fit to put out a

Declaration touching the Dissolution of the late Parliaments of which I have sent you two copies here inclosed for yo<sup>r</sup> selfe and yo<sup>r</sup> friends. And if I can bee further serviceable vnto you I beg your commands to \_\_\_\_\_"

Endorsed—"Lett<sup>r</sup> to Mr. Lewen at New York concern<sup>g</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Pen's Patent."

COMMISSION OF WILLIAM PENN TO  
CAPTAIN THOMAS HOLMES

[In the collections of the New York Historical Society there is preserved a parchment bearing the signature and seal of William Penn, dated February 2, 1682.]

WILLIAM PENN, *Chief Proprietary  
and Governour of Penn: Silvania,*  
To Cap<sup>t</sup> THOMAS HOLMES *Greeting*

Reposing special Trust and Confiden in thy Integrity and Ability I do hereby Constitute and Appoint thee First Assistant to my Cousin William Markham Deputy Governo<sup>l</sup> of Pensilvania with him for me and in my name to Act in all things relating to the Good of the Province and also my own private affairs: For which this shall be thy sufficient Warrant. Given under my hand and seal at Gravesend the one and twentieth day of the second month in the year one Thousand six hundred Eighty and two  
W<sup>M</sup> PENN

NUMBER OF NEW ENGLAND HOUSES  
IN 1675

[The following paper is communicated by Mr. T. M. Thompson, of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. It is from the Egerton MSS. 2395, f. 670, with the approximate date of 1675. The reader will notice that the

figures are on the decimal system, and that the footings are not all correct] :

An account of all the trading Towns and Ports lying vpon the Sea & Nauigable Riuers, w<sup>th</sup> number of Houses in every Towne.

*South Connecticut Colony.*

	Houses.
Rye contains . . . . .	30
Greenw <sup>ch</sup> . . . . .	40
Stamford . . . . .	100
Narwasset . . . . .	50
Hairefeild . . . . .	300
Stratford . . . . .	200
Milford . . . . .	200
New hauen . . . . .	500
Brandford . . . . .	050
Gilford . . . . .	100
Hommonosett . . . . .	040
	<hr/> 1610

Vpon Connecticut Riuer. a bard harbour : 3 fathom water.

<del>West Pay Brook: a ffort . . . . .</del>	<del>100</del>	
<del>Thirty mile Jsland . . . . .</del>	<del>40</del>	
<del>Lyme . . . . .</del>	<del>60</del>	
<del>Middle towne . . . . .</del>	<del>60</del>	
West Say brook. a fort . . . . .	100	
Lyme . . . . .	060	
Thirty mile Jsland . . . . .	40	
Middille towne . . . . .	60	
Weathers feild . . . . .	150	
Hartford . . . . .	500	
Winsor . . . . .	400	
Harmington . . . . .	100	
Spring feild . . . . .	050	Burnt.
Hadley . . . . .	100	
Northampton . . . . .	100	
Hatfeild . . . . .	050	
Westfeild . . . . .	030	
Deerefeild . . . . .	030	

*Colony of Rodd Jsland.*

New London . . . . .	200
Norwick . . . . .	040
Stonington . . . . .	100
Burnt. Wickford . . . . .	050
	<hr/> 1770

Warwick . . . . .	50	Burnt.
Patunett . . . . .	50	Burnt.
Prouidence . . . . .	200	Burnt.
Newport . . . . .	400	
Portsmouth . . . . .	200	
	<hr/> 900	

*New Plymouth Colony.*

Secunck . . . . .	100	
Swansye . . . . .	050	
Lanton . . . . .	150	
Burnt. Dartmouth . . . . .		
Sandwich . . . . .	100	
Yarmouth . . . . .	150	
Nawsett . . . . .	100	
Barstable . . . . .	150	
Plymouth . . . . .	100	
Dunberry . . . . .	100	
Scituate . . . . .	300	
Green harbour . . . . .	100	
	<hr/> 1300	

*Massachusetts Colony.*

Hull . . . . .	80	
Hingham . . . . .	250	
Waymouth . . . . .	250	
Bruntrye . . . . .	250	
Dorcester . . . . .	350	
Boston . . . . .	2500	Castle.
Charles Towne . . . . .	500	
Salem . . . . .	500	
	<hr/> 4630	

*New Hampshire.*

ffort. Marblehead . . . . .	50	
Cape Ann . . . . .	50	
Ipswich . . . . .	400	
New berry . . . . .	300	
Salis berry . . . . .	200	
Hampton . . . . .	200	
Greate Jsland . . . . .	50	ffort.
Portsmouth . . . . .	200	
Douer . . . . .	100	
Exiter . . . . .	150	
Jsles of Shoales . . . . .	100	
	<hr/> 1800	



*Road Island.*

Porthmouth.....	200
Newport.....	400

12010 houses.

1 Castle.

3 fforts.

2 more at Boston.

Castle at Boston contains. ....38 guns.

Brick fort.....12 guns.

Plat form..... 7

At Marble head i fort.....

Say brook one fort .....12

Great Island ..... 5

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NOTES

THE PILGRIM FATHERS—Mingled with the December blasts, swelling on their way through the leafless land, one always seems to detect the notes of the Pilgrims, who at this season sent up from the New England coast their hymns of cheer.

In the autumn of 1620 the adventurers now known under the name of "the Pilgrim Fathers" were sailing from Holland for the region of the Hudson, when the *Mayflower*, smitten by storms, and staggering amid the waves, was forced to take refuge in the harbor at the end of Cape Cod. Why they came over we learn from the six reasons of Nathaniel Morton. What they believed may be discovered in the seven articles of Leyden. What they finally purposed is made known by the compact drawn up in their ship's cabin, all of which will be found reprinted in the present number.

In leaving Leyden they devised no digested plan of general colonization, and when it became necessary to establish their settlement on Massachusetts Bay it was realized that they were without au-

thority to take up land there. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his friends of the North Virginia Company furnished them with a charter, and they quietly occupied a place already, as it were, prepared, settling at "Accomac," named "Plimouth," in 1616, by Prince Charles, and described by Smith as a suitable site, his judgment being confirmed by Dermer in 1619.

Once on the ground, it was impossible to retreat, and thus, amid famine and death, they held to their stern task. So slender was their scheme, that if the carelessness of the Billington boy who played with powder in the cabin of the *Mayflower* had been followed by ordinary results, there never would have been any "Pilgrim Fathers," the venture simply ending in a sudden precipitation to the bottom of the sea. During the summer of 1621, though the fields were whitening for the harvest, a scarcity of food drove them, with little success, to the Maine coast, then the scene of English enterprise. About half of their number had perished the previous winter, while the escape of the remainder is a subject of wonder. The hand of an overruling power seems to be visible in connection with their history; yet their history has never been written, while their principles have been misunderstood. This, however, is not their fault. In their writings they reveal themselves as men of their own age, not of ours; and while they feared God they honored their sovereign. They were Englishmen, feeling a just pride in all that formed the glory of their native land, and, whatever they may have suffered, they spoke respectfully of their venerable mother church, having no conception of any "state without a king."

There were unsettled spirits and profane men in the Mayflower company, but the men of influence were persons of chastened thought. Thus the humble Pilgrims did their work for the most part in a lofty spirit, and whatever may have been their faults, they exhibited genuine nobility of mind. It is a pleasure, therefore, to give the founders of Plymouth the place of honor in the present number of *THE MAGAZINE*; with the return of this anniversary dwelling upon their unequalled devotion, their quaint simplicity of character, their rare patience and constancy, and upon the depth and sweetness of their faith.

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CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH—In the introduction to his "The Historye of the Bermudaes, or Summer Islands," General Lefroy, who attributes the work to John Smith, furnishes some additional information about that worthy. His baptismal register is preserved at Willoughby, Lincoln. He was the son of George Smith, and was baptized January 6, 1579, old style, and he died on June 21, 1631, rather unexpectedly. At the time of his death Captain John Smith was at work upon a "History of the Sea," with the devout hope that "if God be pleased I live to finish it." The portrait of Smith in the present number is engraved after the portrait on his map of 1616.

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THE PORTRAIT OF MILES STANDISH—The portrait given on page 794 of *THE MAGAZINE* was made by permission of Mrs. A. M. Winslow, of Plymouth, Mass., whose family possesses the original, an old oil painting, found in a book-store in Boston. The story of the picture is told in the

"Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," 1877, page 324.

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UNFORTUNATE TYPOS—Died at Elizabethtown, February 12, 1803, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, Mr. Matthew Green, printer. He was a native of Great Britain, and arrived in America [from London] in the year 1745. He is supposed to be the oldest printer in this country, having followed the business seventy-two years. His long residence here has rendered him generally known among the professors of the typographical art; by those of his particular acquaintance he will be much lamented. In the year 1784 Mr. Shepard Kolloch, editor of the *New Jersey Journal*, took him from the Poor House, in New York, and has supported him ever since. He was affectionate and grateful for the benefits he received from his Maker, thro' the agency of the family he lived in. In the year 1797 he lost the use of his legs, by which calamity he was rendered unable to walk, and had not been out of the house from that period until his demise; and in 1798 he was struck blind. His mental faculties were unimpaired, and he enjoyed a greater degree of health than is the common lot of mankind who arrive in his advanced age.—*Philadelphia Repository*, February 19, 1803.

Mr. Peter Edes, son of the ancient Peter, a patriarch of the typographical fraternity in Boston, is now at work at the printing business in Bangor, Me., at the advanced age of eighty. He is said to be in destitute circumstances, and an appeal has been made to the generosity of the Boston printers in his behalf. Mr. Edes suffered much from imprisonment,

etc., by the British during the Revolution. The printers in Boston contributed \$100 in one day for his relief.—*The Sun*, January 11, 1834. W. K.

THE PATRIOTIC HEWITT FAMILY—The following notice appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* of October 24, 1777, printed at New London, by Timothy Green: "Mr. Green, Please to insert in your Paper, That Deacon Walter Hewitt of Stonington, hath in the Troops fighting for the Liberties of the American States,—Two Sons who are Captains, Three who are Lieutenants, One an Ensign, and One a Fifer. The said Deacon Hewitt is in the sixty-seventh year of his age."

The names of these heroes should be rescued from oblivion. PETERSFIELD

BOLIVAR—The government of Venezuela has proclaimed July 24, 1883, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar, a national holiday. The celebration of the day will include the opening of the railroad between Laguaira and Caracas, and the unveiling of "a statue of George Washington."

M. W. H.

INDIAN ANTIQUITIES—The petition lately presented to the Senate by members of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, asking legislation to protect some extremely interesting antiquities in New Mexico and Arizona, has been referred to the Committee on Public Lands. The memorialists represent that there are in the Territories named, twenty-six towns of the Pueblo Indians

(besides many not occupied), containing about ten thousand inhabitants, who are remnants of a very ancient race; that the question of the origin of these Pueblos and the age of their decayed cities, and the use of some of their buildings, now magnificent ruins, constitute one of the leading problems of the antiquary and historian of the present age; and that relic hunters have carried away and scattered throughout Europe and America, many most valuable specimens from these extinct towns, thus making their historic study still more difficult and, in some particulars, nearly impossible. The petitioners accordingly pray the Government to take steps to preserve what remains. Senator Plumb, of the Committee, without anticipating what the Committee may recommend, suggests that the memorialists avail themselves of the license which now exists of going to the different localities and gathering up the relics, as parties from Philadelphia and Yale College have already done.

JUDGE VAN DER KEMP'S MANUSCRIPT—In an appendix to the valuable address of Hon. John F. Seymour, at Trenton, N. Y., a list of the publications of Judge Fr. Adr. Van der Kemp is given, as furnished by Mr. Homes, of the State Library. It may be of interest to learn that a manuscript volume, by Judge Van der Kemp, is in the library of Harvard College, Cambridge, with, as Mr. Winsor says, "no marks on it to indicate any use of it, either by printer or otherwise." This manuscript is mentioned in Vol. IV., p. 31, of the "General Repository" for 1813.

## QUERIES

KOSCIUSKO AS AN ARTIST—Reference is made in the June number of *THE MAGAZINE* (VIII., 441) to a pencil sketch of General Poor drawn by Kosciusko in 1780. I learn that he made a similar sketch of the Rev. John Mason, Chaplain of the New York line, which is still preserved by his descendants as a faithful portrait. Are there any more such specimens of the famous Pole's work?  
J. T.

—  
 PORTRAITS—Inquiry is made respecting portraits of Winthrop Sargent, Secretary of the Northwest Territory under St. Clair, and afterward Governor of Mississippi. Also of General John Patterson, of the Revolutionary War, and later Representative in Congress from New York State. Do they exist, and where?  
H. S.

—  
 THE HEAD OF KING GEORGE'S STATUE—Colonel Montresor tells a curious story of the fate of the head of his Majesty's statue that was pulled down by the Liberty Boys at Bowling Green, New York, in July, 1776. "Hearing," he writes, "that the Rebels had cut the King's head off the Equestrian statue (in the centre of the Ellipps, near the Fort) at New York, which represented George the 3d in the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had cut the nose off, clipt the laurels that were wreathed round his head, and drove a musket Bullet part of the way through his head, and otherwise disfigured it, and that it was carried to Moore's Tavern, adjoining Fort Washington on New York Island, in order to be fixed on a Spike on the Truck of the Flag-

staff as soon as it could be got ready—I immediately sent Corby through the Rebel Camp in the beginning of September, 1776, to Cox, who kept the Tavern at King's Bridge to steal it from thence, and to bury it, which was effected, and was dug up on our arrival, and I rewarded the men, and sent the Head by the Lady Gage to Lord Townshend in order to convince them at home of the Infamous Disposition of the Ungrateful people of this distressed Country."—*"Evelyn's In America."*

What are supposed to be the mane and tail of the horse have, within a few years, found their way to the rooms of the New York Historical Society. According to traditions in the Wolcott family, the remainder of the statue was taken to Litchfield and converted into rebel bullets. Are there any manuscript accounts, as yet unpublished, giving full particulars of the pulling down of the statue, and showing what disposition was made of every part of it? Can Montresor be verified from American data?  
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 HAMMOND, A. G.—Hammond was born at Tarrytown, N. Y. Held a commission in the Revolutionary Army from March 3, 1776, until the Army disbanded in 1783. In 1817 resided at Annapolis, Maryland. Who was he? H. E. H.

—  
 ROBINSON—Thomas Robinson, of Sussex, Del., is mentioned by Sabine as an extreme loyalist during the Revolution. Can any one add to Sabine's account?  
H. E. H.

—  
 CATECHISING UNSCRIPTURAL—I have seen it stated somewhere that catechising

was pronounced unscriptural by some in New England, and that the church at Hingham especially was opposed to the custom. Where are the particulars to be found?

CATECHIST

FRIAR LEO—In 1863 a copper plate was dug up at Castine bearing the following inscription:

“1648 8 IVN. — F. LEO, PARISIN, CAPUC. Miss Posvi Hoc FYNDEM In HNR ein Nræ DMÆ SANCTÆ SPEI.”

Translated:

“1648, June 8.—I, Friar Leo, of Paris, Capuchin Missionary, laid this foundation in honor of our Lady of Holy Hope.”

Can any one give any particulars about Friar Leo?

MAINE

WAS WASHINGTON AN ANGLER—Washington's interest in the horse is well known. I have heard it asserted that he was equally fond of fishing, but can find no data identifying him as follower of the meditative Walton. Can any of your readers aid me in this investigation?

DOBSON

THE TRAVELLER—The late Freeman Hunt, the founder and, till his death, the editor of the *Merchant's Magazine*, is said to have established about the year 1831, in New York City, a newspaper called *The Traveller*. I would like to be informed of the date of the first issue and how long it was published; also whether Mr. Hunt had a partner in the enterprise? Any other particulars about this newspaper will be acceptable.

JOHN WARD DEAN

*Boston, Mass.*

## REPLIES

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC—On this subject [VIII. 705] the reader is referred to Bancroft's "History of the Formation of the Constitution" (i. 15), where, under date of December 29, 1780, he quotes the language of the New Jersey Legislative Council, which runs, that "Congress represents the federal republic." Mr. Bancroft says: "Thus early was that name applied to the United States." I know of nothing earlier, though prior to this it was common to refer to the colonies as "America."

MORTON

WASHINGTON'S MOSQUITO STORY—In THE MAGAZINE for January last there is a story extracted from Weld's "Travels in America," to the effect that General Washington told Weld that the Skenesborough mosquitoes used to bite through the thickest boots. Now, as General Washington was averse to joking, an irreverential reader might be led by the above story to doubt his perfect veracity. To relieve his character there should be added to the extract the following comment, found in Dwight's "Travels in New England and New York," London edition, 1823, vol. iv., p. 218: "A gentleman of great respectability, who was present when General Washington made the observation referred to, told me that he said, when describing these mosquitoes to Mr. Weld, that they 'bit through his stockings above his boots.'" F. BURDGE

"JOIN OR DIE" [VIII. 768]—Gordon states in the first volume of his "History of the American Revolution," p. 189, that the paper *Join or Die* was issued at Boston. Under date of September 21,

1765, he writes: "At Boston they took care to keep up the spirit of liberty, though they avoided former violences. A new political paper appeared, under the significant title of '*The Constitutional Courant*, containing matters interesting to liberty, and no ways repugnant to loyalty; printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe refused, on Constitution Hill, North America.' It wore a more significant head-piece—a snake cut into eight pieces," etc. H.

O. K. [VIII. 703]—Those who remember the Presidential terms of General Andrew Jackson as well as I do, will recollect that among a host of other things said in abuse of Old Hickory, it was asserted that he was very illiterate as well as coarse and brutal, and instead of indorsing memorials, petitions, etc., "approved," the old General marked them O. K., being the initials of *oll korrekt*. This was told thousands of times, and often by persons who believed that General Jackson did not know how to spell "all correct." This was a "specimen brick" with the tall white hat, which, it was said, General Jackson threw on the ground or floor when in one of his towering passions, many people supposing that he destroyed a hat in this way every few days. In ten years after the close of his last term, 1847 [VIII. 703], the O. K. might have been carried across to Jamaica and put in use among Chinese and negroes, who knew as much about General Jackson as they did of Homer, but the same could not be said of English soldiers, who could remember back to January 8, 1815. M. M. J.

BOSTON RIOT [VIII., 785]—In the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of the year 1778, Vol. 48, page 546, may be found the following account of the Boston riot:

"On the 23d of September a desperate Riot happened at Boston, occasioned, it is said, by the bakers denying bread to the captured seamen in British vessels, while they were employed in amply supplying those in the fleet of Count d'Estaing. Several were killed in this affray, and two French officers of high rank were much hurt in endeavoring to quell it. The Magistrates have since published a proclamation, offering a reward of three hundred dollars for the discovery of any of the ringleaders." C. B. G.

BUFFALO, October 26th.

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## SOCIETIES

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a late meeting of the Society, Dr. Ellis opened the business with the announcement of the deaths of Dr. Robbins, and of the Hon. George P. Marsh and Mr. Frédéric de Peyster, both highly respected honorary members of the Society. Of Dr. Robbins he spoke as follows:

"Some of us have just been in attendance upon the funeral of Rev. Chandler Robbins, D.D., who died at his summer home in Weston, Monday, the 11th instant. For the last few years he had been wholly deprived of sight, and had been for several months visited by many infirmities. He had been a member of this Society for thirty-seven years, during seven of which he was its Recording Secretary. For the thirteen years following he conducted its official correspondence,

having been elected Corresponding Secretary in 1864, which office he resigned in 1877. His continued earnest interest in our work and objects has been touchingly exhibited to us by his patient presence and his quiet attention. He had performed for the Society many laborious and valuable services, exercising industry, good judgment, a fine taste, thoroughness of research, and a supreme regard for accuracy in historical statements in his offices and in his membership of committees on our publications. At the time of his death Dr. Robbins was in his seventy-second year, he having been born in Lynn, February 14, 1810, the son of an eminent physician. He graduated at Harvard in 1829, and, having completed a theological course at Cambridge, was ordained in December, 1833, as successor of Ralph Waldo Emerson in the pastorate of the Second church in this city. He was the author of a valuable history of this church, in which he devoted a loving effort to the commemoration of the distinguished careers of his predecessors, Drs. Increase and Cotton Mather. He sought especially, as far as the truth of the record would allow, to relieve the latter from some of the disesteem and reproach which have attached to him in history and popular judgment. After a ministry of forty-one years he resigned his office in 1874, and had since lived in retirement."

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THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The Maine Historical Society held its Annual Field Day at Damariscotta. Among those present were R. K. Sewall, Esq., Wiscasset; A. G. Tenney, Brunswick; the Rev. S. F. Dike, D.D., Bath; the Hon. Sidney Per-

ham, Paris; J. G. Elder, Esq., Lewiston; Dr. H. C. Levensaler, Thomaston; the Rev. H. S. Burrage, Portland. Also the following invited guests: The Rev. I. P. Warren, D.D., Portland; John Ward Dean, Esq., and wife, of Boston. The first thing in order was the examination of the shell heaps. Some of the gentlemen, after persistent digging, secured very fair specimens, which they brought away with them; there were no large shells found, though one of the party sought one of twenty inches in length, just to beat Mr. Tenney's story of one of sixteen inches. We saw one in the office of Dr. E. C. Chapman which measures plump thirteen inches in length, and is nearly, if not quite, three inches broad. According to the testimony of Professor Hitchcock, which was cited, there are no less than forty-four million nine hundred and six thousand four hundred cubic feet of shells in this bed, which is now nearly reduced to a mass of dust.

In the evening, at the Baptist church, Mr. Sewall read a paper, which appeared in the *Portland Transcript* of the 23d ultimo, embodying many interesting facts about ancient Pemaquid, where within the memory of a living person the outlines of three hundred cellars could be counted, and it is alleged that Mr. Partridge has counted forty-seven in the immediate vicinity of his house.

Mr. Tenney considered one point in the great New England Charter of 1620 but an enlargement of the charter of 1606, under which the Popham and Jamestown (Va.) colonies were settled. King James speaks of persons in "divers years past" who "have settled already some of our People in *Places* agreeable

to their Desires in these Parts." "Places," says the charter. More than Jamestown is referred to, and if you include Popham, "divers years" refers to settlement at different times, and Popham and Jamestown were settled the same year. Where better look for those "places" than on Maine soil?

Mr. Sewall maintained that the paved streets were relics of the commercial activities of the Pemaquid country while it was the capital of a ducal State or province.

Massachusetts is also complained of by Mr. Tenney for what he styles the attempt to deny a history to Maine prior to 1620.

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ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY, EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTES—"So long as this Society endures, the phrase, 'the last of the Knickerbockers,' will have no meaning. Yet, from time to time, as its years increase, there comes occasion for honoring the memory of some member, gathered to his fathers, who was among the foremost of the Knickerbockers; finished and conspicuous as a specimen of the GREAT RACE that founded this city. Frederic de Peyster was such a man. His lineage runs back more than two and a half centuries, to the dawn of Dutch dominion over Manhattan. His name, not disappearing, as many ancient ones have done, in the marriage of female heirs, descends through six generations, from father to son each a leader of men in his day, and charged with civic trusts, when public life meant honorable fame. Frederic de Peyster upheld nobly the traditions of his line, by devotion to worthy ends of the Dutch sense, honesty, and firmness transmitted by it.

Other records will more fitly inscribe the story of his public service in the field of charity, of finance, of history, of letters.

It is for us to remember, proudly and tenderly, the hours, the speech, the deeds of his within our precincts, that held up to our admiration and love Dutch character as a living force, Dutch manhood in its blended gentleness and strength.

He joined with the most conspicuous men of his prime, forty-seven years ago, in founding this Society; and served it during most of those years in important trusts, holding the office of Treasurer for one year, that of President for one term, and that of Manager for thirty years. In his departure the Society loses a charm of welcome companionship, no less than wisdom of counsel, energy in action, and something of the lustre won from the dignity of a name like his. Yet it counts its gain in a high example of a rounded life, full of good deeds, honored by all good men, inspiring to us in its memory, as it was dear in its presence."

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#### LITERARY NOTICES

##### THE FOUNDING OF YALE COLLEGE.

By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER. Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 31. New Haven Colony Historical Society: 1882.

GOVERNOR ELIHU YALE. By FRANKLIN B. DEXTER. 8vo, pp. 21. New Haven: 1882.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION OF YALE COLLEGE. By SIMEON E. BALDWIN. 8vo, pp. 37. New Haven Colony Historical Society: 1882.

The spirit of critical inquiry which distinguishes these papers, read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society by Professors Dexter and Baldwin, is quite in contrast with the conventional style in which the mass of material upon the subject has commonly been written. College



traditions, through a traditional indisposition to disturb them, take deep root, and whoever hacks at them with the axe runs the risk of ostracism. But in the fact that college communities are intelligent we find a guarantee that the main traditions were originally well founded, and in their transmission have suffered slight variation, thus leaving the axeman little material to work upon.

In these papers, which must prove of special interest to graduates of Yale College, the authors give a careful history and review of its origin and status. Noticeable, especially, is the freedom with which they sustain, reject, or qualify parts of the earlier record. The story of the founding, for example, as corrected by Professor Dexter, somewhat impairs the accuracy of what he describes as "the venerable and beautiful tradition of the ten excellent ministers assembling, in 1700, in Mr. Russel's south parlor in Branford," each with a number of books which he dedicated to the college thus established. This, according to President Clap, was the visible act with which it opened its career. Admitting that the tradition has "some basis of truth," Professor Dexter cannot accept it in every detail, and proceeds to show that the project was in an unorganized and imperfect state for more than a year after, and that the date on which the college received its "corporate existence" was October 16, 1701, when the General Court of Connecticut granted it a charter. Furthermore, there is no record of the organization of the trustees prior to that date. As President Clap obtained his information from some of the original trustees, it is difficult to believe that he could have misinterpreted their version of the founding, and we are forced to the conclusion of the writer, that the gift of books by the ten ministers in 1700 may simply have not been so "formal" as represented, nor intended as the official beginning of the institution. But it is good to see how deep and general was the interest among the Connecticut pastors in the new "collegiate school" at that early day, and with what care and generosity it was hedged about in its infancy. Saybrook was fixed upon as its site, "so that all parts of the Connecticut Colony, with the neighboring colony [of Massachusetts], may be best accommodated." In October, 1716, the school was removed to New Haven, its proper home, and a year later the first college house was raised, which is described as "a stupendous architectural monstrosity," long, very narrow, and of a "beautiful cerulean" hue. It was in the effort to erect this building that the school, two years later found and adopted the name which it was to bear in all the future; and here we find Professor Dexter's second paper, on Governor Elihu Yale one of much interest. Tracing his somewhat striking career in the service of the East India Company, the writer leads us to the circumstances under which the college came to be christened after him. The fact that Yale was a

New Englander by birth is an explanation in part, for when the college was put to its wits to raise money to complete its first building, Cotton Mather appealed to the Governor, then living like a prince in London, for assistance, which duly coming in generous measure, prompted the linking of his name with the incipient and hard-pressed university.

Upon the question of more moment, namely, the quality of the instruction to be given and the ecclesiastical position of the college, both Professor Dexter and Professor Baldwin insist that while the founders looked to it "as a source whence the colony should obtain a permanent succession of learned ministers," they and those who followed them never lost sight of what may be called its secular utility; and naturally they emphasize the last phrase of the charter, which describes the school as a nursery "wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences, who, through the blessing of Almighty God, may be fitted for public employment, both in Church and Civil State." Professor Baldwin deals with this point *in extenso*. That there was considerable dissatisfaction with the latitudinarian views which Harvard then encouraged is a matter of record, and it is not to be disguised that ministers in Connecticut wished to see a school established which would countenance nothing that was not unequivocally "orthodox;" but the conclusion that, therefore, Yale College was founded to propagate beliefs which Harvard did not, is not strictly correct. In fact, Professor Baldwin shows that "the Connecticut trustees deliberately preferred not to make it a part of the organic law of the new institution that any particular kind of theological doctrine should forever be taught in it." Continuing his investigations further, and especially into the standing of the college before the law, and in the light of such legislation that it has required since its founding, the writer joins issue with the traditional supposition in the matter, and holds that Yale has never had such a thing as an ecclesiastical constitution. Not only has it not been at any time restricted to the education of ministers or to ministers of the orthodox faith, but it would appear that the charter does not require that the President and ten of the Fellows shall be "orthodox Congregational ministers." The fact that unofficial laymen are now admitted into the corporation is an evidence of the flexible character of the college constitution, so far as it has any at all. Indeed, Professor Baldwin likens it to the English constitution, as a growth adapting itself continually to the necessities and tendencies of particular times. The college has become great, justly says the writer, "because she was free."

As much ignorance and misapprehension exists, even among the alumni of the institution, on the subjects treated in these papers, their appearance in printed form is timely. It should be added

that the pamphlets are from the advance sheets of Vol. III. of the "Transactions of the New Haven Colony Historical Society," soon to be issued.

A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. Comprising brief descriptions of the most eminent histories in English, French, and German, together with practical suggestions as to methods and courses of historical study, etc. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL. D., Professor of History in the University of Michigan. New York: HARPER & BROS., 12mo, pp. 665.

Prof. Adams aims in this work to accomplish two more or less distinct purposes. "In the first place," he states in his preface, "it has been my aim to furnish, as best I could, such information about the most desirable books as the historical reader and student is likely to profit by; and in the second to suggest the proper methods and order of using the materials so indicated." Of course the author has been obliged to adopt the method of selection, and in pointing out what he conceives to be the fittest books exposes himself to criticism. He names books enough, that is certain; whether in every case he recommends just the right work is a point which only long and intimate knowledge with universal and special history could determine. Prof. Adams risks something in passing judgment on all that has been written in his prolific department, but of this he seems to have been fully aware, and laborious effort has been the consequence. The result is praiseworthy.

Five-sixths of the work is devoted to ancient, mediæval, and European history. Universal histories are mentioned fully and criticized freely. E. A. Freeman's General Sketch is praised for its "historical and literary workmanship," but exception must be taken as to its arrangement for a text-book. Rollin's Ancient History was long since properly discarded, although we cannot agree with the author that "it has scarcely a single merit to recommend it." Gibbon's Rome receives fulsome praise as "the greatest historical work ever written." Hume's England, in point of clearness, elegance, and simplicity of style, "has never been surpassed," yet abounds in "gross errors;" and in much the same method the author goes through a very numerous list, giving the merits and defects of the historians.

The last hundred pages of the Manual are devoted to histories of the United States, and it is gratifying to note the attention paid to this department, although we are not sure that it is not open to improvement. Jones' Tory History of New York, for example, is mentioned, while William Smith's earlier and more important work

receives no notice. The biographies of George Cabot, John Randolph, and Elbridge Gerry are honored with a selection to the exclusion of those of John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Edward Livingston, Aaron Burr, Salmon P. Chase, and other national or leading characters. Lafayette's "Memoirs," containing, among other historical matters, a most interesting and valuable correspondence with Washington, is likewise omitted. The "suggestions to students and readers," however, are satisfactorily full and discriminating, and give any one interested in special periods of our history all the references necessary. While mention is not made of many valuable monographs on important events, the work as a whole is eminently useful to the American student.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE COLONIAL HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY. Edited by WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD, Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, etc. Vol. IV. Newark, N. J., 8vo, pp. 464.

This volume covers the administrations of Governor Robert Hunter and President Lewis Morris, 1709-20, and the documents are promiscuous in character but not the less important. There are papers and letters upon the disputed boundary line between New York and New Jersey, the affirmation of Quakers, the trial of pirates, and the doings of the Assembly—all of local interest. This series is compiled and edited by authority of the State of New Jersey, at the request of the State Historical Society. Vol. V. will continue the publication of documents to the year 1738.

ANNOUNCEMENT.—Mr. William L. Stone will soon publish, by subscription, a work of four hundred pages, entitled "The Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany Campaign, 1777, annotated by William L. Stone; with an Historical Introduction illustrating the Life of Sir John Johnson by Gen. J. Watts de Peyster; and a Tory and Hessian Annex by Col. T. Bailey Myers." The work which, among other illustrations, will contain a handsome engraving of Sir John in full military dress, is from the press of Joel Munsell's Sons, of Albany, and will appear as one of "Munsell's Historical Series," fully coming up in the excellence of its typographical work to the standard of that series which has made the Munsell press so famous. In the annotations Mr. Stone, like his father, the late Colonel Stone, neglects no opportunity not only of saying a kind word for the aboriginals, but of sharply criticising the Indian policy of the United States, drawing a contrast between it and that pursued by Canada, by no means flattering to the former government.

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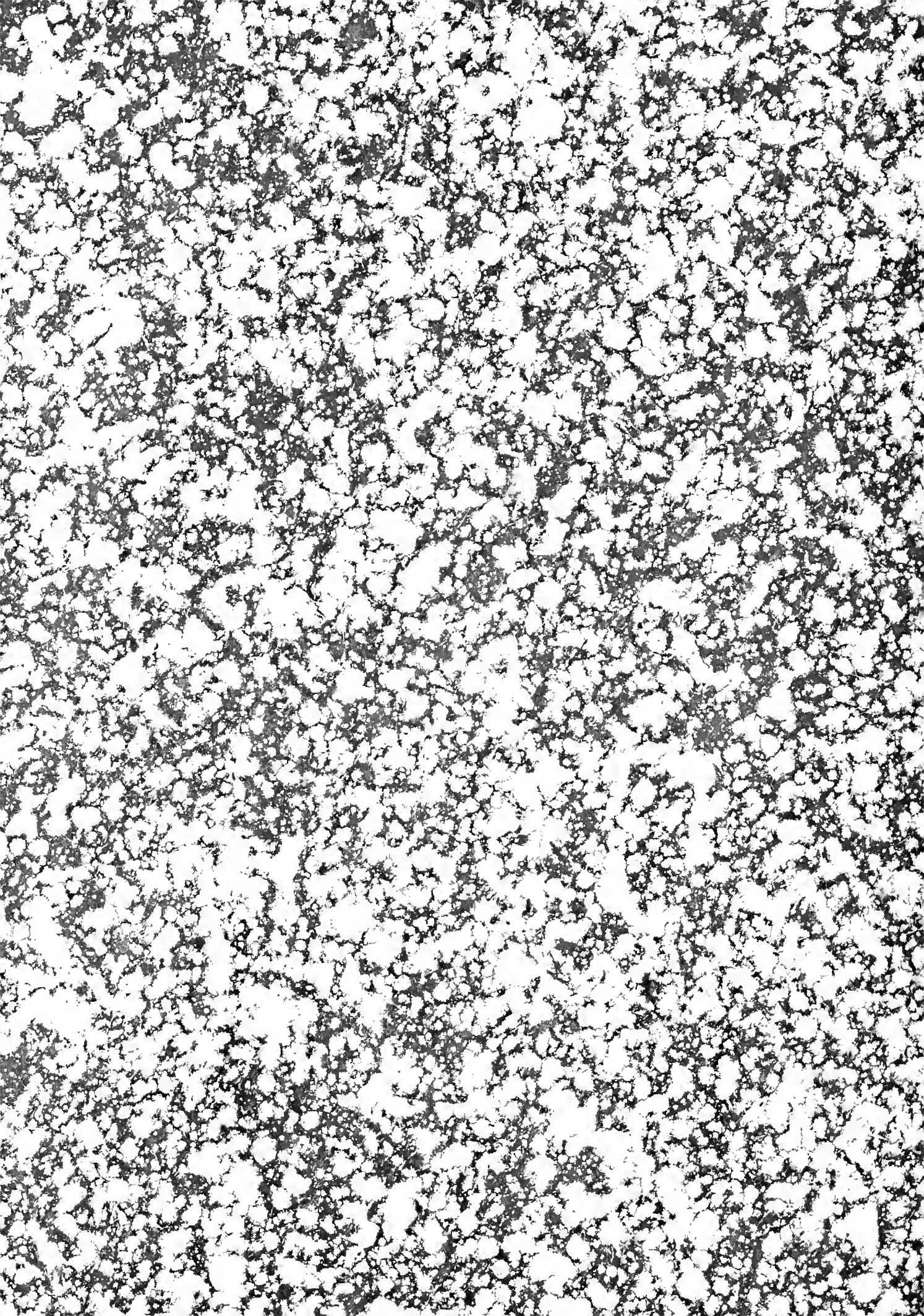












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